

1. CO 2. 8. 2.  
If any man thinke that he knoweth any  
thing, he knoweth nothing yet as  
he ought to knowe.

THE DEFENSE  
of the Aunswere to  
the Admonition, against  
the Replie of T.C.

BY IOHN VVHITGIFT  
Doctor of Diuinitie.

In the beginning are added these .4. Tables.

- 1 Of dangerous doctrines in the Replie.
- 2 Of falsifications and Untruthes.
- 3 Of matters handled at large.
- 4 A table generall.

If any man be contentious, we haue no such custome,  
neither the Churches of God. 1. CO 2. 11. 16.

\* Printed at London by Henry Binneman,  
for Humfrey Toye. Anno. 1574.



GA 2. 5. 26.  
Let vs not be desirous of vaine glorie,  
prouoking one another, enuy-  
ing one another.



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*J. Swaine. 1580*  
¶ To the godlie Reader.



**I**T VVERE BVT A NEEDLESSE labour to make any particular recitall of those pointes of doctrine vvhich this Church of Englande at this day doth holde and maintayne, for they be at large set out in sundrie english bookes, and especially in the Apologie of the Church of Englande, and the Defense of the same: summarily also collected together in the booke of Articles agreed vpon in the Conuocation at London Anno. 1562. &c. this I dare boldly affirme, that all pointes of Religion necessarie to saluation, and touching eyther the mysterie of our redemption in Chryst, or the right vse of the Sacramentes, and true manner of vvorshipping God, are as purely and perfectly taught, and by publike authoritie established in this Church of England at this day, as euer they vv ere in any church sithence the Apostles time, or novv be in any reformed Church in the vvorld: the vv hich to be true, those that be learned (euen among the mysliners of this present state) can not, nor vv ill not denie.

Likevv ise: that all Heresies, all corrupt doctrines, all superstitious and papistickall opinions, haue bene, and be by the Prince and the Realme banished, by the learned Byshops and Preachers in vv orde and in vv riting confuted, vv ho is so blinded vv ith malice, that he cannot see, or so frowvard and vv ilfull that he vv il not confesse?

¶ VV hat shall vv ethoden think of those men, that are so farre from acknowv ledging this singular and vnspeakeable benefite proceeding from the mere mercie of God, so farre from being thankfull for the same, from desiring the continuance of it vv ith heartie prayers, that by all meanes possible they seeke rather to obscure it, and to deface it, bicause in certaine accidentall poynts they haue not their fantasies and proper deuises. If this be not to set themselves agaynst God, and to trouble the peace of the Church for externall things (vv hich is schismaticall) let the quiet and godlie Christian, iudge. Hovv much better had it bene for them to haue proceeded in teaching necessarie pointes of doctrine, and exhorting to obedience, to concorde, to godlielyfe and conuersation, than thus vv ith no small reioycing of the vv icked, great offence of the vv eak Gospellers, marvellous grief of the Queenes maiestie, and other that haue the care of gouernment, frowvardly to dysquiet and dysturb the Church, trouble the happie peace of the cōmon vveale, and hazard the vv hole state of Religion, they shall one day (if not to late) vv ell vnderstand.

¶ Furthermore it behoueth all godlie mindes, that vv ill not be caried avvay vv ith rash and ouerhastie iudgemēt in this cōtrouersie, to cōsider not only that that I haue before spoken of the truth of doctrine publikely receyued and cōfirmed: but also circumspectly to vv eigh the circumstances of time, place, person, and the vv hole state of things, novv in this Church and Realme of Englande: The regarde vv herof in mine opinion, must needs cause in all discrete heades a staye of iudgement, in comparison that the things themselves barely considered, vv ould do. The state of this Church of Englande at this day God be thanked, is not Heathenish, Turkish, or Papistickall, in vv hich conditiō many things might be done, that othervv ise are not to be attempted: but it is the



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state of a church reformed and by authoritie and consent settled, not only in truth of doctrine, as before is noted, but also in order of thinges externall touching the gouernment of the Church and administration of the Sacramentes. VVherefore the controuersie is not vvwhether many of the thinges mentioned by the platformers, vvvere fildie vsed in the Apostles time, or may nowv be vvell vsed in some places, yea or be coueniently vsed in sundrye reformed Churches at this day. For none of these braunches are denied, neither do vvwe take vpon vs (as vvwe are scaundered) either to blame or to condemne other Churches for such orders as they haue receiued most fit for their estats. But this is the vvhole state of our controuersie, vvhen vvwe of this Church, in these perillous dayes, do see that vvwe haue a greate number of hollovve hartes vvithin this Realme that daylie gape for alteratiō of Religiō, and many mightie & great enemies abroad busilie deuiling and vvorking to bring the same to passe, and to ouerthrowe the state both of religion and of the Realme: vvwhether seing vvwe haue a settled order in doctrine and gouernment receiued and confirmed by lawe, it may stand vvith godlie and Christian vvvisdome, (vvith disobedience to the Prince and lawe, and vvith the vnquietnes of the Church and offence of many consciences) to attempt so greate alteratiō as this platforme must needes bring, and that for matters externall onely, and vvith such egerneesse and bitternesse, that they deface and discredite the vvhole state of this Church vvith al the Preachers and Ecclesiasticall gouernours of the same, as remayning in horrible corruptions and Antichristian deformities, and thereby fill the mouthes of the aduersaries vvith greater matter of obloquie to deface the gospel, than euer of them selues they had bene able to deuise.

Surely I could neuer reade, but that they that should so do, vvwere rather to be esteemed troublesome and schismaticall defacers, than zealous and godly reformers.

I knowe that no Church can be so perfect in all points of externall gouernment and ceremonies, but that such as be disposed, maye picke some occasion of quarrrelling thereat, thoughe vniustlie: therefore the true members of the Church must not be to light of credit, nor to redie to follovve contentious captaines. For S. Paule sayeth: *Si quis sit contentiosus inter vos etc.* If any be contentious among you, we haue no such custome, neyther the Churches of God. &c.

Againe, vvhen any thing is amisse it must be considered vvwhether the faultes be in the thinges themselues, or in the persons: for vvwe may not vvith partiall and corrupt iudgement impute the faultes of the persons to the thinges, vvwhether they be offices or ceremonies, for then should vvwe continuallie bee altering the state, and neuer stand stedfast in any kynde of gouernment: therefore in such cases vvwe must seke to reforme the abuses in men, vvwe must not pull avvaye the states and offices, or the thinges themselues bicause they be abused by some men.

But to let this passe and come to the purpose: this Replie of T. C. (vvwhich is of some counted so notable a peece of vvwork) consisteth of tvvo false principles and rotten pillers: vvwhereof the one is, that vvwe must of necessitie haue the same kynde of gouernment that vvvas in the Apostles tyme, and is expessed in the scriptures, and no other: the other is, that vvwe may not in any vvise, or in any consideratiō, retyne in the Church any thing that hath bin abused vnder the Pope: if these tvvo postes be vvweake, yea rotten (as I haue proued them to be, in this my Defense) then must the building of necessitie fall. Touching the  
first,



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first, it is to be vnderstanded, that there is a double gouernment of the Church, the one spirituall, the other externall: Christ onlie and none other by the operation of his spirite and directiō of his vvord spirituallly gouerneth his Church, and reignyng in the consciences of the faithfull, guydeth their myndes in all matters of deuotion, faith and holynesse: and this is the spirituall kingdome of Christ, so much spoken of in the scriptures, and speciallie in the Prophets: of this kynde of gouernment I meane not. The externall gouernment hath both a substance and a matter about vvhich it is occupied, and also a forme to attayne the same, consisting in certaine offices and functions, and in the names and titles of them: the substance and matter of gouernment, must in deede be takē out of the vvord of God, and cōsisteth in these pointes, that the vvorde be trulie taught, the sacramentes rightlie administred, vertue furthered, vice repressed, and the Church kept in quietnes and order. The offices in the Church vvhereby this gouernment is vvrought, be not namely and particularelie expressed in the scriptures, but in some pointes left to the discretion and libertie of the Church, to be disposed according to the state of tymes, places & persons, as I haue further declared in my Answer and Defense followving. Of the secōd principle I haue also spoken at large there, so that I shall not neede to trouble the Reader any further in these matters.

The proofes that T. C. vseth in this his Replie are grounded onlie vpon vntrue allegations and interpretations of the scriptures, vaine and childishe reasons, falsifying the authorities of Doctors & other vvriters, vntulie ascribing that vnto them, vvhich they vvrote not, as shall be euidentlie declared in this Defense, by the grace of God: and surelie I haue not redde many bookes vvherein so many grosse vntruthes are to be found, or vvherein there is so manye manifest argumentes vttered, to proue the ignoraunce of the author, and lacke of reading auncient and learned vvryters.

Touching his manner of vvriting I shal not neede to say much, for any mā of iudgemēt, that readeth his book may easilie perceiue, vvith vvhat hautines of mynde, vvhat contempt & disdayne of others, in vvhat sclaundrous and opprobrious manner it is vvritten: hovve oft doth he repeate *M. Doctor*, in contēpt either of the degree, or of the person? 370. times is the leaste: vvhat other speeches of disdain and reproche doth he vtter? but I do nothing at all maruayle at it, for I consider it hath bene the vsuall practise of sectaries and disquieters of the Church. It is true that S. Augustine sayeth, *lib. 1. contra Donatist. cap. 11. Nulli schismata facerent si fraterno odio non exacerarentur.* None would make schismes, if they were not blinded with hatred of their brethren. And againe: *Annon est in schismate odium fraternum? qui hoc dixerit, cum & origo & pertinacia schismatis nulla sit alia, nisi odium fraternum.* Is there not hatred of brethren in schismes? who would saye so? seeing that the beginning and continuance of schisme proceedeth from no other cause, than from hatred of our brethren. I must therefore saye vvith M. Zuinglius: *Scio quibus conuiitijs & quantis furoribus illorum hic me exponam.* I knowe to what reproches and to howe greate rages of theirs I make my self subiect. And I vvill conclude vvith him. *Quamuis miris conuiitijs nos perstringere, & Eodem. nouis quotidie clamoribus morderenō desināt &c.* Although they maruclouslie flāuder vs, and daye lye with newe clamors, reuile and backbite vs, yet will I neuer leaue of the defense of the truth before their contumacie be made knowne to all men. VVho so peruseth such learned authors as had greate experience of the lyke kynde of men, he shall finde that their especiall grace both in speaking and vvriting, hath bene in bitter inuestiues against other vvhom they haue enuyed and hated for some speciall causes. M. Zuinglius in an Epistle that he vvriteth before his book *de Baptismo*, speaking



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of the Anabaptistes sayeth thus: *Hypocritica illorum humilitas illis satis nota & perspecta est: qui cum his aliquando sermones contulerunt, quàm scilicet sit illorum oratio omni felle amarulenti-  
or.* Their hypocriticall humilitie is verie well knowne to those which haue had cōference with them: how that their talk is more bitter than gaule. And in his booke *de Baptismo*, he earnestlie protesteth that he neuer found any thing in them, *quàm saturninam quandam & melancholicam ingeniorum contumaciam. &c.* and in his book against Balasar he sayth that by dispraying and reuyling others, they seeke to wyne credite vnto them selues. How this qualitie agreeth vvith some of our men, and especiallie vvith the author of this Replie, I am content that other men iudge. If I my selfe haue in vvryting, and in this Defense spoken something more sharpelie, it must be imputed to myne infirmitie, and yet am I therevnto greatlie prouoked: but herein as in manye other matters, I submit my selfe to the iudgement of those that haue authoritie to iudge, and of those that be learned: for I am content still to make this the foote of my song: *Errare possum, hereticus esse nolo.*

*In Ecclesiast.*

To those that be in authoritie I onlie speake as M. Zuinglius did to the magistrates in his time, vpon the like occasion: *Quod si hoc cuius hominū impune facere licebit, ut quæ priuato suæ rationis consilio adinuenit, in vulgus spergat, inconsulta, imò resistente etiam vniuersa totius ecclesiæ auctoritate, breui plus errorum, quàm fidelium & Christianorum in ecclesia erit cernere.* If it be lawful for euery man to publish abroad among the people those things which he hath deuised of his owne heade, before he hath consulted with the church, nay against the authoritie of the whole church, in short time we shall see moe errors in the church, than there

*Lib. de Baptis.*

be faithfull men and Christians. And againe, *Si enim hoc permittamus ut capitosus quisque & male feriat homo, mox ut nouum aliquid & insolens animo suo concepit, &c.* If we suffer euery hedic and braynelesse fellowe, so sone as he hath cōceyued any new thing in his mynd, to publish it abroad, gather disciples, and make a new secte, in shorte time we shal haue so many sectes and factions, that Christe which scarce with greate payne and labor, is brought to vnitie in euery church, should be deuided againe into many partes. VVherefore as you haue singularelie and vvith greate vvifdome and labour, already restored the true religion of Christe, and banished all superstition and erroneous doctrine: So likewise (as the same Zuinglius sayeth) in those perillous times, wherein Satan seketh so busilie to entrap vs (so that with newe cōtentions about external thinges, he goeth about to trouble those whome the sworde of persecution eyther moued not, or terrified not) look well about you, note the craftes and subtilties of them: take hede of the pestilent windes of diuers doctrine, let none trouble the gospell amongst you, or set you at strife and variaunce. And remember that as the streame that commeth dovne from the highe mountaines being caused by much rayne and snovve, taking eueriething that it meteth vvith, before it, the further it goeth the greater strengthe, and the more aboundance of vvater it gathereth, and first remoueth out of their places small stones, after vvith greater violence, casteth dovne strong bridges, yea huge and mightie rockes, and encreaseth to that strength, that nothing, be it of neuer so greate force, can resist or vvithstand it: and in the end leueth nothing else behinde it, *quàm inutilem luctum, quærelas inanes, & miseram vastatorum agrorum & segetum formam:* but vnprofitable mourning, vaine complaintes, and a miserable forme of the spoiled fieldes: euen so, *contentionum pestis, & impia bæresis, eodem modo progrediens, non quicquam aliud quàm turpem & calamitosam rerum faciem: in florentissimo antè ecclesiæ agro post se relinquit.* The plague of contention, and wicked heresie proceeding in like manner, leaueth nothing after it but a miserable and pitifull face and shew of thinges in that place, which was before the flourishing fiede of the church. Consider vvhat the vvifeman sayeth Prouerb. 17. the beginning of stryfe is as one that openeth the waters. It had bene vvell if the beginning had bene vvithstanded: but seing that vvas neglected, and rather by some furthered than stopped: Yet now

*In his epistle  
before his book  
de Baptismo.*

it is



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it is time to make vp the breache. This is sufficiēt to you, vvhoſe vvifdome and carefulneſſe is vvell knowne to all thoſe that be not vvith ſiniſter affection blinded.

Thoſe that be in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate (and deſirous to kepe the peace of the Church) I haue onlie to admoniſhe, that they be not diſcouraged from doing their duties, bicauſe of the ſlaunderous reportes, and vnchriſtian rautes and contumelies, that our vnquiet brethren lade them vvith, knowing that it hath bene the vſuall praetiſe of all ſectaries and eſpeciallie of Anabaptiſtes, vvho counte them all as vvicked, and vngodlie, as vvorldlinges, and men pleaſers, as idle and ſlouthfull, that conſpire not vvith them in their confused platforme. I maye vſe the ſame exhortation to you that M. Zuinglius, vſed in the like time. *Nec quicquam vos moueant, atroces ille calumnie. &c.* Let not thoſe bitter reproches and caſtling ſpeeches, (wherewith the Anabaptiſtes and others, ſtudioſ of contention, and diſcorde oppreſſe you) moue you any thing at all, bicauſe you rather followe Chriſt, than them: for although they call you wicked, and infidels, yet your ſelues beſt know what your cōfidence in God is, and what is your meaning and purpoſe, ſo that ſo often as they accuſe you of impietie, or of infidelitie, ſo ofte do they miniſter manifeſt proofes vnto you, that their ſpīte procedeth from the father of lyes. And marueile not at thoſe bitter contentions: you knowe it to be true, that the ſame Zuinglius alſo ſayeth: *Nec enim aliud eſt communis illius hoſtis noſtri ingenium. &c.* This is the ſubtiltie of our common enimie, this is his manner, here vnto doth he bend him ſelfe whollie, and ſleepeth not: that as ſone as the lord hath revealed the light of his worde, he alſo by and by ſoweth darnell: this do almoſt all the epiſtles of S. Paule teach vs, wherein it is manifeſtly declared that there hath bene alwayes ſome men *Pietatis ſimulatores potius quam cultores*, rather feyners of holynes than embracers of it, who for certaine externall and vnprofitable thinges, doubt not to laye (as it were) greuous ſtumbling blockes, to the doctrine of the goſpell. Onlie let vs be diligent in our vocation: earneſt againſt all kinde of enemies: ſeruent in prayers for the preſeruatiō of the Queenes maiēſtie, and for the peace of the Church, vvith the good ſucceſſe of the Goſpell: and vigilant that errors be not publiſhed vvithout controlement: and, God vvill ere it be long, (if our ſinnes deſerue not the contrarie) giue peace to this Church, as he hath done to other diſturbed in like manner. To conclude, I do charge all men before God and his Angells, as they vvill anſwere at the daye of iudgement, that vnder the pretence of zeale, they ſeek not the ſpoyle of the Church: vnder the colour of perfection they vvorke not confuſion: vnder the cloake of ſimplicite they couer not pride, ambition, vayneglorie, arrogancie: vnder the outvvarde ſheve of godlineſſe, they nourish not contempt of magiſtrates, popularitie, Anabaptiſtrie and ſundrie others pernicious and peſtilent errors. The Lord make vs thankful for his infinite mercies and ſingular goodneſſe beſtoved vpon vs in thus long continuing his goſpell: preſeruing our moſt gracious and louing Queene: and ouerthrowing all the conſpiracies and deuifes that the diuell hath hetherto inuented to moleſt this ſtate and Church.





**A note of such dangerous pointes of doctrine**  
as are auouched by T. C. in his Replie: and quoted as  
they are to be founde in this Booke.

**H**e sayth that Certaine of the things which we stande vpon are suche as if euery heare of our heade were a life, we ought to asoyde them for the defense of theu: whereby he woulde insinuate that this Church of England doth mainteine some danable doctrine. pag. 44.

2 He sayth, that if the Church be considered in the whole and generall gouernment and outwarde pollicie of it, it may be pure and vnspotted: whiche smelleth of an Anabaptistlicall fanisie. pag. 50.

3 He affirmeth, that many things are both commaunded and forbidden, of which there is no expresse mention in the word, which are as necessarily to be followed or auoyded, as those whereof expresse mention is made: which soundeth to the confirmation of the very foundation of all Papistrie. pag. 77.

4 He holdeth, that the doctrine of free will is not repugnant to saluation: and yet is it a doctrine cleane contrarie to free iustification by Christe. pag. 82.

5 He saythe, that all the commaundements of God and of the Apostles, are needefull for our saluation: which is a notozious error. pag. 103.

6 He vtterly denyeth, that any magistrate can saue the life of blasphemers, contemptuous and stubborne Idolaters, murtherers, adulterers, incestuous persons, and such like. whiche God by his iudiciall lawe hath commaunded to be put to death: whereby he byndeth the ciuill Magistrate to the obseruing of the Iudicial lawes of Moses, and condemneth this state & gouernment (now vled in this realme of England) of manifest impietie. pag. 120.

7 He affirmeth, that in the Churches of Christe, there be no drunkardes, nor whozemongers, at the least, which are knowne: which assertion tendeth to Anabaptisme. pag. 176.

8 He saith, that what soeuer apparell the magistrate commaundeth the minister to weare, the commaundement can not be without some iniurie done to the minister: which is to debarre the Magistrates from appointing any kynde of apparell to Ministers. pag. 265.

9 He saith, that those ministeries without the which the Church is fully builded & brought to perfection and compleat vnitie, are not to be retained in the Church: which is a very dangerous assertion, and may giue occasion of diuers errors. pag. 307.

10 He holdeth that it were more safe for vs, to conforme our indifferent ceremonies to the Turkes which are farre off, than to the Papistes which are so neare: whiche can not be so, for the Turkes vtterly deny Christ, and be void of all Christian ceremonies. pag. 475.

11 He affirmeth, that not only the dignitie, but also the being of the Sacrament of baptism dependeth vpon this, whether he be a minister or no, that dothe minister it: whiche if it be true, then be there numbers not baptized, that are supposed to be baptized, & it must of necessitie follow, that they ought to be rebaptized, which is plaine Anabaptisme. pag. 518.

12 He sayth, that with what lawfulness men may offer themselves to the prayers and hearing of the worde of God, they may also offer themselves to the Lordes Supper: which is a palpable error. pag. 532. And pag. 604. he affirmeth directly to the contrarie.

13 He denyeth, that the church or any man, may restraine the people from bodily labor, in any of the six dayes: which is to drawe from the Magistrate his lawfull authoritie, and to giue carnall libertie to the people. pag. 541.

14 He sayth, that the life of the Sacramentes dependeth of the preaching of the worde: which if it be true, then is the Sacrament of baptism not to be ministred to Infants, because they can not heare the worde preached, and indeede this is the ground of Anabaptisme. pag. 566.

15 He doubteth, whither he may call him minister or no, that can not preach, whiche being ioyned with his former assertion, that the minister is of the being of the Sacrament, it will fall out, that he counteth all those not baptized which haue bene baptized by any other, than by preachers. pag. 568 and. 583.

16 He seemeth to be of this iudgement, that only those which be of the familie of God ought to be baptized: which is a dangerous error, for not all that be baptized are of the familie of God. pag. 621.

17 He



## The Table of dangerous of doctrines

17 He secludeth the Childzen of excommunicate persons, and of professed Papistes from the Sacrament of baptisme, untill they be able to make a confession of their sayth: which smelleth very strongly of Anabaptisme, and it is a manifest error. pag. 622.

18 He sayth, that Princes must remember to subiecte themselves vnto the Church, to submit their Scepters, to throwe downe their crownes before the Church, and to like the duske of the secte of the Church: and by the Church he meaneth the presbyterie and Eldership: so that he woulde haue Princes in as great bondage to his Seniors, as euer they were to the Pope. pag. 645.

19 He sayth, pag. 646. that the government of the common wealth, must be framed according to the government of the Church, euen as the hangings to the house: and he affirmeth that the government of the Church is Aristocraticall or popolare, and therefore his opinion must needs be, that no government of any common wealth ought to be Monarchical, but either Aristocraticall or popolare: which is a dangerous error, and springeth of this, that he doth not distinguish betwixt the essentiall points of the government of the Church, and the accidentall pointes of the same: for the essentiall pointes of ecclesiasticall government, may well agree with any lawfull state of common wealth, and ciuill kinde of government: as the Gospell may be truly preached in them all, the Sacraments rightly ministred, discipline duely executed, and such like: but the accidentall points of government (as the manner of electing ministers, the kinde of discipline, accidentall ceremonies, and other suche like rites and circumstances) may be varied according to time, place, and persons, and are so to be framed, as they may best agree with the state and government of euery common wealth. The ignorance of this distinction hath cast. T. C. into a great and perillous error.

20 He both ioyneth with the Papistes, in taking from the ciuill Magistrate authoritie in ecclesiasticall matters, and also in confirming that error by their arguments, and none other. pag. 694. &c.

21 He affirmeth, that the reading of the scriptures without the preaching, cannot deliuer so much as one poore sheepe from destruction, &c. wherein he is also contrarie to himselfe, pag. 784.

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### A note of certaine vntruthes, and falsified authorities conteyned in the Replie of T. C. and are to be founde out in this Booke, according to the quotation.

He sayth, that it appeareth in the eight chapter of the booke of Nehemias, that the feast of Tabernacles, which was commaunded of the Lord to be celebrated euery yeare, was not celebrated from the dayes of Iosua the sonne of Nun, untill the returne of the people from their captinitie: whiche is a manifest vntruth, as it is euident. 1. Esd. 3. and it is also against the opinion of all the interpreters. pag. 8.

2 Iosias, is alledged for Ezechias. pag. 10.

3 This worde (especially) is added to the terte. 1. Cor. 10. pag. 86.

4 He opposeth Ignatius and Tertullian, to Ambrose and Augustine, as though Ambrose & Augustine should thinke it to be lawfull to fast on the Lords daye, & the other two should write the contrarie: whereas Ambrose and Augustine fully agree with Ignatius and Tertullian in that matter. pag. 99.

5 He mangleth S. Augustines wordes, both before, behinde, and in the mydd. pag. 107.

6 Pag. 144. he falsifieth the wordes of S. Paule. 1. Tim. 3. and vntruelly translate them.

7 He saith that the Israelites when they worshipped the Calfe saide, That they would kepe holy day to the Loyde Ichoua: which is not true. pag. 151.



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- 8 He citeth a place out of Iustinians code, which cannot as yet be found there, neither doth he saythfully report, but subtilly suppress the wordes which explaine the matter, as they be set downe by Ilyricus of whom he bozowed them. *Pag. 184.*
- 9 He sayth, that Platina wyrteth, that Lodowick the second commaunded the Romaines to choose their owne Bishop: which is not true, for he only commended them for so doing, he did not commaunde them. *Pag. 186.*
- 10 He sayth, that those which write the Centuries suspect the Canon of the Councell of Laodicea, which forbiddeth the electio of ministers to be committed to the people, and doubt whether it be a Bastarde or no: which is vntrue, for the Authours of the Centuries make no such doubt. *Pag. 188.*
- 11 He sayth, that Hierome willett that the people should haue power and authoritie to choose their clearks & their ministers: which is not so, for Hierom willett no such thing. *Pag. 203.*
- 12 He alledgeth Pusculus his wordes in stead of Jeromes: and that which onely Puscu. sayth in his comon places, he ascribeth to Jerom in his epist. to Nepotian. *ead.*
- 13 He sayth that Nazian. (in an oration that he wyrteth at the death of his father) confuteth those reasons, that seeme to hinder the election of Ministers by the Church, and yet is there no such thing to be founde in that oration. *Pag. 205.*
- 14 He referreth the Reader to the 6. and. 7. booke of Eusebius, for examples of elections of the people & Clergie confirmed by the Christian magistrate, namely in the Bishop of Constantinople: and yet is there no such examples, in those booke, neyther any mention of any Bishop of Constantinople. *Pag. 207.*
- 15 He fathereth a manifest vntruth vpon Eusebius. lib. 6. touching Origenes admission into the ministerie. *Pag. 209.*
- 16 He leaueth out the wordes of the Councell of Chalcedon, that open the meaning of the Conncell. *Pag. 222.*
- 17 He againe ascribeth Pusculus his wordes to Jerome. *Pag. ead.*
- 18 He denyeth that Chrysostome maketh a distinction betwixt Bishops and Elders, when as his wordes be plaine. *Pag. 226.*
- 19 He doth vntruely and corruptly alledge Theodoroete. *Pag. 268.*
- 20 He sayth, *Pag. 280.* that the two treatises called the Admonition, were written by diuerse persons, the one not knowing the others doings: the contrarie whereof is manifestly declared.
- 21 He citeth Nicephorus corruptly. *Pag. 326.*
- 22 He falsifyeth a place in the first of John, by a false interpretation, to make it serue his turne. *Pag. 302.*
- 23 He sayth that the Centuries alledge a place of Ambrose, out of his booke *de dignitate sacerdotali*, to proue that the office of an Archbishop was not then come into the Church. Which is vntrue, for the Centuries alledge no suche place out of Ambrose for any such purpose. *Pag. 337.*
- 24 He sayth that Hierome and Augustine speake of Archdeacons, in those places where they onely speake of Deacons. *Pag. 346.*
- 25 The wordes of Socrates are falsified. *Pag. 350.*
- 26 He vntruely reporteth the wordes of Cyprian. *Pag. 257.*
- 27 He falsifieth the meaning of Tertullian, alluding that to Ceremonies, that Tertullian meaneth of matters of sayth and of saluation. *Pag. 370.*
- 28 He keepeth back the wordes of Theodoroet that explaine his meaning. *Pag. 412.*
- 29 An vntruth concerning Ireneus, auouched out of the fifth booke of Eusebius. *Cap. 3. & 4. Pag. eadem.*
- 30 He peruerteth the wordes of the Græke scholiast. *Pag. 413.*
- 31 He auoucheth an vntruth of Theodoroet. *Pag. 415.*
- 32 He uttereth a verie vncharitable vntruth of the worthy man M. Jewel, Bishop of Sarisburie. *Pag. 422.*
- 33 He sayth, that in the Councell of Antioch it appeareth that the Bishop of the Metropolitane seate called Synodes and propounded the matters, which were to be handled, and that it was his office to see, that the Bishops kept themselves within their owne Diocesse: and he quoteth the 9. Canon where no such thing is to be founde. *Pag. 435.*
- 34 He



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- 34 He both addeth and detracteth from the 34. Canon attributed to the Apostles. Page. 439.
- 35 The 17. Canon of the Councell of Antioche is vntruely alleadged. Page. 440.
- 36 He should saye an Epistle of Pope Zachary to Boniface, and he sayth an Epistle of Zachary to Pope Boniface, In the whiche Epistle he saythe that this cause scil. Least they shoulde swaile through the multitude, is alleaged why there should not be a Bishop in euery village or little citie which is vntrue: for there is no such cause alleaged there. 443.
- 37 He alleadgeth the fift Canō *Concilij Tyronnes*. for that, that cannot be found in it. Page. 446.
- 38 He saythe, that another councell (quoting the Councell of Afrike) decreed that the Christians, shoulde not celebrate feastes on the birth dayes of Martyrs, because it was the manner of the heathen: which is a manifest vntruth, for there is no such decree in that councell. 479.
- 39 He sayth, That Tertullian would not haue the Christians to syt after they had prayed, because the Idolaters did so: and he quoteth his booke *de anima*, where there is no such thing written. Page. eadē.
- 40 He fathereth an vntruth of Augustine touching Baptizing by women or in priuate houses. Page. 512.
- 41 He alleageth *M. Beza* in his annotations for that which cannot be founde in the. Page. 584.
- 42 He saith, that if we will take the nature of the sacrament so straightly as Augustine doth, & that there be no sacramentes but when as to the element there cometh the worde, the circumcision can be no Sacrament, which is a grosse vntruth, for in circumcision there is both the word and the element. Page. 618.
- 43 He saith that the eldership was most flourishing in Constantines time, but he noteth no place, where we may finde his saying to be true. Page. 651.
- 44 He is greatly deceiued about the excommunicating of Apollinaris, and sheweth manifest tokens, that either he hath not himselfe read the story, or that he hath read it very negligently, as it is plainly declared in the Defense. Page. 669.
- 45 He falsifieth Ambrose. Page. 670.
- 46 He alleageth a place of Tertullian very deceitfully. Page. 673.
- 47 He saith that Augustine in his bookes *de Bap. contra Donatistas*, sheweth that if the most of the people be infected with the fault which is to be punished, that then no excommunication ought to be attempted, for because a sufficient number of voyces will not be obtained for the excommunication. Whereas these wordes, for because a sufficient number of voyces, &c. are not to be founde in these bookes of Augustine. Page. 675.
- 48 He maketh an vntrue report of the 10. Canon of the Councell of Antioch. Page. 682.
- 49 He alleageth that for making Ecclesiastical lawes and ceremonies, which is ment of building and repayring of Churches, out of *Euseb lib. 2. de vita Constant. Epist. ad Eusebium*. Page. 698.
- 50 He affirmeth that this practise continued still in the Churches of God, scil. that nothing was broughte into the Church to be read, besides the word of God, whereas the contrarie is manifestly proued of the same time whereof he meaneth. Page. 718.
- 51 He saith that *S. John* in the *Apocalips* reprehending the ministers of diuers Churches, vpd not put to his name vnto his booke, whiche is a manifest vntruth, for he addeth his name both in the beginning, and in the end: thys in the first chapter, and once in the last.

I here omit his manifest wresting of the Scriptures: his wrong collections: bolde assertions contrarie to the practise of the Church and truth: and notozious vntruthes affirmed by him of the Answer to the Admonition, with sundrie other grosse oversights, because I haue noted them in the margent, and plainly detected them in my Defense to this Replier, and are (for the most part) noted also in the Generall Table vnder these 3. titles. Falsifications of the Replier: T. C. charged with vntruth: T. C. chargeth the Answer falsely. Men may erre and be deceiued: but either to speake nothing truly, or often to fault in vntrue dealing, cannot be a token of the spirite of truth: the which spirite of truth, God for his Chyistes sake, graunt vnto all those that haue a heartie desire to know the truth.

FINIS.

b.ii.



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*Bij.*



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# The Printer to the Readers.

It could not be, but that in so great a volume, some things should escape even those that are diligent and carefull; I especially considering the speedie dispatch, and other circumstances: notwithstanding, if befoze you enter to reade this booke, you will take the paynes to mende these faulces with your pen, the rest being lighter, will not greatly say your course in reading, or otherwise alter the sense and meaning. Fare you well.

pag. 2. line. 8. reade plainly.

pag. 21. line. 12. for privately reade priuily.

pag. 50. line. blit. for I speake not of their opinions, reade, I speake not of all their opinions.

pag. 62. line. 38. reade, in these.

pag. 67. line. 37. for or, reade for.

pag. 78. line. 14. reade, and seeking helpe of the Egyptians.

pag. 104. lin. 22. for abiunde, reade, alunde.

pag. 114. line. 45. reade, I's homo.

pag. 191. line. 45. for worde, reade, wordes.

pag. 244. line. 13. reade, in the euill day.

pag. 252. lin. 46. for any confession, reade, my confession.

pag. 253. lin. 7. reade, Chap. 1.

pag. 254. line. 13. reade, chap. 1. and line. 48. reade, Chap. 2.

pag. 304. in y margin, reade, where of God.

pag. 349. line. 29. for and, reade, as.

pag. 448. line. 32. reade, ΤΙΜΙΛΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ.

pag. 468. lin. 46. for his own, reade, this one.

pag. 481. lin. 32. for more, reade, more

pag. 508. lin. 1. reade, encomber the Answerer.

pag. 523. lin. 25. reade, conuentu.

pag. 536. line. 10. for yll, read, it.

pag. 537. lin. 41. for those, read this.

pag. 547. line. 21. for constraine, read restrepne.

pag. 661. line. 20. read thus, election of ministers is no correctio of vice neither yet is the deciding, &c.

pag. 663. line. 53. for there, reade, therefore.

pag. 665. in the margin, for eternal, reade, externall.

pag. 685. lin. 6. reade, the. 11. diuision

pag. 708. line. blit. for rather, reade, either.

pag. 712. line. blit. adde this, heaping bp of scriptures: shewe me one place in this epistle, yea in.

pag. 731. line. 41. for seruice, reade, sozow.

pag. 803. lin. 7. reade, Gods worde.

pag. 806. line. 4. reade, of defiance salued.

pag. 810. line. 41. reade, str.







# To the Church of Englande, and all those that loue the truth in it,

T. C. vvisheth mercie and peace, from God our

Father, and from our Lorde Iesus Christe



Our men doe more willingly go to warfare, and fighte with greater courage agaynst straungers, than agaynst their Countrey men: so it is with me in this spirituall warfare. For I woulde haue wished that this controuersie had bene with the Papistes, or with other (if any can be) more pccitent and professed enemies of the Church: for that should haue bene lesse grieue to write, and more conuenient to perswade that which I desire. For as the very name of an enemy dothe kinde the desire of fighting, and stireth vp the care of preparing the furniture for the warre: So I can not tell howe it cometh to passe, that the name of a brother slacketh that courage, and abateth that carefulnesse whiche should be bestowed in defence of the truth. But seeing the truth ought not to be forsaken for any mans cause, I enforced my selfe, considering that if the Lorde mighte lay to my charge, that I was not for certayne considerations, so readie as I ought to haue bene, to publish the truth, he mighte more iustly condemne me, if being oppugned and slaundered by others, I should not according to that measure which he hath deale vnto me, and for my small habitts defende it, and deliuer it from the euill reporte that some endeavour to bring vpon it.

## An Answer to the Epistle dedicated by

T. C. to the Church of Englande. &c.



It doth not appeare by the stile and maner of writing vused in this your booke, that there remaineth any portion of suche naturall affection or brotherly loue in you, as you woulde beare the world in hand, and seeme to haue by these your wordes: For if you should haue writtten against the veriest Papist in the world, the vilest person, the ignorantest dolt, you could not haue vused a more spitefull and malicious, more slaunderous and reprochfull, more contemptuous and disdainfull kinde of writing, than you vse throughout your whole booke: and truly if you had not these two letters T. C. for your name, yet coulde I haue easily coniectured by the haughtinesse of the stile, and contemptuous speeches, who had bene the authour of the booke, so well am I acquainted with your modestie, and suche experience haue I of your mylonesse. But if it is well, for nowe such as before haue thought that you had bene *sine felle*, without gall, and that butter would not melt in your mouth, may perceyue that all is not vnttrue that hath ben reported of you. But what woulde they farther thinke if they shoulde compare (you being that T. C. that I take you to be) your othe which you once take when you were admitted fellowes into T. C. (*Item me huic Collegio fidelem & beneuolum futurum, ei & omnibus socijs ac discipulis, atque etiam magistro eiusdem, non solum dum in eo vixero, sed etiam postea pro virili cum opus sit beneuolentiam & opem praestituru.* &c.) with this your god will vttered throughout your whole booke: verily you might haue answered as well as you haue done, and had better regard both to your othe and to your brethren. But to let that passe, I doubt whether you meane good faith or no, when you would make vs beleue that you take vs for brethren: for surely that doth not appeare either by the first or 2. Admonition, or by this your booke, if a man consider the fiercenesse and fire heat, almost in euery lyne of them, vttered against vs. In the second Admonition fol. 35. speaking of the Bishops which be no we, & their confederates (as you cal them) these wordes in most spitefull maner be vttered. And take them for better who shall, they are no other but a remnant of Antichristes broode, and God amend and forgive them, for else they bid battell to Christ and his Church, and it must bid defiance to them, till they peele. And I protest before the eternall God I take them so, and thereafter will vse my selfe in my vocation, and many more too no doubt, which be carefull of God his glory, and the Churches liberty, will vse them selues against them, as the professed enemies of the Church of Christ, if they procede in this course, and thus persecute as they do. And therefore these be but wordes of dalliance, when you saye, that you cannot tell howe it cometh to passe, that the name of a brother slacketh that courage and abateth that carefulnesse, whiche should be bestowed in the de-

The othe which the fellowes of Crl. Col. in Cambridge do take at their admission.

2. Admo. fo. 35



## The defense of the answer

fence of the truth. In deede it ought to haue abated your outrageous and disdainful speeches, if olde rancour and desire of reuengement, had not gotten in you the vpper hande. For whether you deale with me lyke a brother, or like an etter enemie, lette the indifferent Reader iudge.

What truth you haue on your side, and how it is oppugned and slandered by such as you meane, shall I trust appeare, when your Replie is diligentl<sup>y</sup> compared with my Answer. If you had ment the truth in god earnest, you woulde haue delt more painly in replying than you haue done: you woulde haue set downe my booke, as I haue done the Admonition, that the Reader mighte haue compared bothe together: and not haue mangled it, depraued it, falsified it, and vntruly collected of it as you haue done, and almost nothing else, as (God willing) shall appeare. God graunt that it be not layde to your charge that you haue hindered Truth, slandered it, and giuen the common aduersaries occasion to speake euill of it.

T. C.

And as vnto other partes of the Gospel, so soone as the Lorde openeth a doore for them to enter in, there is for the most parte great resistance: So in this part concerning the gouernment and discipline of the Church, which is the order which God hath left, as well to make the doctrine most effectual, and to giue as it were a sharper edge vnto the preaching of the word, as also to be a wall to keepe it, and make it continue amongst vs, I see there bee sundrie lettes, which doe as it were with weapons, stande by to stoppe the passage, and to hinder that it shoulde not be settled amongst vs.

### Io. Whitgiste.

It is true that there is greates resistance so soone as the Lorde openeth any doore to his Gospel, and that by sundrie meanes, and diuers kindes of men, as the stories of the Church from tyme to tyme declare, and dayly experience teacheth: it is also true, that many vnder this pretence of right gouernment, and restoring of discipline, haue and doe disturbe the Churches wherin the Gospel is sincerely preached, and the Sacraments rightly ministred, for further prouise wherof, and auoyding of tediousnesse, I referre you to maister Bullinger *Lib. 6. cap. 10. aduersus Anabaptist.* To Maister Caluine *aduersus Anabaptist.* To Maister Gualter in his Epistle dedicatorie before his commentarie vpon the first to the Corinthians. Wherefore this pretence of restoring the right gouernment of the Church, with so great disquietnesse of the same, is but a couer to hyde the further purposes of Satan the enemie of the peace and quietnesse of the Church.

T. C.

With the whiche albeit I wrestle hand to hande in this booke, yet forasmuche as we haue all drunke so deepe of the cup of vntruth, that we do not only stumble at blockes, which other men laye in our way, but oftentimes we gather lettes vnto our selues in framing a prejudice against the truth: I thought good to note shortly what those stumbling blockes are, and although I cannot remoue them, yet to giue warning of them, and to lende my hande to the weaker and simpler sorte to helpe to ouerstride them.

### Io. Whitgiste

What these stumbling blockes are, and howe you will helpe the weaker and simpler sorte to ouerstride them, we shall see in the discourse that foloweth.

#### The Epist. of T. C. Sect. 2.

The offences which are taken herein, be either in respecte of the cause, or in respect of those which seeke to defende, and promote the cause. The cause is charged fyrste with newnesse and strangenesse, then as author of confusion, and of disorder, and laste of all as enemie to Princes, magistrates, and common wealthes. For the fyrst, besides that it is no sufficient challenge, to say it is new and strange, there is no cause why it should be counted newe, which is confessed of those which mystake it, to haue bin for the most part vled in the Apostles tymes, nor why it should be esteemed strange, which is vled now farre and neere, of this & that syde the sea, and of no strangers, but of those which are of the household of fayth. And it shal more largely appeare in this booke, that this is no innouation, but a renouation, and the doctrine not new, but renewed, no stranger, but borne in Zion, where vnto (it being before vniuersally banished) ought now of right to be restored.

I. W.

The pretence  
of restoring  
the right go-  
uernment, but  
a cloake for  
farther mis-  
chiefe.



*Jo. Whitgife.*

Surely the offences are taken bothe in respecte of the persons, and of the cause: Neither is eyther the persons, or the cause charged with any thing by mee, but I am readie eyther to proue it, or to retract it. The antiquitie of it, and the straungenesse we must referre to be iudged of the Reader, when we haue both witten what we can. In the meane tyme I suppose that youre deuises with the circumstances, will appeare not only not to be auncient, but verie straunge and lately deuised: although in suche matters antiquitie is not sufficient to proue a thing conuenient, excepte it agree with the circumstances of tyme, place, and persons, much lesse necessarie, vnlesse it be in matters pertayning to saluation, as shall hereafter (God willing) more largely be declared: where also it will appeare, that many of your assertions tende not to renouation, but inuouation, and that they were neuer eyther borne in Sion, or meete for Sion.

The Epist. of T. C. Sect. 3.

And of confusion and disorder it is yet more buttuly accused. For iustice may be as well accused for doing wrong, as this doctrine, for bringing in disorder, whose whole woozke is to prouide, that nothing be done out of place, out of tyme, or otherwyse than the condition of euery mans calling wil beare: which putteth the people in subiectio vnder their gouernours, the gouernours in degree and order one vnder an other, as the Elder vnderneath the Pastor, and the Deacon vnderneath the Elder, which teacheth that a particular Church shall giue place vnto a prouinciall Synode, where many Churches are, and the prouinciall to a nationall, and ykewyse that, vnto the generall, if any bee, and all vnto Christe and his worde. When on the contrarie parte, those whiche stande against this doctrine, are thereby compelled to bring into the Church great confusion, and maruellous disorder, whylest the Pastors office is confounded with the deacons, whylest women do minister the Sacraments which is lawfull only for men, whylest priuate men do that which belongeth vnto publike persons, whylest publike actions are done in priuate places, whylest the Church is shuffled with the common wealthe: whylest ciuill matters are handled by Ecclesiasticall persons: and Ecclesiasticall by those whiche be Ciuill: and so be short, whylest no officer of the Church keepeth his standing, and one member doth take vpon it the office of an other, which things as they hazarde the armie, and destroy the bodie, so they doe presently hinder, and will shortly (if remedie be not prouided) betterly ouerthrowe the Church. And therefore vnlesse good order bee in that whiche was broughte into the Church by Goperge: and confusion in that whiche was lefte vnto the Church by the Apostles, and that it be order, that publike actions shoulde be done in priuate places by priuate persons, and by women that is appoynted to be done by men, and confusion when the contrarie is obserued: and finally, vnlesse order haue another definition or nature, than hitherto hath ben read or hearde of, there is no cause why this doctrine which concerneth the discipline and gouernment of the Church, should be thus shamefully slandered, with confusion and disorder.

*Jo. Whitgife.*

It will fall out I thinke, that your opinions now in question, tende in deede to confusion: respect neither tyme, place, nor persons: confounde degrees, bring such in contempt as be in authoritie: make the ignorant subiect loftie, & arrogant, take from Princes their due authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters: when as present experience and the peace and quietnesse of this Church, since the beginning of the Queenes Maiesties reigne (vntill you and your companie began to broache these youre fantasies) declareth, that the doctrine mainteyned by those whome you counte as your aduersaries, is most agreeable to order, preserueth peace, keepeth euery man in his degree and calling. And truly if the gouernment of the Church nowe allowed by publike authoritie, be compared with your new deuised policie, the difference of them both will easily appere. For I pray you tel me, how many of you which haue bin permitted as preachers in seuerall places, haue consented in one kinde of gouernment, nay, which of you haue not troubled, not onely the Towne where you haue remained, but the whole Countrey reunde about also: so that vndoubtedly though you be not Anabaptists (as I hope you be not) yet doth this propertie of theirs most aptly agree vnto you that wheresoeuer you come, you make contention, and kindle the fire of Discorde, take it as you list, experience doth teache it to be so,

Whether we confounde the Pastors office with the Deacons or no, otherwyse than it hath bene in the Apostles time, and primatiue Church: whether priuate men

A.ij.

women,

Wherevnto their opinions tend.

The admonitors agree not in their gouernment.



women, ciuill or Ecclesiasticall persons, doe more than they ought to doe or no, to be short, whether order according to the true nature and definition thereof be obserued or no, I shall haue better occasion hereafter to discusse. Now my meaning is to answer words with wordes, although in no such deriding and opprobrious maner.

The Epist. of T.C., Sect. 4.

For the thirde poynt which is, that it is an enemie to Magistrates, and the common welch: if it be enough to accuse without prooffe, saye, and to shewe no reason, innocencie it selfe shall not be guiltlesse. This doctrine was in tymes past, euen by their confession, which wrote agaynst it, a friend vnto Princes and Magistrates, when Princes and magistrates were enemies vnto it: And can it now be an enemie vnto Princes and magistrates, which are friends vnto it? It helped and upheld the common wealths, which were gouerned by tyrantes, and can it hynder those, which are gouerned by godly Princes? And in what is it an enemie to Princes and magistrates? Note the variance, set betwene the enimitie. If the question be, whether Princes and Magistrates bee necessarie in the Church, it holdeth, that the vse of them is more than of the Sunne, without the whiche the worlde can not stande. If it bee of theyr honoure, it holdeth, that with humble submission of mynde, the outwarde also of the bodie, yea the bodie it selfe, and all that it hath, if neede so require, are to be yeldd, for the defence of the Prince, and for that seruice, for the whiche the Prince will vse them vnto, for the glorie of God, and mayntenance of the Common wealth.

Io. Whitgife.

These be but gloriuous wordes, the truth wherof shall appeare, when we come to the more particular declaration of the seuerall poyntes: and if wee accuse without prooffe, say and shewe no reason, take youre remedie agaynst vs as flaunderers, and bring vs to our triall. In dede the doctrine of the Gospell, which is the doctrine of saluation, hath ben, is, and will be a friend to Princes and Magistrates, yea though they persecute the same: But you haue not yet proued your doctrine now in question, to be that doctrine of the Gospell & of saluation. These wordes might wel haue ben spoken of the Gospell against Paganisme, Iudaisme, Papisme, but you doe iniurie to that doctrine of Iyfe, when you confounde with the same your erroneous contentions about ceremonies, and the kinde of government, whiche all being externall things, I thinke not many will make them to be *de necessitate salutis*, of necessitie vnto saluation. you haue here sayde nothing of your doctrine, but that whiche the Arrians, the Pelagians, the Papistes, the Turkes, yea almoste the Anabaptistes will say of theirs: for many euen of the Anabaptistes confesse, that Magistrates be necessarie, but yet not to be lawfull for Christians to be Magistrates: and for prooff therof they vse diuers of the self same places that the Admonition hath alleaged (and you allowed) agaynst superiortie in the clergie. And (except I be deceyued) you come verie neere to them, for you will haue the Ecclesiasticall and ciuill gouernment so distincte, that they can by no meanes concurre in one and the selfe same persons: wherby you take from the Ciuil Magistrate authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters, and by that meanes spoyle him of the one halfe of his iurisdiction. But of this matter more at large hereafter as occasion shall be ministred by you. In the meane tyme, I admonishe the Reader to beleue youre wordes no farther than he shall see iust prooffe of them.

T.C.

If it be asked of the obedience due vnto the Prince, and vnto the Magistrate, it answereth that all obedience in the Lorde, is to be rendred: and if it come to passe, that any other be asked, it so refuseth that it disobeyeth not, in preferring obedience to the greate God, before that whiche is to be giuen to mortall man. It so resplyeth, that it submitteth the bodie and goodes of those that professe it, to abyde that whiche God will haue them suffer in that case.

Io. Whitgife.

All this is truly spoken of the doctrine of the Gospell, but not of the doctrine in controuersie amongst vs: and verily this is not plaine dealing, to make the reader beleue that we doe withstande the doctrine of the Gospell, when we only resist your contentions about externall matters, wherby the doctrine of the Gospell is hindered, and the Church of Christ disturbed.



T.C.

And if it be shewed, that this is necessarie for the Church, it can not be but profitable for the common wealth: nay the profit of it may easily appeare, for that by the censures and discipline of the Church, as they are in this booke described, men are kept back from committing of great disorders, of stealing, adulterie, murder, &c. whylest the smaller faults of lying and vncomely iesting, of harde and cholerike speeches, which the magistrate doth not commonly punish, be corrected.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

If it be necessarie for the present state of the Church, it is also profitable for the present state of the common welth: for I perceiue no such distinction of the common wealth & the church, that they should be counted as it were two seuerall bodies gouerned with diuers lawes & diuers Magistrates, except the Church be linked with an heathenish & idolatrous common wealth. The ciuill Magistrate may not take vpon him such Ecclesiastical functions as are only proper to the Minister of the Church, as preaching of the worde, administering of the Sacramentes, excommunicating, and suche lyke, but that he hath no authoritie in the Church, to make and execute lawes for the Church, and in things pertaining to the Church, as Discipline, Ceremonies, &c. (so that he do nothing agaynst the worde of God) though the Papistes affirme it neuer so stoutely, yet is the contrarie moste true, and sufficiently proued by men of notable learning, as Maister Iewell Bishop of Salisburie, Maister Hozne Bishop of Winchester, Maister Polwell Deane of Paules, in their bookes written agaynst Papistes holding your assertion, to whose painefull and learned writings I referre the Reader, for the auoyding of too muche prolixitie.

What ecclesiastical functions the ciuill Magistrate may not take vpon him.

I doe not well vnderstande what is mente by these wordes, Maye the profite of it maye easily appeare, for that by the censures and discipline of the Church, as they are in this booke described, men are kepte backe from committing of greater disorders of stealing, adulterie, murder, &c. whylest the smaller faultes, of lying, and vncomely iesting, of harde and cholerike speeches, whiche the Magistrate dothe not commonly punish, be corrected: Doe you not thinke the punishmente for stealing, and murder, to be sharpe enough? or doe you thynke that the feare of the Discipline of the Church will moze terrifie men from these vices, than the feare of deathe? Or doe you doubt whether the Ciuill Magistrate hath Authoritie to appoynte anye other punishmente for these and suche lyke crimes, than is prescribed in the Iudiciall Lawe of Moyses: For this is now called in controuersie, and begynneth to be table talke: or are you perswaded, that the Ciuill Magistrate eyther maye not, or will not correcte lying, vncomely iesting, harde and cholerike speeches? Or that if these were punished by the Discipline of the Church, men woulde rather be terrified from the greater crimes, than they will be if they be punished with ciuill correction? Truly I thinke that the ciuill Magistrate hath sufficient authoritie to prouide remedies for all suche mischieues, without altering the state, eyther of the church, or of the common wealth. But let the indifferent Reader iudge, whether you goe aboute to wryng the sword out of the Magistrates hand or no: or at the least, so to order the matter, that it be neuer drawne out to punish vice, but with the consent and at the appoyntment of you and your seignorie.

T.C.

And vndoubtedly, seeing that the church and common wealth, doe embrace and kisse one another, & seeing they be like vnto Hypocrates twinnes which were sick together & wel together, langed together, and weped together, and alwayes lyke affected: it can not be, but that the breaches of the common wealth, haue proceeded from the hurts of the Church, and the wants of the one, from the lackes of the other: Neither is it to be hoped for, that the common wealth shal flourish, vntill the Church be reformed.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

All this I grant (and God be thanked therfore) if we shal measure the state of the church, with the flourishing estate & wise gouernment of the common wealth, we shall haue no great cause to complaine, but to burste oute into moste hartie thankes vnto God for the same, and most humbly desire the continuance therof.

A. iij.

I doe



The rule of  
T.C. retur-  
ned against  
himselfe.

I do not say that the Church is without fault, for then should I affirme an impossibilitie, but I thinke the faultes that are, rather to be in the persons, than in the lawes, rather in the gouernours, than in the kinde of gouernment: neyther woulde I haue men (eyther Puritanes, Donatistes, or Anabaptists) to dreame of such a Church, as Plato did of a Common wealth, Aristotle of felicitie, and the Stoicks of their iuste man: muche lesse to make contention in the Church, or deuide themselves from the same, if al things go not according to their fantasie: for then shal they neuer be quiet with any Church, no not long with that Church, which they themselves do presently best lyke of. Surely if this rule be certaine, that the Common wealth shal not flourish vntill the Church be reformed, then this may be a good token vnto vs, that this Church of Englande is reformed, because the Common wealth doth flourish. Neither doe I speake this to flatter the Magistrates, and to sewe quillions vnder their elbows (as it please some to reporte) but I speake it before God, I speake it as I thinke: and the rather I vtter it, to deliuer both the state of the Church, and also of the common wealth of Englande, from the vnthankfull, vnnaturall, and slanderous tongues of such as seeke to deface and depaue them both.

I will not defend the vice, the negligence, the securitie of any man, I shal be as bolde and as readie to tel euen the best thereof in time and place (as occasion is ministered, and my duetie shal require) as any of those shal be, which woulde seeme to be farthest from all kinde of flatterie.

T.C.

And it is also certaine, that as the Church shal euery daye more and more decay, vntill it be made euen with the ground, onlesse the walles be builded, & the ruines repaired: So the weight of it (if it fal) will either quite pull downe the Common wealth, or leaue it such as none whiche feare God will take any pleasure in it. For seeing Salomon sayeth, that by wisdom (whiche is the worde of God) Kings doe gouerne, and Princes doe beare rule: it can not be, but as that wisdom is eyther contemned, or neglected, or otherwys abridged of hir free and full course, so Princes and Magistrates, and consequently their common wealthes, eyther goe to wrack, or decay, or at the least, want so muche of the flourishing estate, as there wanteth of that word of God which he hath appoynted to be their stay. And howsoeuer (before the coming of our Sauoure Christ) amongst the Athenians, Lacedemonians, and Romanes, and since his coming in byuers places where this wisdom hath not ben heard of, there may seme to haue bin some shewes of eyther flourishing, or tollerable common wealths, yet neyther haue those endured, but according to the prophetic of Daniell, haue bene broken all to peeces: so that there is not so much of them left, as a sheard to fetch fyre in: neyther yet can those kingdomes whiche haue the knowledge of the Gospell reuealed vnto them, looke for that long suffering and patience of God towards them, wherewith those ignorant kingdomes haue ben bozne with. For as the benefite is greater towards these, than towards the other, so is the iudgement swifter against them, than against the other: if that grace which was not offered vnto them (being offered vnto these) bee refused, and made light of. And in these especially is, and shal be fulfilled that whiche the Prophet Esay saith, that it shal be in the later days that euery nation and kingdom, which shal not serue the Church, shal be destroyed. As of the other syde, the full and whole placing of our sauour Christe in his throne, is the perpetuall stay, and stayed perpetuall of all Princes in theyr seates.

### Io. Whitgifte.

All this is true, for if any nation shall refuse the word of God offered vnto it, or not suffer Christ wholly to be placed in his throne, no doubt God will poure vpon that nation his plagues, as he hath done vpon al other that haue runne into the same contempt. But would you make your reader beleue, that bycause this Church of England doth not admit your kind of gouernment, therefore the walles of it be broken, the word of God contemned, and Christe not suffered wholly to be placed in his throne: We admit the Gospell wholly, and in gouernments the magistrates take vpon them no office only proper to Christ, neyther yet any authoritie which is not by the word of God limited vnto them. These wordes might aptly haue bin spoken if you had written against the state of the Church in Fraunce, or any such like kingdom as refuse the Gospell offered vnto it, and most cruelly persecuteth the true professors of the same. I do not excuse such in the Church of England as contemne the word of God, neither do I iustify the whole Church for not receiuing the Gospell offered, by bringing forth the frutes thereof as it ought to do: But I exhort euery mā, from the highest to the lowest, euen in the bowells of Iesus Christ, to haue a better regard



regard therunto, least it be sayd vnto vs, as it is sayd vnto the Church of Ephesus, *Apoc. 2. Sed habeo aduersum te, quod charitatem tuam pristinam.* &c. I haue some thing against thee, bycause thou hast forsaken thy former loue. &c. And to the Hebrewes. 6: For the earth which drinketh in rayne that commeth ofte vpon it, and bringeth forth herbes meete for them by whome it is dressed, receiueb blessing of God. But that which beareth thornes and briars, is reprobued, and is neere vnto cursing, whose ende is to be burned. For surely euen these contentions stirred vp in the Church where the Gospell is truly preached, are argumentes that we be voyde of loue and peace, the chiefe and principall tokens and frutes of the Gospell.

## T C.

And therfore if this booke shall come into the handes of any, that haue access vnto hir Maestie, the head of this common wealth, or vnto hir most honorable counsaile, the shoulders thereof, my humble lute and heartie request, in the presence of God is, that according as their callings will suffer them, they will put them in remembrance of these things, which otherwise they know better than I, and that they would set before them the example of Moses, who was not contented to haue brought the people out of Egypt, but would verie faine also, haue conducted them into the lande of Canaan, that is, would gladly haue bene the instrument of the full and whole deliuerance of the people. And seeing that the Lord doth offer them this honour which he denied vnto his seruant Moses, that they would not make themselves guiltie of so greate vnthankfulness, as will folowe of the forsaking of so incomparable a benefite. That hir Maestie especially, and hir most honorable counsaile, would sette before them the example of Dauid, who although he made a great reformation of those things which were defaced by Saul, yet he was not content, that the Arke of the Lord should dwel vnder a Tabernacle, and therfore desired maruelously, that he might buyld the temple vnto the Lord. And seeing that the Lord hath graunted vnto them which he denied vnto his seruant, that they would not be narrow and straight in themselves, seeing the Lord openeth the treasures of his goodnesse so largely vnto them. That they would set before them the zeale of Zerubbabel, who although he had (after the returne out of captiuitie) abolished idolatrie, layde the foundations of the Temple, and set vp an altar vnto God, whereupon the morning and euening sacrifice was dayly made: yet being admonished by the Prophete Aggey, that God would not be pleased, unless the Temple also were fully buylded, did (all feare of the nations round about, and other busynesse layde asyde) cause it forthwith, and with all possible speede to be made an ende of. Finally, that it would please them to consider the examples of Josias, Ezechias, and Jehoshaphat, who are therfore, to their euertlasting commendation praised of the holie Ghoste, for that they made whole, and thorough reformatiōs, where as the honour of other some (albeit they were otherwise good) is stayned, and taryeth the marke of their imperfection, by this and like exception, that although they did suche good things, and such, yet they left also suche and suche vndoone.

\* T. C. maketh greater accōpts of the gouernēt than of the Gospell it selfe, for he likeneth the state of this Church, to the wandring in the wilderness.

\* That is, they suffered manifest idolatrie: wherewith you can by no means charge this Church of Englande, and therefore your application is vniſe.

## Io. Whitgiste.

And why is not hir Maestie the head of this Church also, as wel as of this common wealth? For I must giue thee to vnderstande (good Reader) that T. C. maketh the Church, and the common wealth two such distinct and seuerall bodies, as must of necessity, haue distinct and seuerall magistrates and gouernors, and that the Ciuill magistrate hath not to medle in Ecclesiasticall matters, excepte his aide be required by the Pastor and Seigniorie, or suche lyke cases, wherein he flatly ioyneith with the Papistes, who say, that the ciuill Magistrate hath only *Potestatem facti*, and not *Iuris*, that is, authoritie to execute suche things as they decre, but not authoritie to make any lawes in Ecclesiasticall matters. And least you should thinke that I faine this, consider the whole scope of his booke, and particularly his wordes before mencioned in this leafe, where as he accuseth the gouernment of this Church now in praimise of confusion, bycause ciuill matters are handled by Ecclesiasticall persons, and Ecclesiasticall matters by those which be ciuill, also that whiche he speaketh of this matter *ſc. 144. and Fo. 144. ſect. 2. 154.* and especially that which the second Admonition hath, *ſo. 8. 9. 57. 60.* I know not howe he coulde haue made a greater difference, betwixt the Church and the common wealth in those places where the Princes be enemies vnto the Church. In deed true it is, that in the Apostles tyme, Princes did not medle in causes Ecclesiasticall, except it were by persecuting, &c. For they were then infidels, not Christians, persecutors, not professors: And therfore if all ought of necessity to be reduced to the forme of gouernment vsed in the Apostles tyme, Christian Princes must be deliuered from that care, and be content to forgoe that portion of their authoritie. But heretofore in the

T. C. ioyneith with the Papistes concerning the authoritie of the ciuill Magistrate in ecclesiasticall matters.

*ſect. 3. Fo. 144. ſect. 2. Fol. 154. ſect. 123.*



due place, this I only here note, that you may the better consider the same in the perusing of his booke.

The rest of that which is conteyned in this parte, may haue some vse, if it bee rightly applyed: for goodly princes haue to followe such goodly examples, and to be diligent in reforming such things as are to be reformed, either in substance, circumstances or persons.

T.C.

Which I do not speake, as though we had not already, by his Maiestie especially, and afterwards by their honours hands receiued a singular benefyte, but that we hauing the whole myght haue our hearts and mouthes filled with the praise of God, and continue the possession of that which we haue, which otherwise for our vnthankfull refusall, shall be taken away. Wherein as we haue especial regard, that the name of God should be magnified, not by vs alone, but by our posteritie vnto the worlds end: So it is not the smallest part of our care, that his Maiestie and your honours, to whom we are so deeply bound, and of whom we haue receiued so singular benefytes of peace, and preaching of the Gospell, mighte with your successions continue and flourish amongst vs for ever: But the desire of reformation, and feare of Gods heauie wrath to come vpon vs, hath carried me further herein than I purposed. I will therefore make an end of these points, considering that the vntyruth of these accusations, of newnesse and straungenesse, of disorder and confusion, of beyng enemie to princes and common wealthes, shall better appeare in the discourse of this Booke.

Io. Whitgife.

These be smooth words to winne credite by: but they agree not with the rest of your booke, wherefore I doubt not but that they will be considered of accordingly. I would to God that you did in dede acknowledge that singular benefyte that you haue receiued by his Maiestie and their honours, then truly would you haue shewed your selfe more thankfull than you haue done, neither would you haue maintained libells which seeke vtterly to deface all that is done, as will manifestly hereafter by further examination appeare. Whatsoeuer accusations haue bin made of your doctrine, if they be not iustified, then let the authours of them suffer the shame. Surely you haue as slenderly answered these accusations hitherto, as may be.

The Epistle of T. C. Sect. 5. 6. 7.

Amongst the offences taken by occasiō of those, which preferre the doctrine, this is the cheefest, that comparison being made betwixt those excellent men, both in vertue and learning, which suffered for the testimonie of the truth, and betwixt vs, of the one side: Also betwixt the Archbishops, Bishops, Deanes, and Archdeacons, which now are, and vs on the other side: it seemeth vnto many that it is not like to be good, which was not found out by those excellent personages, and which being now propounded, by men of no great thew, is epyther misliked, or at the least, by no open approbation allowed, of those which carrie greater countenaunces, and be in greater dignities.

Unto the first, although answer is made more at large, in this booke, yet I will adde thus much, that as for my part, I confesse my selfe, to be a great deale inferioure vnto the least of them: so the omitting of these necessarie things, ought to be no more prejudice against them, or against those that preferre them, than the omitting of the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles, so many hundred yeares, by so many good high priests, in the raignes of so many good kings, was prejudiciall vnto the ministers, which caused it to bee celebrated, when the people returned out of their captiuitie: for it appeareth in the booke of Nehemias, that the feast of Tabernacles, which was commaunded of the Lorde to be celebrated every yeare, was not celebrated from the days of Iosua, the sonne of Nun, vntill the returne of the people from their captiuitie. And yet were there in this space, byiers both iudges and kings, both priests and Prophets singularly zealous and learned.

If therefore the omitting of so necessary a thing, so many hundred yeares, by such goodly, zealous, learned persons, could not bring any prescription, against the truth: the lacke of this necessary discipline, by the space of 360 yeares, through the oversight of a few (if they be compared with that multitude) ought not to be alledged, to keepe it out of the Church.

Io. Whitgife.

Surely the inequalitye of the persons, and great difference betwixt them, both in godlynesse, zeale, learning, experience, and age, (though it seeme a small matter to some) yet it ought to be well considered: for it is well knowne, that the first sorte of men here mentioned, did excell in all those forenamed qualities, and haue continued in the same euen to the death: and the latter sort many of them singular in learning, zeale, wisdom, & experience, hauing also knowledge of other Churches reformed

more

8. Chap.



more than you (howsoever it pleaseth you and some of your companions vndutifully to contemne them) wherefore as I saide, this comparison is something, and not so lightly to be esteemed, as you would make the reader beleue. For my part I thinke the worse of you, bycause you thinke so well of your selues, that you dare be so bolde, as not onely to compare your selues with them, but to preferre your selues before them. As for this Humilitie, and abasing your selfe in saying, that you confesse your selfe to be a great deale inferiour to the least of them: He that will take paynes but to peruse your booke, shall easily vnderstand that you thinke nothing lesse. For truly your stile is so bigge and loftie, and your fauites such towards them and others, that a man would thinke you not only to haue cast off all modestie, but vtterly to haue forgotten all good manners, ciuilitie, and due tie. But it is Rhetoricke common to you with other of your companions, as appeareth in diuers places of the first Admonition, and in the second throughout the whole, which I would wish the reader to consider, that he may thereby partly know, and discerne your spirit.

But say you, the omitting of these necessarie things, ought to be no more preiudice agaynst them. Surely if you can proue that they haue omitted any thing expressely against the commaundement of God, then is it true that you say, but if you cannot do so, then do you vniustly charge these learned and godly martyrs. But what if you haue abused the place in the 8. Chapter of Nehemias? What if you vnderstand it not truly? What if there can be no suche thing gathered of it, as you would make the reader beleue? Shall I triumph ouer you and say that eyther you haue not read it, or you do not vnderstand it, or that you willingly and wittingly abuse it, or that you receiued it in some notes from others, as it pleaseth you to deale with me, when no such occasion is offered vnto you? I will not so requite you: But this only I say, that you haue not set downe the true sense of that place: For the meaning is not that the feasts of Tabernacles was not celebrated from the time of Iosua the sonne of Nun, vnto that day which was almost a thousand yeares, but that it was not celebrated in that manner, that is with such solemnitie, so great reioycing and gladnesse, as the very wordes them selues declare, both in the Hebrew, text and in the best translations. And so dothe Pellicane expounde that place, who saith, that these wordes since the time of Iosua the sonne of Nun. &c. be spoken in the respect of the greatnesse of the ioy which then happened to the people. Lyra also expoundeth the same place much after the same sort, and presupposeth nothing lesse, than that the feasts were omitted all this time: for he affirmeth that they were much more solemnly and with greater cost celebrated in the times of Dauid and Salomon: therefore, saith he, the comparison is *secundum quid*, & *proportionaliter* (for I vse hys wordes) bycause in all this time sithence Iosua, it is not read, that the people were so generally gathered together in Hierusalem, as we reade in the beginning of this Chapter that they were at this time: and againe he saith that it was more for the people newly returned from captiuitie, to celebrate suche a feast with that solemnitie, than it was to mightie kings and people being in prosperitie, and setled in a kingdome, to celebrate the same day with much more cost and solemnitie. I might alledge other expositiōs to the same effect: neyther haue I read any that doth expound that place otherwise.

The like kind of speech we haue. 2. Reg. 23. where it is said. That there was no passouer holden like that (which Iosias helde) from the dayes of the Iudges, that iudged Israell, nor in all the days of the kings of Israell, and the kings of Iuda: which is only spoken in respect of the multitude, and zeale of the people, with the great preparation: and not bycause the passouer was not all this time celebrated. The like is also vsed. 2. Chro. 30. vers. 26. euen so it is in this place: for there is no doubt, but that the feast of Tabernacles was celebrated both in Dauid and Salomons time: and it is manifest that it was celebrated not long before this time, as it is in plaine wordes expresse. 1. Esra. cap. 3. vers. 4. wherefore I might make much ado at this oversight of yours, or rather wilfull deprauing of the scriptures, if I were delighted with that kind of confuting. But though my learning be small, and that I am ignorant both of Logicke and Philosophie, and haue read so little in Diuinitie, and you so mightie a man in the Scriptures, and so profound in all kind of knowledge, as you perswade your selfe to be, yet you

The feast of Tabernacles was not so long omitted.

The true interpretation of the place, alledged out of the 8. of Nehemias. Pellican in 8. Nebe.

Lyra in 8. Nebe.

2. Reg. 23.

2. Chro. 30. 26.

1. Esra. cap. 3. vers. 4.



you must be content here to be admonished of me, that you haue abused this place, and that it serueth not for your turne, to proue those godly men, which suffered martyrdom in Queene Maries time, to haue permitted any thing in this Church of Englande (after it was reformed) expressely contrary to the commaundement and word of God, as you vntruly report, So many good high prestes in the reygnes of so many good kings, so many hundred years to haue omitted the feastes of Tabernacles, expressely by God commaunded. Although I do not denie, but suche men also may sometimes be ouersene in some points, but neither can you proue that they were deceiued in any substantiall point of doctrine, neither yet if they were, is this place aptly or truly alleadged.

### The Epistle of T. C. Sect. 8.

The dignitie also, and high estate of those, which are not so earnest in this cause, can not hinder it, if we consider, the wisdom of God, almost from time to time, to consist, and to shew it selfe most in setting forth his truth, by the simpler, and weaker sort, by contemptible, and weake instruments, by things of no valew, to the end, that whē al men see the basenesse, and rudenesse of the instrument, they might the more wonder at the wisdom, and power of the artificer, which with so weake, and foolish instruments, bringeth to passe so wise and mightie things. And if we will with such an eye of flesh, looke vpon matters, they shal condemne that excellent reformation, made vnder the Godly king Iosias, which the holy Ghost doth so highly comēd: In which it is witnessed, that the (1) Leuites, which were a degree vnder the prestes, were more forward, and more zelous, than the prestes themselves. Yea wherein it is witnessed, that the people were yet more earnest, and more willing, than either the Leuites, or the prestes, which thing, if euer, is bereft in our time.

For whē (2) I consider the zeale for religion which sheweth it selfe in many, as well of the nobilitie, and gentrie of this realme, as of the people, their care to continue it, and aduance it, their voluntary charges to mainteine it, their liberalitie towards them, which bend themselves that way, as I do thereby conceiue some hope, of the fanorable countenance, and continuance of Gods goodnesse towards vs: So I cannot be but ashamed of mine owne slacknesse, and afraid of the displeasure of the Lord, for that those whose proper worke this is especially, and which shoulde beare the standard, and carrie the torch vnto the rest, are so cold, and so carelesse in these matters of the Lord.

### Io. Whitgifte.

I knowe none among vs, which in the respect of his dignitie, and high estate, seeketh or desireth to be preferred or beleued before you, but in the respect of the cause, which is the peace of the Church, suppression of schismes, and the truth it selfe. No man denieth but God of his wisdom in the beginning of the Church of Christ, poured out his gifts more plenteously vpon the simpler, contemptible and weaker sorte, and that he choosed for his Apostles fishermen, tollegatherers, and ignorant persons, lest that shoulde be ascribed to the wit, eloquence, and learning of man, which cometh only of the goodnesse, might, and power of God, as the Apostle plainly declareth. 1. Cor. 1. 2. But will you therefore conclude, that truth, zeale, and godlinesse remaineth either only or especially in the simple, rude, and ignorant sort: and make thys your conclusion, the learned, the honorable, men of great countenance or knowledge be of this or that opinion, Ergo it is not true: Or the simple, rude, and ignorant people are thus and thus perswaded, Ergo they must be followed, or to the like effect: We rely this were to reason as the Franciscan friers do to excuse their ignorance: Apostoli nesciebant literas, ergo Franciscanis non est opus literis. And like some other phantastical persons also, which thinke that no learned, rich, or honorable man shall be saued, but only beggers, and such as be ignorant, as master Qualter testifieth in his commentaries vpon. 1. Cor. 1.

You know (as I suppose) that this place of the. 1. Cor. 1. quoted in your margent, doth not gather any suche conclusion, that therefore the doctrine is not true, by cause Princes, nobles, wise and learned men &c. do allow of it: or therefore it is true, by cause it pleaseth the simple, rude, and ignorant people. For Nicodemus, Ioseph, Lazarus Betha: Sergius Paulus, Dionisius Areopagita, Crispus, Gaius, Erastus, with diuers others, were politique, wise, welthy, learned, and honorable men: and the Prophet Esay saith. That kings and Queenes shall be the nursing fathers and mothers, the defenders and maintainers of the Church. And Bullinger in his commentaries vpon thys

\* Iosias is here alleadged for Ezechias.

(1.) This place is not right interpreted.

(2.) A manifest flatterie, and the scripture abused to colour it.

God vseth not the simple only, or alwayes to set forth his truth.

Gual. in 1. Cor.

1. bom. 7.

Esa. 49.

1. Cor. 1.

2. Chro.

29. Chap.

2. Chro.

30. Chap.



this place doth thus expounde it: He speaketh of the first calling especially, wherein fishermen and Idiots were especially called to the preaching of the Gospell. For no man can denie, but that after the Gospell was confirmed in the world, the best learned imbraced the truth. For first shepherds declared that Christ was borne: then the *Magi*, that is, the wise men of the East, came to salute him with gifts. **Wherefore I pray you let not the wealth, calling, or dignitie which you thinke we haue, preiudice our cause.** The simple and plaine meaning of the place is, that God in his electing to eternall life, hath neyther respect to nobilitie, learning, riches, or any such thing.

I might heere againe trippe you for alleadging Josias in stead of Ezechias, and say that you had not read the Scriptures, or that you used other mens notes, and so dallie with you, as you vse to do with others: But I will leaue such kind of gibes to bzaibling Sophisters in the schooles, & thinke that it was some light oversight, which in such a case may sometimes happen to him that is most circumspect.

Your collection vpon that place. 2. Chro. 29. and. 30. I can not as yet allowe, vntill I be better instructed therein: for whereas you saye that it is there witnessed that the Levites which were a degree vnder the Priestes were more forward and more zelous than the Priestes themselves, and the people more earnest and more willing than epyther the Levites or the Priestes: I see not how you can gather any suche thing out of either of these two Chapters: for if there be any sentence to gather it of in the. 29. Chap. it is the. 34. verse: which although in some translation, it seeme to insinuate some such thing, yet if credite may be giuen to those that be notable learned men, and very wel scene in the Hebrew tong, the meaning of that place is nothing lesse. *Dellicane* translateth the words thus: *Leuita quippe faciliori ritu sanctificantur quam sacerdotes*: For the Levites were sooner or easier sanctified than the priests which he expoundeth more plainly in his commentaries, saying: *Intelligitur sacerdotum numerum imminutum fuisse.* &c. It is to be vnderstanded that the number of the priests was diminished whiche should haue sufficed for to prepare the sacrifices, and therefore they desired the help of the Levites, that all things might be done more diligently: there was also another cause of the Levites helpe, for the sanctifying of the temple, and the preparation of the sacrifice was so suddainly commaunded, that many of the priestes had not time to sanctifie themselves according to the lawe, which required a certaine space for the same, and the Levites might be sanctified with lesse adoo, and in shorter time. And surely even the very circumstances of the place dothe proue this to be the true vnderstanding of it: For these be the words that immediately go before. But the priests were too few and were not able to sleay all the burnt offerings, therefore their brethren the Levites did help them, vntill they had ended the worke, and vntill other priests were sanctified.

Your second assertion that is, that the people were yet more earnest, and more willing than epyther the Levites or the priests. I thinke is grounded vpon the. 15. verse of the. 30. Chapter, which is this: Afterward they slew the passouer the foureteene day of the second moneth: and the priests and Levites were ashamed, and sanctified them selues, and broughte the burnt offerings into the house of the Lord. Truly I see not how you can collect any such thing out of these words: I know that some do gather such a note of that place, But I do not vnderstand the reason of it. Howsoever it be, and howsoever you abuse the scriptures to iustify your selues, I doubt not but that a greate number of those, whome you contemne and seeke to deface, do presently, and will to their liues ende, shewe that zeale of religion, that diligence in their calling, that vprightnesse in conuersation which becommeth them, and whiche they are well assured pleaseeth God: neyther do I in so saying condemne the godly zeale of any, but I admonish all to take heede of a preposterous and affectionated zeale, such as is spoken of in the. 30. Page of the second edition of my answer to the Admonition.

### The Epistle of T. C. Sect. 9.

And I humbly craue, and most earnestly desire of those which beare the cheefe titles in the ecclesiasticall functions, that as we do in part correct our negligence by the example of the forwardnesse, and redinesse of the people, so they would suffer themselves to be put in remembrance of their duties



dueties by vs which are vnderneath them, and that they would not neglect this golden gift of gods grace, in admonishing them, because the Lord doth offer it in a treane or earthen vessel, but that they would first consider, that as Naaman the Syrtian prince, receiued great commoditie, by following the aduice of his mayd, and after, of his man: And Abigail being a wise woman, singular profite, by obeying the counsell of hir seruant: so they may receiue oftentimes profitable aduertisement, by those which are in lower places than they themselves be. Then let them thinke, that as Naaman was neuerthelesse noble, for obeying the voice of his seruants; nor Abigail neuerthelesse wise, because she listned vnto the wordes of hir man, so it cannot diminish their true honoure, nor impair the credite of their godly and vncounterfayt wisdom, if they giue care vnto that, which is spoken by their inferiours.

### Io. Whitgiste.

This humilitie appeareth to be counterfayt by the opprobrious speeches, and great contempt that you shew towards them in the rest of this booke.

What diligence you are prouoked vnto, by the forwardnesse and redinesse of the people, I know not, but enery man may see you are ready to shake off your calling vpon every light occasion: Neither will you preach in those places where the Gospel hath not bin so well planted, but there only you loyter, where there is lesse need, and where you easily may make sturres, and moue contention, as experience sufficiently teacheth.

I know none, no not of the best, that refuseth to heare either you or any other modestly admonishing, neither haue you any cause hereof to complaine, but your stomackes are such, and your arrogancie so great, that you passingly abuse your selues toward those, to whom indeede you ought to reuerence, and with all duty obey.

I maruell that you will confesse yourselve to be vnderneath them, seing you so cry out against superiortie in the clergie, and claime such interest in equalitie: but I may not stand in answering wordes.

### The Epistle of T. C. Sect. 10.

And last of all, that as, if they had not listned vnto those simple persons, the one had perished in his leprosie, the other had bin slayne, with his familie: euen so, if they shall for any worldly respect of honoure, riches, or feare of being accounted, either vnadvised in taking this course, or light, or inconstant, in forsaking it, stop their eares against this louing admonition of the Lord, they prouoke his anger, not against their health, or against their life, but against their owne soules, by exercising of vnlawfull authoritie, and by taking vnto them partly such things, as belong by no meanes vnto the Church, and partly which are common vnto them, with the whole Church, or else with other the ministers, and gouernours of the same: whereof I beseeche them humbly to take the better heed, for that the iudgement of the Lord will be vpon a great part of them, by so much the heavier, by how much, they haue not only beleened the Gospel, but also haue receiued this grace of god, that they should suffer for it. So that if they will neither take example of diuers their superiours the nobles of this realme, nor be admonished by vs, of the lower sorte (wherein we hope better of them) yet they would remember their former times, and correct themselves, by themselves, and seing they haue bin content, for the Gospels sake to quit the necessaries things of this life, they would not thinke much, for the discipline, which is no small part of the Gospel (hauing both things necessary and commodious) to part from that, which is not only in them superfluous, and hath nothing but a vaine ostentation (which will banish as the shadow) but also is hurtfull vnto them, and pernicious vnto the Church, which thing I do more largely, and plainly lay forth in this Booke.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Surely if they do for any suche respects refuse any admonition giuen vnto them, for the auoyding of such things as be vnlawfull, and as they vniustly retaine, then no doubt they are worthy of great reprehension: but if your Admonition be not louing, but spitefull, not brotherly, but vchristian, nay no Admonition in deede, but a very scolding and vncharitable rayling, if the thinges you would haue them forsake, be bothe lawfull and conueniente for them to vse, and contrariwise the thinges that you moue them vnto, tend to confusion, and overthrow of the Gospel, and of the state (as they do) then truly haue they to consider of such disturbers of the peace of the Church, and according to their office and duty prouide a conueniente remedy for them: knowing that it is the extreame refuge of Satan, when by other meanes he cannot, then to seeke the overthrow of the Gospel, thorow contention about externall things.

The

This is glorious talke builded vpon a false ground.

Ro  
1, C



The Epist. of T. C. Sect. II.

In other exception against the fauozers of this cause, is taken for that they propounded it out of time, which is that the Jewes said, that the time was not yet come to builde the Lords house: but it is knowne what the Prophet answered. And if no time wer vnseasonable, in that kind of material building, wherin there be some times (as of sommer) more opportune and fit than others: how can there be any vntimely building, in this spiritual house, where, as long as it is called to day, men are commanded to further this worke. And as for those which say, we come to late, & that this shoulde haue bin done in the beginning, and can not now be done without the overthrow of all, for mending of a peece: they do little consider, that S. Paule compareth that which is good in the building vnto golde, and siluer, and precious stones, and that which is euill, layde vpon the foundation, vnto stubble and hey, and woode. Likewise therfore as the stubble, & the hey, & the wood be easily by the fyre consumed, without any losse vnto the gold, or siluer, or precious stones: so the corrupt thynges in this building, may be easily taken away, without any hurt or hinderance vnto that which is pure, and sounde. And if they put such confidence in this similitude, as that they will thereby without any testimonie of the worde of God, stay the further building, or correcting the faultes of the house of the Lord (which by his manifest commaundement ought to be done with all speede) then besides that they be verie vncunning builders, which can not mende the faults without overthrow of all (especially when as the fault, is not in the foundation) they must remember, that as the mean, which is vsed to gather the children of God, is called a building, so it is called a planting. And therfore as dead twigs, riotous or superfluous branches, or what soeuer hindereth the growth of the vine tree, may be cut of, without rooting vp the vine: so the vnprofitable thynges of the Church may be taken away without any overthrow of those thynges which are wel established. And seeing that Christ and Beliall can not agree, it is strange, that the pure doctrine of the one, and the corruptions of the other, should cleaue so fast together, that pure doctrine can not be with hir safetie, severed from the corruptions, when as they are rather lyke vnto that parte of Daniels image, which was compounded of claye and iron, and therfore coude not cleaue or sticke one with an other.

Jo. Whitgiste.

They did not only propound it out of time, (after the Parliament was ended) but out of order also, that is in the maner of a libell, with false allegations and applications of the Scriptures, opprobrious speeches, and slaunders: not to refozme, but to defoyme the Church, and to confound al. The rest in this part is *Petitio principij*, the petition of the principle, for you take that as confessed & true, which will not be graunted vnto you, as shall moze at large hereafter appeare.

The Epistle of T. C. Sect. II.

Rom. 12.  
2. Cor. 10.

It is further sayd, that the letters forward of this cause are contentious, and in moving questions giue occasion to the Papistes of slaundering the religion, and to the weake, of offence. But if it be founde to be both true which is propounded, and a thing necessarie about which we contende, then hath this accusation no ground to stand on: For peace is commended to vs, with these conditions, if it be possible, if it lye in vs. Now it is not possible, it lyeth not in vs to conceale the truth, we can doe nothing against it, but for it. It is a prophane saying, of a prophane man, that an vniust peace, is better than a iust warre. It is a diuine saying of an heathen man: *ἀγαθὸν ἔστιν ἰσθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς*: It is good to contend for good things. The Papistes haue no matter of reioycing, seing they haue greater & sharper controuersies at home, and seing this tendeth both to the further opening of theyr shame, and thrusting out of their remnants, which yet remaine among vs. The weake may not be offended, considering that (euen in the Church of God, and among those of the Church) there hath bene as greate varieties of iudgements, as these are. For what weightier controuersies can there be, than whether we shall ryle agayne or no, whether circumcision were necessarie to be obserued of those which beleue? And yet the spiste was amongst the Church of the Corinthians, the other was first in Hierusalem and Antioche and after in the Churches of Galatia, and yet they the Churches, and that the true religion which was there professed.

These were offences, but woe to the authors.

Io. Whitgiste.

It is very true, and sufficiently proued in that Answer to the Admonition, that the author's thereof be contentious, and giue occasion to the Papistes of slaundering the religion professed, and to the weake of offence. For whosoever troubleth the peace of the Church, or deuide themselves from the Church for externall thynges, they be contentious: but these men doe so, therefore they be contentious: the maior proposition is grounded vpon the wordes of Saincte Paule. 1. Corinthy. 8. 9. and 10. but especiall ye vpon these wordes of the 11. Chapter. If anye bee



Bullinger.

Zuinglius de  
baptis.  
Zuingl. in  
ecclesiast.

contentious, we haue no suche custome, neyther the Churches of God. Whereas he pur-  
posely speaketh of such, as be contentious for externall matters: whereupon that is  
grounded that Bullinger saith: That those be contentious, which trouble and deuide the  
church for externall things. And that also, whiche Zuinglius in his booke *de baptismo*, spea-  
king of contentious Anabaptistes, writeth: They goe about innouations of their owne  
private anothoritie in those Churches where the Gospell is truly taught, and that in externall  
things. And in his *Ecclesiastes* he calleth them authours of contentions, and troublers of  
the church, which strue about externall matters. And surely this is an euident token that  
the accusation is true, because they and their companions (for the moste parte) make  
contention wheresoeuer they come, and especially in those places where the Gospell  
hath with most diligence bin taught, as experience sufficiently proueth. Furthermore  
the time and maner of publishing their pamphlets, argueth y same most euidently.

The truth and necessitie of those things for the which they contend, rest as yet in  
triall. Surely if they be matters necessarie to saluation, then is there some iust cause  
of breking the peace of the Church for them, but if they be matters of no such weight,  
then can you not excuse eyther your selfe, or them.

In deed the Papists haue no iust matter of reioycing, for they disagree both in me-  
also in far greater matters than these be, even in y chiefest points of their religion: but  
this is no sufficient excuse for vs, we may not disagree in truth, because they disagree  
in error. Neither ought the weak to be offended, because such contentions haue bin v-  
sual in the Church, as I haue also shewed in myne Epistle dedicatorie to the Church  
of England. But yet wee be vnto those by whome suche offences come.

T.C.

And it is to be remembred that these controuersies, for the most part, are not betwene many.  
For sundry of those things which are comprehended in the answer to the Admonition, haue (as I am  
persuaded) few fanozers, of those especially, which are of any stayed, or sounder iudgement in y scrip-  
tures, and haue sene, or red of the gouernment, and order of other Churches: so that in deed (the fa-  
ther of that answer excepted) we haue this controuersie, oftentimes, rather with the Papistes, than  
with those whiche professe the Gospell, as we doe.

Jo. Whitgiste.

Certainly I do not willingly defend any thing against the word of God, or of mine  
owne private perswasion, but I haue either sufficient warrant of the worde of God, or  
some godly learned & zelous authors iudgement for the same. If I haue done otherwise  
I trust I shal heare of it in this booke: but I am fully perswaded that all men of stayed  
and sound iudgement, ioyned with me in these matters, & such especially as haue had  
the beste experience of the order and gouernment of other reformed Churches: for  
prooff whereof, I referre you to the wisest, godlyest, and best learned among the cler-  
gie in this lande.

T.C.

And where as last of all, it is sayde, that this proceedeth of enuie, of singularitie, and of popula-  
ritie, although these be no sufficient reasons agaynst the truth of the cause, whiche is neither enu-  
ous, singular, nor popular, and although they be such, as might be seuerally, by greate likelihoodes, &  
probabilities refuted: yet because the knowledge of these things, pertaineth only to God, which is the  
searcher of the heart & raynes, and for anoyding of to much tediousnesse, we will reffe in his iudge-  
ment, tary for the day wherein the secretes of hearts shal be made manifest. And yet all men doe see,  
how vniustly we be accused of singularitie, which propound nothing that the Scriptures doe not  
teache, the writers both olde and newe for the moste parte affirme, the examples of the Primitive  
Churches, and of those which are at these dayes confirme.

Io. Whitgiste.

Popularitie.

Singularitie,

and the pro-

perties therof.

Whether it procede of enuie or no, lette the manner bothe of their, and your wor-  
dings declare. Popularitie you can not auoyde, seeing you seeke so greate an equali-  
tie, committe so many things to the voyces of the people, and in sundrye places so  
greately magnifye and extoll them, than the whyche thre what can bee more po-  
pular? It is Singularitie to deuyde youre selfe from that Church, whiche  
dothe professe the worde of God truly, and is not to bee touched in any poynte  
of doctrine



of doctrine necessarie to saluation. It is true that a goodly learned writer sayth: Charitie knittes together, and reconcileth: singularitie cutteth in peeces, and diuideth: it is the beginning and roote of all heresie, to hate & contemne the comunion of the church. And a little after, There be some contentious persons whom no church can please, always hauing some thing to blame in other, but nothing in themselves, which is a manifest signe of singularitie. But because the myndes and affections of men, are certainly knowne only to God, the determinate iudgement hereof I also referre vnto him.

Musc. in. 16.  
Mat.

As for this bolde assertion, that you propound nothing that the scriptures doe not teach, &c. howe true it is, must hereafter by examination appeare.

The Epist. of T. C. Sect. 13.

All these accusations as wel against the cause, as the fauourers thereof, albeit they be many and diuers: yet are they no other, than which haue bin long sithens in the Prophets, apostles, & our saviour Christ, & now of late in our times objected against the truth, & the professors thereof. And therefore as y<sup>e</sup> summe of the truth then appered, & brake through al those clouds, which rose against it, to stop the sight of it: so no doubt this cause being of the same nature, wil haue the same effect. And as all those slanderers could not bring the truth in disgrace, with those y<sup>e</sup> loued it: so the children of y<sup>e</sup> truth through these vntrue reports, wil neither leaue the loue of this cause, which they haue already coe- uered, nor yet cease to enquire diligently, & to iudge indifferently of those surmises which are put vp against it.

T. C. and y<sup>e</sup> good  
anonym. Epist. p<sup>r</sup>  
y<sup>e</sup> 12. 21. of. 12.

Io. Whitgifte.

These be but words of course, which men of any sect (though not truly) wil apply vnto themselves, if they be otherwise delt with, than they can wel beare. The truth certainly can not be kept vnder by any meanes, and yet sometime erroz ouershadoweth the truth euen as the cloudes do the Sunn. My hope also is, that men will not be carried away with slanderous reportes (for if they shoulde, then muste you nedes pre- nayle) but with sounde reasons, and the truth of the cause.

The Epistle of T. C. Sect. 14.

Moreover, seeing that we haue once ouercōmed al these lets, & climed ouer them, when they were cast in our way, to hinder vs from cōming fro the grosse darknesse of Poperie, vnto y<sup>e</sup> glorious light of the Gospel: there is no cause why now they shuld stay our course to further perfection, considering that neither the stile is higher now, than it was before (being the very selfe same objections) & in all this time we ought so to haue grown in knowledge of the truth, that in stead of being then able to leape ouer a hedge, we shoulde now haue our feete so prepared by the Gospel, that they shoulde be as the feete of a hynde, able to surmount euen a wall if neede were.

Epist. m<sup>r</sup> Epist. h  
good m<sup>r</sup> Epist. h  
anonym. Epist. h  
y<sup>e</sup> 12. 21. of. 12.

Io. Whitgifte.

There is but one truth, & that is certain: whē we haue obtained it, we must therein remain constant, without altering: whosoever shal ouerleape or ouerrun this wall, must of necessitie procure vnto himselfe great danger. and therefore according to the olde pro- uerbe, Looke before thou leape.

Looke on y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>o</sup>

We must grow in faith & knowledge, & always be growing & going forward, but it doth not therfore follow, y<sup>e</sup> we must dayly inuent new opinions, or broach new doc- trines, & alter in iudgement: we must grow in strength of faith, we must increace in practise and loue of vertue, we must studie to increace our knowledge, that we may be the more confirmed in the truthe that we haue learned out of the worde of God. This is an euill collection, we must grow in the knowledge of the truth, therfore we must alwayes be altering and changing our religion.

The Epistle of T. C. Sect. vlt.

The summe of al is, that the cause may be looked vpon with a single eye, without al mist of par- tialitie, may be heard with an indifferent eare, without the wake of preiudice: the arguments of both sides may be weighed, not with the changeable weights of custome, of time, of men, which notwithstanding (Popish excepted) shal be shewed to be more for the cause than against it: but with the iust balances of the incorruptible & vchangeable word of God. And I humbly beseech the Lord, to in- crease in vs the spirit of knowledge, & iudgement, that we may discern things which differ one from an other, and that we may be sincere, and without offence, vntill the day of Christ.

Jo. Whitgifte.

This doe I in lyke maner desyre with all my heart, and to the latter ende of it, I



say Amen. The middest if you proue not, then shall you be blamed, for making such a byagge.

T.C.

*The Author to the Reader.*

He desireth that which (as much as lieth in him) he hath sought to lunder.

(\*) Vaine and vn sufficient excuses why he hath not let down the answer to the Admonition.

I humbly to craue at thy hand (gentle reader) that thou wouldest vouchesafe diligently and carefully to compare Maister Doctors answer, and my rephe, bothe that thou mayst the better vnderstand the truth of the cause, & that the vntempered speeches of him (especially that whippeth other so sharply for them) which I haue in a maner altogether passed by, and his lose conclusions, which I haue (to auoyd tediousnesse) not so fully pursued, may y better appere: which thing as I craue to be done through the whole booke, so chiefly I desire it may be done in the beginning, where the reader shall not be able so well to vnderstande what is sayd of me, vnlesse he haue W. D. booke before him. \* The cause of whiche diuersitie rose of that, that I fyrste purposed to set down his answer before my rephe, as he did the Admonition, before his answer. But afterward considering that (his booke being already in the handes of men) it woulde be double charges to buye it again: And especially weighing with my selfe that through the slownesse of the printe, for want of help, the rephe by that meanes should come forth later, than was conuenient (for although he might commodiously bying in the Admonition, being short, yet the same coulde not be doone in his booke, swelling in that sorte which it dothe) I saye, these things considered, I chaunged my mynde, and haue therfore set downe the causes, whiche moued me so to doe, bicause I knowe, that those, if any be, whiche haue determened to continue their forciudged opinions againste the cause, whatsoeuer be alleaged, wil hereupon take occasion to surmise, that I haue lefte out his answer, to the ende that it might the lesse appeare, wherein I haue passed over any weyghte of his reasons: whereas, had it not bin for these causes, which I haue before alleadged, my earnestte desire was, to haue set his answer before my rephe: wherof I call the Lord to witnesse, whom I knowe to be a sharpe iudge, against those which shall abuse his holie name to any vntruth.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The true causes why T. C. sette not downe the answer.

You haue well prouided for the comparing of Maister Doctors answer with your rephe: & howsoeuer you protest, y your earnestt desire was to set it down before your Rephe, yet the sequele wil declare the contrarie: for it shal euidently appere that therfore you haue omitted it, bicause you are loth they should be compared together, least your frivolous Replies, your childish collections, your wilful depzaing, your fraudulent dismembzing of my booke, should manifestly appeare. Full wel knew you, that your fantours (in whose hands especially your bookes are kept) would not take pains to compare them both together, except they had bin ioyned together, that they might haue done it with one laboꝝ. And surely herein you haue delt verie dishonestly with me, done me great iniurie, and not perfoꝝmed that towarde me, that you before required of me in one of your pamphlets, and doe nowe againe require of me in the end of this booke. But wise and indifferent men will some espie the causes, if it will please them to peruse this booke with some diligence.

Zuinglius.

Bullinger.

My vntempered speeches if they be compared with your floutes & disdainful phrascs, or with either of y Admonitiōs, wil seeme I am sure verie modest. And no doubt you would haue set down some examples of some of them, if they had bin such as you would make the reader beleue. But in your booke he may see the humblenesse of your spirite, and iudge whether that one qualitie be founde in you or no, which Zuinglius in his booke called *Elenchus contra Anabap.* and in his bookes *de baptismo*, & *Ecclesiast.* and Bullinger in his booke *aduersus Anabap.* do say, is comon to the Anabaptists, that is, to reuile the ministers of the worde, and much more bitterly to inuey against them (if they withstand their errors) than against the Papists. Truly if you should haue wꝝritten against the doggeddest Papist, or the pestilentest heretike that euer was, you could not haue inuented, howe in moꝝe spitefull maner to deface him: but how truly, it resteth in y tryall.

Touching lose conclusions, it is unlike that you haue omitted any, seing y you haue fained those to be which are not. Wherin your false dealing plainly appereth, & shal be made manifest. Your excuses for omitting my booke in your rephe be mere excuses: for why should you run in suspicion of corrupt dealing for sauing. ry. d. in an other mans purse: as for the volume of your booke it would not haue ben much bigger, if you had spared your superfluous digressions, cut off your vaine wordes, & kept in your scornful and opprobrious speeches. What I think of your protestatiō, I haue told you before.

The



To his louyng Nurse, the Christian Church of

England, Io. VVhitgiste a membre and minister of

the same, vvisheth peace in Christe, and cons

tinuance of his glorious Gospel, euen

to the worldes ende.



Here bee dyuers things, and especially siue, that when I fyrste tooke this labour in hande, had almoste vtterly dissuaded mee from the same.

Fyrste because I doe with all my hearte hate contention and stryfe, and especially in matters of Religion, among suche as professe the selfe same Gospel.

Secondly, for that I feared greatly least some sclaunder myghte redounde to the Gospel by this open contention, seeing that God is not the author of contention or confusion, but of peace. 1. Cor. 14.

Thiedly, I doubted whether this kinde of dealing by writing might minister matter to the common aduersaries of the Gospel, to reioyce and glozie, and to flatter themselves the more in their damnable errors.

Fourthly, I greatly suspected the sclaunderous reportes of the backbiter, and of the vnlearned tongue: the one, because he loueth to speake euill, and heare euill of all those that be not in all pointes inclinable to his fanisie, whereof I haue greate experience, being my selfe most vniustly sclaundered by that viperous kind of men: the other, because they be not able to iudge of controuerxies according to learning and knowledge, and therefore are ruled by affection, and carried headlong with blind zeale, into diuers sinister iudgements, and erroneous opinions.

Lastly, because I know sundry (in all respects) worthy men much more able to deale in such matters than I am.

But when I considered my duty towards God, to his Church, and to our most gracious Lady and soueraigne Elizabeth hir Maiestie (by whose ministerie God hath given his Gospel free passage vnto vs) the first stop and hindzance was answered. For I thought that, that dutie ought not to be omitted for any such cause, seeing God and not man, shall be my iudge: and also that not he which defendeth the truth, and confuteth errors, but he that impugneth the truth, and spreddeth sects, is the authoure of contention.

Likewise when I remembered that it was no new thing to haue contentions, sects, and schismes in the Church of Christ, (especially whē it enioyeth externall peace) and that we had manifest examples thereof from tyme to tyme, (fyrste in Peter, and Paule ad Gal. 2. Paule and Barnabas, Acto. 15. then in the Church of the Corinthians. 1. Cor. 1. & 3. Afterwardes betwixte the orientall Church and occidentall Church, touching Easter and suche like matters: Betwixte the Bishops of Aphyrica and the Bishops of Italie for rebaptising of Heretikes: and sundry tymes, yea vsually in the



externall peace of the Church, as may be moze at large seene in Eusebius lib. 4. eccl. histo. cap. 6. & libr. 5. cap. 24. 25. 26. & li. 8. & c. Likewise in Ruffinus lib. 1. ca. 1. In Zozom. lib. 6. cap. 4. In Basilii Magni ep. 61. ad fratres & episcopos in occidente, & ep. 69. & in sundry other aun-  
cient and learned histories and writers. For the second point I was  
satisfyed: for I thought, that, that coulde be no slander to thys  
Church, which by the malice of Sathan hath ben practised in all  
Churches even since the ascension of Christe.

Thirdly, when I perceiued that these men against whom I now  
write, did agree with the aduersaries in defacing the state of Re-  
ligion, the order of Common prayers, the Ministerie, the Sacra-  
mentes, the kinde of Government, &c. bled and allowed in this Re-  
aline of Englande, and that in as opprobrious and spitefull maner  
as the aduersaries doo: lyke wise that they seeke to ouerthrowe  
the selfe same pillars of this Church with the aduersaries (although  
not by the selfe same meanes) I thoughte that the confutation and  
ouerthrowe of the one, should be the confutation and ouerthrowe of  
the other, and therfore the aduersaries to haue small cause in deede  
of reioycing.

Agaynst backbiters, slanderers, and vnlearned tounge, I shall  
by Gods grace, arme my self with patience, for their talke is no suf-  
ficient cause for a man to abstaine from doing his dutie.

To conclude, I (although the vnworthiest and vnmeetest of a  
great number) was bold to take vpon me this enterpryse, partly to  
shew that the booke called the Admonition, is not such, but that it  
may easily be answered, and especially to satisfie myne owne con-  
science: for I considered that if no man had taken vpon him the enuie  
of the comon sort, in withstanding the enterpryses and proceedings  
of the Anabaptistes when they began in Germanie, Anabaptisme  
had ouerrunne those Churches, and utterly destroyed them.

These were the reasons that satisfied the former obiections,  
and especially moued me to take vpon me this labour, wherewith if  
I can also satisfie others, I haue my desire: if not, yet haue I done  
my dutie, and satisfied myne owne conscience. And forasmuche as  
the matter toucheth the state of the whole Church of Englande, I  
thought it mosse meete to dedicate this my booke, rather vnto the  
same generally, than to any one particular member thereof: prote-  
sting that if I haue affirmed any thing therein, that by learning  
& good reasons may be proued erroneous, I will refoyme the same,  
for I wholly submitte it to the rule of Gods worde, and the iudge-  
ment of those that be learned, discrete and wyse. The Lorde blesse  
thee (O deare spouse of Christe) with the continuance of his Gos-  
pell, of the Queenes Maiestie, and of godlie peace and quiet-  
nesse. Amen.



## An answer to the whole Epistle

to the Church.

T.C.

**W**hat causes either pulled you forward, or thrust you backward, to write, or not to write, and how in this dispute with your selfe, in the end you were resolved to write in this sort, I leave it unto the iudgement of the Lord, who only knoweth the secrets of the hart, and will in his good time vnscale them. But if there be any place of coniecture, the hatred of contention, which you set downe, as the first and principal cause, that beate you backe from writing, might wel haue bin put, as the last and least, or rather none at all. For if peace had bin so precious vnto you (as you pretend) you woulde not haue brought so many hard wordes, bitter reproches, cunlike speeches (as it were sticks and coales) to double and treble the heate of contention: If the sharpnesse of the Admonition mistlike you, and you thinke that they outreached in some vehemencie of wordes, how could you more effectually haue confuted that, than to haue in a quiet and milde spirit set them in the way, which (in your opinion) had left it: Now in wordes condemning it, and approving it in your deedes, I will not say that you do not so muche mislike this sharpnesse, as you are foz, that you are prevented, and are not the first in it. But this I may well say vnto you, whiche he said: Quid verba audiam, cum facta videam: what should I heare wordes, when I see the deedes: In the fourth reason whereby you were discouraged to write, if by backbiters, and vblearned tonges, viperous kind of men, not able to iudge of controuersies, caried away with affections and blind zeale, into diuers sinister iudgements and erroneous opinions, you meane al those that thinke not as you do in these matters, I answer for my selfe, and for as many as I knowe of them, that they are they, which first desire (so it be truly) to heare and speake all good of you. But if that bee not, through your perseuerance, in the maintenance of the corruptions of this Church (which you should help to purge) then the same are they, that desire, that both the euill whiche you haue done, and that whiche you haue yet in your hart to do, may be knowne, to the lesse discredit of the truth and sinceritie, which you, with such might and maine, do strive against.

A charitable figure.

**Jerem. 9. 5** Touching our (a) vblearned tonges we had rather a great deale, they were vblearned, than they should be as theirs, which haue taught their tonges to speake falsly. And how vblearned soeuer you woulde make the world beleue that we, and our tonges be, I hope (through the goodness of God) they shall be learned ynough, to defend the truth, against all the learning that you shall be able to assault it with. If those be (b) the generation of Christs, whiche you cal viperous kind of men, knowe you that you haue not opened your mouth against earth, but you haue set it against heaven, and for all indifferent iudgement, it will easily perceiue, that you are as farre from the spirit of John Baptist, as you are neere to his manner of speech, which you vse, whether it be affection, or blind zeale, that we follow, and are diuinen by, it will then appeare, when the reasons of both sides, being layd out, shall be swayd indifferently. Wheras you say that your dutie towards God, & the Queene his Maiesty, moued you to take this labour in hand, it will fall out, vpon the discourse, that as you haue not serued the Lord God in this enterprise and work of yours, so haue you done nothing lesse than any godly dutie which you owe vnto his Maiesty, so that the best that can be thought of you herein, is, that where in an euill matter, you could yeld no dutie, yet now you haue done that, which you thoughte a dutie, which iudgement, we will so long keepe of you, until you shall by oppugning of a knowne truth, declare the contrary, which we hope will not be. What truth it is, that we impugne, and you defend, let it in the name of God appeare, by our seuerall proofs and answers of both sides. And as for the slanderous formises, whereby in your third and last consideration, you set the Baptists of the one side of vs, and the Anabaptists of the other, and by in the midst, reaching out our hands (as it were) to them both: first, it ought not to be strange vnto vs, miserable sinners, seeing that the Lord himselfe, without all sinne, was placed in the midst of two greuous malefactours, as though he had bin worse than they both. Then for answer of these slanderous speeches, I will referre the Reader to those places, where these generall charges are giuen out in more particular manner.

(a) A manifest perverting of the words and meaning of the Epistle.

(b) Slanderous and cursed speakers, be not the generation of Christs.

## Io. Whitgife.

It is well that you are content to rest in his iudgement, untill the time come: for so indeed ought we to do: as the Apostle admonisheth. 1. Cor. 4. Noli ante tempus quicquam iudicare: Iudge not before the time, vntill the Lord come. &c.

1. Cor. 4.

Your coniecture is a mere coniecture in deede, for undoubtedly these so many harde wordes of mine, bitter reproches, &c. woulde not haue bin kept so secret of you, if you coulde haue had them forthcomming. But be it so, as you will needs haue it, yet haue I not in like bitternesse of speech spoken against them, as Zuinglius, Bucer, Caluine, Bullinger, Gualter, &c. haue done against the like troublers of the Church: who had notwithstanding all these pretences and clothes, to shadow their contentions with, which either you, or the Authours of the Admonition do alleadge: for they pretende the Glorie of God, the Puritie of Religion, the safetie of the Church, as Master Bucer witnesseth in his Comment, vpon the Ephe. Cap. 4. Master Caluine in his booke *aduersus Anabap.*

B.iiiij.

Gallius



Cassius in his booke *de exordio & erroribus tatabaptist*. Zuinglius in his booke called *Ecclesi*. And Bullinger in his booke *aduersus Anabaptist*: as I haue by setting downe their very wordes moze at large declared in the second edition of my answer to the Admonition. But graunt, that for the love of peace, and hatred of contention, and earnest zeale that I beare to this Church of Christ in England, and dutifull affection to my souerayne, I haue sometimes passed the bounds of modestie (wherein I will neither accuse, nor excuse my selfe) yet are my speeches in bitterness farre inferior to those opprobries, slanders, and disdainfull wordes vttered either in the first or second Admonition, or in your Replie. And where haue you learned to espie a mote in another mans eye, and not to see the beamie that is in your owne: or what poynte of Rhetorick do you call it, to charge me in the beginning of your booke with that, that you your selfe most outrageously fall into sundry times, almost in euery lease: or how vnwise are you to giue vnto me that counsell, which you your selfe in no respect obserue: But of both our modesties, and manners of writing, we must be contente that other men iudge which shall reade our bookes: and therefore it is but in vaine either for you to accuse, or me to excuse. God graunt vs both the spirit of modestie and humilitie.

In my fourth reason, by backbiters, I meane all such as are ready to heare euill, and speake euill of all men that be not of their iudgement, and such as cease not continually to depaue those especially that be of any countenance and calling, the which vice doth abundantly reigne (I will not say in all) but in a great sort of your sect, and those learned also. I could name some which go from place to place for that purpose especially, although vnder other pretences: and in this qualitie they agree with the Anabaptists: as may appeare moze plainly in the notes of the Anabaptists qualities, contained in the seconde edition of my answer to the Admonition, to the which for breuities sake I referre you.

By vnlearned tongues, I meane such of the common people as you haue deluded, who in deede are caried away by a blinde and preposterous zeale, and therefore the rather to be excused. I know there be some (both of the learned & vnlearned sorte) among you, that haue milder spirites than the rest, such I do not blame in this point, I would other would follow their modestie.

As for the good that you and other would so gladly speake of me, if euill appeareth in this booke, where you do but deuise how possibly you may deface me: in deede bothe you, and some others (if you considered your duties towarde me, and my dealings towarde you, whilest you kepte your selues within your bondes) haue small occasion to whisper of me in corners as you do, or other wise to deale so vnchristianly with me. The euill that you know by me, vtter it and spare not, I desire no silence, so that it be done where I may come to the answering of it. And surely he that shall reade this your booke, cannot but conceiue, that if you knew any euill thing by me, it would not be concealed. But to all reproches I will answer, as they come in order, and proclaime defiance againste you, for any thing that you can iustly charge me with.

I intend not to mainteine any corruptions of this Church, I will seeke for the redresse thereof as earnestly as you shall, and moze orderly, and therefore I trust moze effectually. But I neither can, nor may suffer that which is lawfully, and by due order established, vnlawfully and out of order by you to be defaced. This your pretence of cleansing the Church from corruptions, is but the accustomed excuse of the Nouatians, Donatists, and Anabaptistes, as you know wel ynough: and therefore before you condemne me to be a defender of the corruptions of this Church, you must first proue them to be corruptions: and when you haue so done, you must also declare them to be such corruptions, as deserue this stirre and hurly burly for them: for there were great corruptions in the Church of the Corinthians, and yet the Apostle greatly misliked such as stirred by contentions for the same: so hath there bin alwayes imperfections in the Church, especially in externall things: and yet such as therfore did breake the peace of it, were alwayes counted as contentious, and condemned as schismaticques: loke the

writers



writers before of me mentioned in their booke against the Anabaptists.

As I saide before, so I say againe, let the euill which I haue done, and that which you say I haue yet in my hart to do (wherein you take vpon you the office of God) be proclaimed at the standard in Cheape, or elsewhere (so it be done publicly that I may answer it, and not in corners as it hath bin) and if I faile in my purgation, let me sustaine the paine due for the same. I aske no fauoure, I feare no accuser, I refuse no indifferent iudge. And if you haue any thing to say against me, do it orderly, do it lawfully, not in corners, not in libels. This I speake not to iustify my selfe before God (for in that respect I know more imperfections in my selfe than I do in any other, because I know my selfe better than I know any man else) but before man, in doing my duety, in obseruing lawes, in walking in my vocation. &c.

I do not accuse you all, for lacke of learning, neither can you, or any man else gather any such thing of my words: God graunt you may vse your learning to better purpose, than to the disturbing of the Church, and stirring vp of contentions, where the Gospel is truly preached. This is but a slender collection to say that therefore I accuse you all of vnlearnednesse, because I say that I greatly suspected the slanderous reports of backbiters, and of the vnlearned tongue. Surely there be both learned and vnlearned tongues among you too much giuen to backbiting, and slandering, as it is well knowne: and yet I accuse not all. Let them which finde this imperfection in them selues, in the name of God amende it, for it is a foule fault.

In that they like **vipers** with slanderous reports, sting men privately, they be not the generation of Christ, but of Christs aduersary, howsoeuer otherwise they seeme to be godly and zelous: for Christ doth will them to loue their enemies, to pray for them that curse them. &c. so farre woulde he haue them from backbiting and slandering of their brethren, and of such as professe the name of Christ with them. He that speaketh against slanderous tongues, doth not open his mouth against Heauen, but against that vice which is earthly, yea hellish: neither must you thinke that your Church is so pure, but that it hath in it a number such as well deserue this reprehension. And therefore these great speeches of yours mighte well haue bin forborne, your learning and reasons which you so oft boast of, must be left to the iudgement of others.

What duty I haue perfozmed towards God and his Maestie, lieth not in your power to iudge: I am fully perswaded, that I haue done that which my duty towarde them both requireth of me, and vgeth me vnto in this behalfe: and I doubt not, but that therein I haue done good seruice to them both. Your iudgement of me I do not greatly regare, so long as you are affected as you are. I will die rather than impugne a knowne truth, neither will I cease from defending of that which I am fully perswaded to be a truth.

In my third and last consideration, all is true that I said, neither can you denie it. Most true it is that in defacing this present state of Religion, that is, the order of common prayers, the ministerie, the Sacramentes, the kynde of gouernment, you ioyne with the Papistes, although you vse in some poyntes contrarie reasons: and in disquieting the Church for externall things, you ioyne with the Anabaptistes. And in opprobrious speeches and tauntes you are inferioure to neyther of them bothe. And yet I do not say that you be either Papistes or Anabaptistes. Where that I here in speake vnto of you, and I will willingly make you amends.



*A brieve Examination of the reasons vsed*

in the Booke, called an Admonition to  
the Parliament.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

**F**irst, in that booke the scripture is most vntollerably abused, and vnlearnedly applyed, quoted only in their margent to delude both such, as for lacke of learning cannot, and such as either for slothfulnesse or some p̄iudicate opinion, will not examine the same: as I haue particularly declared in my answer following.

T.C.

An answer to that vvhich is called a brieve examination of the reasons vsed in the Admonition to the Parliament.

Vaine shifts to  
coloure the vn-  
apt allegatiōs of  
scriptures by the  
Admonition.  
Charitie dothe  
not couer open  
and notorious  
faulrs.  
(\*) There is no  
such aduantage  
taken.

(\*) Scriptures al-  
leged for profe  
of the phrase.

If the scriptures had bin applyed to the maintenance of the abhominatiō of the Masse, and some other of the grofpest of antichristianitie, you could haue sayd no more, nor vsed vehementer speache than this, that they are most vntollerably abused, and vnlearnedly applyed. And then where is charitie, which couereth the multitude of faultes, especially in brethren, when you do not only not couer them, but also take away their garmentes whereby they are couered. I will not denie, but that there be some few places quoted, which might haue bin spared, but there are a great number, whiche (M. Doctor) tosseth and throweth away so lightly, which he shall perceiue to sit nearer him than he is, or at the least seemeth to be aware of. And to bring to passe that the quotations in the margent might appeare to the reader more absurd, M. Doctor hathe besides the aduantage which he taketh of the faults of the Printer, vsed two vnlawfull practises especially. Wherof the one is, that whereas the Admonition doth quote the scripture, not only to proue the matters which it handleth, but sometimes also to note the place from whence the phrase of speech is taken, M. Doctor dothe go about to make his reader beleeue, that those places whiche bee alleadged for prooffe of the phrase, are quoted for prooffe of the matter. The other practise is, that where the Admonition for the shortnesse which it promisseth, and was necessarie in that case, could not applye the places, M. Doctor presuming too muche of the ignorance of his reader, thought he might make him beleeue, that any thing else was meant by those places, than that whiche they meant in deede, and for which they were alleadged. And where you say the quotations are only to delude such, &c. I see you hold it no fault in your selfe, which you condemne so precisely in others, that is, to iudge before the time, to sit in the conscience, to affirme definitely of their thoughts, contrary to their owne protestation. But seeing you lift vp our imperfections so high, and set them as it were vpon a stage for all men to be looked of, to the discredite of the truth which we do mainteyne, you shal not thinke much if your pouertie be pointed vnto, in those things wherein you would carrie so great countenance of force.

Pro. 10.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The abusing  
of scripture is  
to be mainte-  
ned in none.

The abusing of the scriptures, and the vniust applying of them, is to be mainte-  
ned neither in Papist, nor other: and least of all in such as seeming to giue most au-  
thoritie vnto them, do by that meanes giue occasion to the aduersarie to contemne  
them. What iust occasion might the Papists haue of triumphing, if they should vnder-  
stand that we as licenciously wryng and wrest the scriptures to serue our turne,  
as they do to serue theirs? And truly as well may they applye the scriptures that they  
vse in the defense of their Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Merites, Images, &c. as the au-  
thours of the Admonition can do to proue those things, for the which they do often-  
times alleadge them. And therefore I thinke that my speech in that pointe againste  
them cannot be too sharp.

Charitie doth not so couer open and manifest sinnes, that it suffereth them to be vn-  
reprehended, but it remitteth priuate offences, it doth not publish secret sinnes at the  
first: neither doth it disclose all things that it knoweth to the defamation of a brother,  
when he may be otherwise reformed. But this fault of theirs in abusing the scrip-  
tures is publike, printed in bookes, in euery mans hand: vsed to discredite and deface  
this Church of England: which no true member of the same ought to suffer. Where-  
fore in detecting this vnttrue dealing, I haue not broken any rule of Charitie, but  
done my bounden duty.



If there be so many of their quotations tossed and thrown away by me, &c. I trust you will let me understand of them as occasion is offered: which surely you haue done in very few places, and in those wherein you haue done it, you haue done it very slenderly & loosely, as will appeare. I take very little or no advantage at all of the Printer, but salue that as much as I can: and where as you saye that where the Admonition quoteth the scripture, not only to proue the matter, but to note the place from whence the phrase of speech is taken, &c. that is a very feeble excuse, and far fetched: for to what purpose should they so do? or why do you not by some examples declare vnto vs, that they haue so done? this is but a shifte, and argueth that you are not purposed to acknowledge any fault, be it neuer so manifest. And therefore little hope there is of any amendment. And whereas you also say that the Admonition for the shortnesse which it promisseth, &c. to that I answered as before, and I adde that it was very vncircumspectly done of them, to quote places whiche could not be applied to that purpose for the which they were quoted. In suche matters men ought to haue such regard vnto the time, that they abuse not the worde of God. But I haue (as you say) otherwise applied their quotations, than they meant indeede. I thinke you will let me heare of it, when you come to those places, and then shall I shape you an answer.

To what purpose should the margent of their booke be pestered with such vnapt quotations, but only to delude the reader, and to make him beleue that all things there contained be grounded of the expresse word of God: where things be open and manifest, there a man may iudge, though he sit not in the conscience of him of whom he iudgeth. As for Protestations they be now so vsuall and common in euery matter, and the sequels so many times contrarie to the same, that it is hard for a man to giue credite at all times to all persons protesting: there is experience of it, & I could alleadge examples, if I were disposed.

Set out my pouertie as much as you can, and spare it not: but take heede least in so doing you shewe your selfe poore indeede, and that in those things especially wherein you seeme most to complaine of my pouertie.

*A briefe examination. &c.*

Secondly their proofes consist especially of these arguments. The firste is *ab eo quod est secundum quid, ad id quod simpliciter est*, as such and such things were not in the Apostles time, Ergo, they ought not to be nowe. Which kind of argument is very deceitfull, and the mother and wellspring of many both old and new schismes: of old, as of them that called themselves Apostolicos, and of the Aërians: of new, as of the Anabaptists, who considering neither the diuersitie of times concerning the externall ecclesiasticall policie, nor the true libertie of the Christian religion in externe rites and ceremonies, in matters neither commaunded, nor forbidden in Gods Law, nor the authoritie of Christian magistrates in the Christian congregation, concerning the same, haue boldly enterprised to shirre by many and heinous errors: for if these reasons should take place: the Apostles bled it not, Ergo it is not lawfull for vs to vse it: or this either: they did it, Ergo we must needs do it: then no Christians may haue any place to abide in, they may haue no Christian Princes: no ministration of sacraments in Churches and such like: for the Apostles had no place to abide in, they had no Christian Princes to gouerne them, no Churches to minister sacraments in, &c. Like wise we must haue all things common: we must depart with all our possessions when we be conuerted to the Gospel: baptise abroade in the fields: minister the communion in priuate houses only: be always vnder the crosse and vnder

*Argu. a secūda  
dum quid ad  
simpliciter.*

*Acts. 2. & 4.  
Math. 19.  
Acts. 8.  
Acts. 2. & 20.*

Tyrants



Tyrants, and such like: For the Apostles had all things common, departed from their possessions, baptised abroad in fields, ministered the communion in private houses, were always vnder persecutors and Tyrants. &c.

### Io. Whitgife.

To this kind of argument and that which is here spoken, T.C. maketh no answer at all in this place, what he doth hereafter we shall vnderstand when we come to it.

### A briefe examination. &c.

Ab authoritate  
negatiue.

Another kind of argument is muche like vnto this, and is taken ab authoritate negatiue, which in matters of saluation and damnation holdeth when we reason ab authoritate scripturæ, from the authoritie of the scripture, but not else: For this argument (it is not commaunded in the scripture to be done, nor there expessed Ergo it ought not to be done) is so farre out of the way and so erroneous, that it is not tollerable: for it taketh away the most part of all due circumstances, without the which either after one manner or other, the very institution of Christ cannot be obserued: For how is it possible to receiue the holy communion, but either sitting, standing, kneeling, walking or lying: eyther at one time or other: in the morning or at night: before meate or after meate: clothed or naked: in this place or in that place. &c. and yet none of these circumstances are in Scripture commaunded, or by necessarie collection may thereof be gathered: the same is to be saide of the obseruation of times, of common prayers, and other cōuenient and necessary orders in the Church. If this argument were good, then all good lawes and ordinances made for the aduancing of true religion, and establishing of good orders, were to be abolished, which wer the very roote, and wellspring of stubbornesse, oblinacie, sedition, disobedience, and confusion.

### T.C.

For the arguments themselves, they shall be seene what they be in their places, so shall also that be answered, which M. Doctor bringeth heere, for the confutation, being straight way after, and in sundry other places repeated in this booke, I will touch that which is not repeated, and that is, that M. Doctor maketh it an (a) indifferent thing for men and women to receiue the supper of the Lord, clothed or naked. This sauioreth strongly of the secte of the Adamites.

- (a) A wrangling cauill.
- (b) Superfluous proofes.
- (c) Where found you these words?
- (d) It is lesse honestie, in charging M. Doctor falsely.
- (e) A digression from the matter to the person.

(b) S. Paule which commendeth the preservation of godlinesse & peace, vnto the civil magistrate, doth also commend vnto him the prouiding, that honestly be kept, and M. Doctor maketh it an indifferent thing, (c) to come either naked or clothed vnto the Lords table: verely there is (d) small honesty in this. And if the heathen which knew not God, did account it a filthy thing for a stage player, to come vpon the stage without a stop, how much more filthy is it for a Christian to come naked vnto the Lords table: and the contrarie thereof, is necessarie collected of the scripture, notwithstanding that M. Doctor saith otherwise. (e) They which haue hearde M. Doctor reade in the scholes can tell, that he being there amongst learned men, neuer vled to reduce the contrarie arguments of the aduersaries, to the places of the fallacions, and yet that was the fittest place for him to haue shewed his knowledge in, because there they should haue bin best vnderstoode: now that he professeth himselfe to be a Doctor of the people, which because they haue not learned these things, cannot vnderstand them, he dasheth out his Logicke: what may be probably gathered heereof, I leaue to euery mans consideration: this is certaine, that circumstances of place and persons, which he so oft bringeth, are not well obserued of him, when Logicke speaketh in the Church, and is mate in the scholes: when things are handled more learnedly amongst the people, and more popularly amongst the learned. It is truly said, *καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ καλὸν, ὡς τὴν μὴ καὶ τὴν τύχη*, A good thing is euill, when it cometh out of season. But to obserue what Arte here is shewed, I would gladly know what place of the (b) fallacions, either an argument Ab authoritate negatiue is, or of negatiues by comparison. Aristotle setting forth the places, where vnto all fallacions may be called, maketh no mention of these, and if these wer fallacions, & wer such as he imagineth them, they should be referred vnto

- (f) Where be they called fallacions? you can not deny them to be false arguments.



unto the former place, Ab eo quod est secundum quid, ad id quod est simpliciter, for these reasons, the Scripture hath it not, therefore it ought not to be, or the minister was knowne by doctrine, therefore by doctrine onely, and not by apparell: If I say they be fallacions, they be referred vnto that place, and whether they be, or no, and also howe corruptly, and otherwise than is ment they be gathered, it shall afterwarde appeare. In the meane season in a small matter heere is a great fault, not onely to inuent newe places, but of one place to make three, and may aswell make a thousande.

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

The arguments are lesse vniuersally answered, because in deede they can not be answered. Wherefore T. C. picketh other quarels, and heere beginneth his bayne of gybing and iesting. Who would haue made this adoe about clothed or naked, but such a one as is delighted in quareling: or who can gather, that by vsing this example, I would haue men to receyue the Communion naked, or once surmise that I thinke it lawfull for them so to doe, and therefore to sauour strongly of the sect of the Adamites, but he that is disposed to peere out his replie with suche imagined toys. I pray you where doe I make it an indifferent thing, to come either clothed or naked vnto the Lordes table: Set downe my wordes: but if I say no suche thing, if I haue not so muche as once named this worde indifferent in that place: then surely haue you dealte with me, not onely not indifferently, but very dishonestly, in laying this thing to my charge. The example is apte, and proueth that thing manifestly that I alleage it for: that is, that the mosse parte of the due circumstances (without the which the very institutions of Christ in his Sacraments can not be obserued, be not commaunded particularly, nor expressed in the Scriptures, but lesse to the Church to determine. I doe not say, that it is an indifferente thyng, I knowe it dothe necessarily appertayne to comelynesse: but I denie it to be particularly expressed in the Scriptures: and therefore I say, that althoughe all thinges necessary to saluation be in the Scriptures manifestly conteyned, yet all thinges necessary to order and comelynesse are not there expressed, muche lesse suche thinges as accordyng to tyme, place, and persons may be altered. If this doctrine be not true, why doe you not ouerthrowe the other examples also: why can you finde no other faultes in this argument: If this example so trouble you, I will tell you playnely from whome I had it, even from that famous Martyr, and notable learned man, D. Ridley, sometime Bishop of London, who vsed the same example to the same purpose, in his conference by writing with M. Hoper, exhibited vnto the Conncell in the tyme of king Edward the sixte, the true Copie wherof I haue. Surely he was no Adamite, but a man of singular iudgement and learning.

Touching my reading in the Schooles (whiche you heere opprobriously obiect vnto me) thoughe I knowe that the Vniuersitie had a farre better opinion of me, than I deserued, and that there were a great many whiche were in all respects better able to doe that office, than my selfe, yet I truste I did my duetie, and satisfied them. What logike I vttered in my Lectures, and howe I read, I referre to their iudgements: who surely if they suffred me so long to continue in that place, augmented the stipende for my sake, and were so desirous to haue me still to remaine in that function (reading so vnlearnedly, as you woulde make the worlde beleue I dyd) may be thoughte either to be without iudgement them selues, or else to haue bin very carelesse for that exercise. Well, I will not speake that whiche I mighte iustly speake by this prouocation of yours: For I counte this either an heathenische, or a chylde like kinde of confuting, to fall from the matter, to the depzauing of the person. God graunt that we bothe may so knowe our gistes, and our selues, that we may acknowledge them to be his, and employ them to the edifying of the Church, not to the disgracing one of another. *Scientia inflat. &c.*

I did knowe that this my booke should come into the handes bothe of the learned and vnlearned: and therefore (as nere as I could) I did frame my selfe to serue them bothe.



bothe. And bicause all, or the moſte parte of your proofes, conſiſte of theſe or the lyke kinde of arguments, I thought it conuenient, to ſet downe a note of them befoze my booke, and that for the learned ſake, wherof I do not repent me, neither do I thinke that it commeth out of place.

But to obſerue what arte heere is ſhewed, you would gladly knowe (you ſay) what place of the fallacions either an argument *ab authoritate negatiue* is, or of negatives by comparison, &c. I maruell that you will ſo openly dally: I intitle this treatiſe, *A brieſe examination of the reaſons bled in the booke*. &c. And afterwards I call them argumentes, I do not call them fallacions, (whiche notwithstanding I mighte haue done in ſome reſpecte) but ſeeing you cauill about words, tell me where I call either an argument *ab authoritate negatiue*, or of negatives by comparison, fallacions? Do you not bluſhe to triſle on this ſorte, and to ſeek occaſion of cauilling in ſo ſmall matters? I am ſure that you are not ſo ignorant in Logike, but that you knowe there be many falſe argumentes, whiche be not amongeſt the fallacions. What ſaye you to an argument *a ſpecie negatiue*, and ſuche lyke? What ſay you to an argument *ex ſolis negatiuis*, or *ex ſolis particularibus*? or to that that otherwiſe dothe offende in any mode or figure? or to be ſhorthe, to ſuche as be in any place of Logike negatiue or affirmatiue, when the nature of the place will not beare it? For you knowe that in ſome places only negatiue reaſons hold, in ſome other places only affirmatiue.

*Arg. ab authoritate negatiue.*

Concerning an argument *ab authoritate negatiue*, that it is no good argumente all Logicians confeſſe, neither is he to be thoughte to haue any ſkill in Logike at all, that will denie it. Onely the authoritie of the Scripture is to be excepted in matters pertayning to ſaluation, or damnation, bicauſe therein it is perfecte and abſolute: as I haue declared in my anſwere to the Admonition.

*Arg. of negatives by comparison.*

Touching the argument of negatives by comparison, which you thinke to be ſo ſtraunge, it is moſte vſuall in the Scriptures, and moſte conſonant to reaſon. When God ſayde vnto Samuell. 1. Reg. 8. They haue not reſuſed thee, but me: He meant not abſolutely, that they had not reiected Samuell, but by that one negatiue by comparison, he vnderſtandeth two affirmatiues: that is, that they had reiected Samuell, and not him alone, but chiefly they had reiected God. But of this kinde of argument, looke the 1. booke, and 12. chapter of worthy Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburie, which he writeth of the Sacrament: where he anſwering the obiections of the Papiftes out of Chryſoſtome, touching tranſubſtantiation, handleth this argument at large, and ſetteth it out by many examples, to the whiche place I referre the Reader, and you ſee, that you may ſee your lacke of diſcretion, in finding faulte where none is. Thoſe be but ſlender anſweres to theſe arguments, except you quit your ſelfe better in the reſt of your Replie, it had bin muche ſafer for your cauſe to haue ſtill kept ſilence.

*Jo. Whitgiſe.*

A brieſe examination &c.

*Arg. a petitione principij.*

The thirde kynde of argument is called *petitio principij*, whych is when a man frameth vnto him ſelfe principles of his owne deuſe, grounded neither vpon authoritie, neither yet vpon ſubſtantial reaſon, and then vpon the ſame will conclude his purpoſe: whiche is *vitioſiſſimum genus argumentandi*, a very erroneous kynde of reaſoning, as theſe men do in vſing theſe two falſe principles: the one, when they ſay that to be inuented by an Antichriſtian Pope, which was not ſo inuented: the other, when they ſay that nothing may be bled in the Church of Chriſt, which was inuented by the Pope, or bled in the Popes Church: which can not be true, as in ſundrie places of the booke I haue declared. The ſelfe ſame reaſons moued the Aërians to forſake



for sake the order of the Church, and to commaunde their disciples to do the contrarie of that that the Church did. We borrowe good lawes of the Gentiles: and we vse the Churches, Belles, Pulpitts, and many other things vbled of Papistes. &c.

The fourth kinde of reason is, of negatives by comparison: as thys, *Arg. à nega-  
tius per com-  
parationem.* Priests and Ministers are to be knowne by their doctrine, not by their apparell: Ergo, they ought not to haue distinct apparell from other men. This argument followeth not, for negatives by comparison are not simply to be vnderstanded, but by the way of comparison: And therfore of the former sentence thus we may conclude, that the apparell is not to be esteemed as a note of difference in comparison to learning and doctrine, and yet a note. As when Paule sayth, that Christ sent him not to baptise, but to preache the Gospel, 1. Cor. 1. And God by his Prophet, I will haue mercy, and not sacrifice. Ose. 6. and Mat. 9.

The fift is *ab eo quod est non causam, vt causam ponere*, vwhen that is taken for the cause of any thing, vvhich is not the cause: As when they condemne the booke of Common prayer, & a prescript forme of seruice, bicause (as they say) it maynteineth an vnlearned (or as they terme it) a reading ministerie, when as the booke is not the cause of it, neither yet a prescript forme of prayer, but either the parties them selues that be vnlearned, or they that do admitte them, or else both. This kinde of argument is vsuall in the Admonition. *Arg. à non  
causa pro  
causa.*

There be other vnlearned and vnskillfull reasons vbled in thys booke, which may easily be discerned, euen of children. And therfore I heere omit them.

Thus muche I thought good generally to write, whiche beeing duly considered, the booke it selfe needeth no other kind of cōfutation.

### Io. Whitgiste.

To all this T. C. answereth nothing: but onely to that of negatives by comparison, wherof I haue spoken before.

T. C. Fol. 1. Sect. 1.

And to the ende the pithe and swaight of M. Doctors arguments may be the better scene, I will likewise giue the reader a say of them, noting the places of the fallacions, wherevnto they be referred. Whiche I do agaynst my wil, and compelled, for that M. Doctor to discredite the truth would make his reader beleue, that those which thinke not as he dothe in these matters, are not onely vnlearned, but contemners of good learning. In deede there is no great learning in these small things, and they are of that sorte, which although it be a great shame not to knowe, yet it is no great commendation to haue knowledge of them.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

It had bin playne dealing to haue set downe M. Doctors argumentes in the same forme that he hath written them: then might the reader better haue iudged of your collections: but you were to wise for that, for then should either your forgerie haue bene manifest, or else your booke should haue bin lesse by all this portion. I seeke to discredite errors, and contentious doctrine, and not the truth. Suche learning there is, euen in those small things, that who so is ignorant of them, may easily be deceyued, bothe in speaking, writing, and reasoning.

T. C. Fol. 1. Sect. 2.

In the 40. page he reasoneth thus. \* The ministers must learne, therefore they must learne *\* An vntrue col-  
lection.* Catechismes: which is a fallacion of the consequent. For although he that must learne a Catechisme, must learne: yet it followeth not that whosoever must learne, must by and by learne a Catechisme.



*Io. Whitgiste.*

My words in that place be these: If they that finde some want of learning in them selues, or that be crepte into the ministerie vnlearned, either of their owne accorde, or by commaundement of their ordinary reade and learne godly and learned Catechismes, they are to be commended, and so is he that prouoketh them thereto.

That Catechisme which you in derision quote in the margent, is a booke fit for you to learne also: and I knowe no man so well learned, but it may become him to read and learne that necessarie booke. But some arrogant spiritites there be, that thinke them selues of all men best learned, and disdayne to learne of any.

That place of the fourth Chapter of the first to Timothy dothe not forbid a man to learne. He that is a good and modest preacher will not disdayne as well to be taught, as to teache.

Nowe howe any man can gather of these wordes any suche argument as T. C. frameth vnto him selfe, let the Reader iudge. He mighte well haue thus concluded: Ministers that finde some want of learning in them selues, or ought to reade & learne such bookes, as may better instruct them, Ergo, they may reade and learne godly and learned Catechismes. And agayne, P. Powell his Catechisme, is godly and learned: Ergo, godly and learned men may reade and learne it. Last of all, a godly and modest Preacher will not disdayne as well to be taught, as to teache: Ergo, he will be as well content to reade other mens bookes, although they be Catechismes, as he will be to haue other men to reade his. Nowe I pray you iudge of the sequelle of these reasons: and compare them with T. C. his waywarde collection, and tell me truly whether he dealeth simply, or no. It is true, that although a man must learne, it followeth not that he must of necessity learne a Catechisme, because there be other bookes, besides Catechismes to be learned, wherby a man may be instructed: but this is also true, that if a man must learne, he may learne Catechismes. Surely T. C. is driuen to a harde shifte, when he is thus constrained to feyne fallations where none are.

T. C. pag. 1. Sect. 3.

Another forged  
argument of T.  
C. his owne fra-  
ming.

In the 55. page he reasoneth, that for so muche as the ciuill Magistrate may appoynt some kynd of apparell, therefore he may appoynt any, and so the Popishe apparell: which is ab eo quod est secundum quid, ad id quod est simpliciter, of whiche sorte he hath diuers others. As women may baptize, and preache, because such a one, and such a one dyd: And the ministers execute ciuill gouernment, because Elias and Samuell dyd.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The words in that page be these: May not therfore christian Magistrates, in Christian common weales, for order and decencie, appoynt a seuerall kinde of apparell, aswell to Ministers, as to other states of men? Judges, Sergeants, Aldermen, and Citizens, are knowne by their apparell, and why may not the Ministers be so like wise? are they not vnder subiection: be they not subiect to ciuill lawes and ordinances? ought they not to obey their gouernours in al things not agaynst the worde of GOD? If it had pleased T. C. to haue set aparte dallying, he might haue seene, that frō the last section of the 54. page, vnto the fourth section of the 56. page my drift is to proue that Ministers may differ frō other by their apparell, and that they may haue a distinct kinde of garments from lay men, and that the ciuill Magistrate hath authoritie, for order & decencie to appoynt a seuerall kind of apparell to Ministers. Now if he wold haue gathered truly, he shuld haue framed his argument thus: Christian Magistrates haue authority in Christiana cōmō weales, for order & decencie, to ap-



to appoynt a seuerall kind of apparell to Ministers. *Ergo*, Ministers may differ and be knowne frō other by their apparel. Whether that the civil Magistrate may appoint them to weare suche apparell as was vsed in the Popes time or no, that I handle at large, euen from the .4. section of the .56. page to the portion of the Admonition in the 62. If T. C. had marked this myne order, he woulde not so confounde him selfe, and delude his Reader, by suche vntrue collections of my arguments.

Touching the other examples of baptizing by women, and ciuill offices in ecclesiasticall persons, because he hath not quoted the page (whiche argueth he knoweth not where to finde them, or that he is lothe the reader by searching the places, should perceiue his corrupt dealing in the gathering) I will deferre answering of them, untill I come where they, or any similitude of them may be founde. In the meane time with the first he chargeth me vntuly: and the seconde I intende to iustifie.

T. C. fol. i. Sect. 4. In the .59. page he sayth, Cyprian (speaking of the office of an Archbishop) which is a manifest petition of the principle. For it being that which should haue bin proued, Dr. Doctor taketh it for granted. And in diuers places, speaking of the Archbishop, he goeth about to deceiue his reader with the fallation of the equiuocation, or diuers signification of the word. For whatsoeuer he findeth sayde of Archbishop & Bishop in times past, he bringeth to establishe our Archbishops and Bishops, when notwithstanding those in times past, were muche different from ours, and are not of that kinde, as shall appeare afterwarde.

\*It is proued sufficiently in the treatise of Archbishops.

### Io. Whitgiste.

As though Cyprian may not speake of the office of an Archbishop, excepte he expresse his name, or as though the circumstance of the place may not declare, that he speaketh of suche an office. But howe iustly I am here charged with a manifest petition of a principle, I shall haue better occasion to declare, when I come to answer the manifest canill which T. C. vseth, touching that place of Cyprian.

Howe also in diuers places, speaking of the Archbishop, I go about to deceiue my reader with the fallation of equiuocation, (which is only sayd in this place without any maner of proufe, or any one exaple) that likewise appeare, when I come to answer the replie touching that matter, where it will evidently fall out, that T. C. is greatly deceiued, in that he supposeth the Archbishops and Bishops in times past, so muche to differ from ours, especially if he meane the difference to be in authoritie and office.

### T. C. fol. i. Sect. 5.

In the .179. page he reasoneth, that for so muche as those which weare the apparel, doo edifie, therefore they edifie by reason of the apparel, which is to make that the cause, which is not, but onely cometh with the cause.

Another vntrue collection.

### Io. Whitgiste.

You deale in this as you haue done in the rest, that is corruptly: for the seconde reason which I there vse, to proue that the apparel doth edifie, is this: That such as haue woorne the apparel, and do weare it, by the ministry of the worde, haue greatly edified, and do dayly. In the whiche argument I make not the apparel the efficient or substantiall cause of edifying, but an accidentall cause. For you knowe that it is an order and lawe in the Church of Englande, that none shoulde either administer the Sacraments, or preache, excepte he receiue the apparel appoynted: forasmuche therefore as he that refuseth to weare the apparel by order of this Church, may not preache, and therefore can not that way edifie, and he that weareth that apparel may preache, and so edifie, therefore the apparel *per accidens* doth edifie, euen as the Church, the Pulpit, and suche other things do, whiche edifie not *per se*, of themselves, but *per accidens*, accidentally, as all other accidentall ceremonies do.

### T. C. pag. i. Sect. 6.

In the .140. page, he reasoneth thus, that the surplice, &c. be notes, & notes of good ministers, therefore

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therefore



therefore they be good notes of ministers, which is a fallation of composition, when a man thinketh that whatsoever is sayde of a thing by it selfe, may be sayde of it when it is ioyned with another.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The Admonition sayth, that cappe, gowne, tippet, &c. haue the shewe of euill, seeing the Popishe priesthoode is euill. To the which I answering, say on this sort: When they were a signe and token of the Popishe priesthoode, then they were euill, even as the thing was which they signified, but nowe they be signes and tokens of the ministers of the worde of God, which are good, and therefore also they be good. What can you say to this manner of speaking: is it not true to say that they were signes of euill, when the things that they signified were euill, and nowe they be signes of good, seeing the things they signifie be good: and as they were euill signes, when they signified euill things, so they be nowe good signes, because they signifie good things. Do we not commonly call the signes and notes good or euill, even as the things signified be good or euill: None is so ignorant that knoweth not this: and therefore my reason is good, but your collection is like it selfe. I haue vsed no other manner of reasoning or speaking in this place, than M. Bucer dothe in the same matter, fol. 59. & 60. And therefore this is rather spoken agaynst him, than agaynst me.

### T. C. pag. 1. Sect. 7.

In the. 149. page he reasoneth thus: Those which authorized the booke of Common prayer, were studious of peace, and buylding the Church, therefore those which finde faulte with it, are pullers downe of the Church, and disturbers of the peace, which is a fallation of the Accident, when a man thinketh that every thing which is verified of the subject, may be likewise verified of that which is annexed vnto it. The further confutation of the which arguments I referre vnto their places.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The Admonition sayth, that those persons, in which and by whom the booke of Common prayer was first authorized, were studious of peace, and of buylding up of Christes Church. Whereupon I conclude, that if that be true, then the defacers of that booke be Disturbers of the peace. Which I gather of that that they the selues haue graunted, and as I am perswaded truely: neither do I vnderstande howe it can be made a fallation *ab accidente*. For I thinke that the meaning of the authoꝝ of the Admonition is, that these men shewed them selues desirous of peace, and of buylding up the Church, even in collecting and authorizing that booke (or else to what purpose shoulde they make any mention of them) whiche if it be true, as it is, then the argument muste of necessitie followe.

### T. C. pag. 1. Sect. 8.

There be diuers other which he hath, which are so farre from iuste conclusions, as they haue not so muche as any colour of likelyhoode of argument, whiche I can not tell where to lodge, but I put them in the common inn, which is that, whiche is called the ignorance of the Clench. As in the. 68. page, when he concludeth thus, (\*) that Cyprian speaketh not of the Bishop of Rome, Ergo he speaketh of an Archbishop.

\*An vntruthe, for there is no such argument.

### Io. Whitgifte.

I might here iustly quarell with you for leaping so disorderly, sometimes forward and sometimes backward, as from the. 240. page to the. 149. and from that to the 68. &c. But I let all such things passe, and come to the matter. In the. 68. page as you quote it, but in deede the. 69. after I haue declared the true meaning of Cyprian, I adde, that Cyprian there speaketh not of the vsurped authoritie of the Bishop of Rome ouer all Churches, but agaynst the insolencie of some, which despising their Metropolitane or Archbishop, dyd with their factionnesse trouble the Church. Whiche worde I adde, to declare how



how vntruely the Papistes doe abuse that place of Cyprian, to proue the Popes authoritie ouer all the Churches, when he onely speaketh of the authoritie of an Archbishop or Bishop in his owne prouince or dioces. True it is that Cyprian doth not speake of the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome ouer all Churches, but of the authoritie that Cornelius then Bishop of Rome, or Cyprian himselfe had in his owne prouince; neither wil any denie this but Papists. Now to pervert this my plaine meaning, and to father on me whether I will or no, this argumente, he speaketh not of the Bishop of Rome, and therfore of an Archbishop, argueth a mynde disposed to rancour, and a tender stomache desirous rather to deface the person, than to giue eare to the matter.

T. C. pag. 1. Sect. 9.

And in the. 71. pag. (\*) There must be superiours, Ergo, one minister must be superiour vnto another. There must be degrees, therefore there must be one Archbishop ouer a prouince. \* Other vntruths.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

There are no such reasons, those that be in that place alleaged, are onely out of Hierome and Chrysostome, and of greater force than wil be truly answered.

T. C. pag. 1. Sect. 10.


And in the. 73. there was one ouer euery congregation, therefore there was one ouer all the ministers in the prouince. These and a number like vnto these, M. Doctor hath scattered throughout his booke, which as Ihero sayd of his maister Senecas woorkes, cleaue together like sand: and thus let it be seene, whose argumentes are most iustly concluded, those of the Admonition or these of M. Doctors. Another vntruth.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

It is a shame to lye of the deuill. Where finde you in all that page any such argument or similitude of it: but surely you haue done me a great pleasure, who searching my booke so diligently for arguments to quit the Admonition, haue not founde one, but most vaine and vntruely fained those to be which be not. Truly, I do not think my selfe in euery circumstance to be so circumspecte, but that I may minister sometime matter to a quarreller, howbeit, as yet you haue not founde any thing for your purpose. And I shall most hartily desire the reader, to iudge of the rest of your doynge, euen according to these beginnings.

*An Exhortation to such as be in authoritie and haue*  
the gouernment of the Church committed vnto them,  
whether they be Ciuill or Ecclesiasticall  
Magistrates.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

 Onsidering the strangenesse of the time, the varietie of mens mindes, and the maruellous inclinations in the common sort of persons (especially where the Gospel is most preached) to imbrace newe inuented doctrines and opiniōs, though they tende to the disturbing of the quiet state of the Church, the discrediting and defacing of such as be in authoritie, and the mainteining of licenciousnesse and lewde libertie: I thought it good to set before your eyes the practises of the Anabaptistes, their conditions and qualities, the kinde and manner of their beginnings and proceedings, before the broching of their manifolde

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and



and horrible heresies, to the intent that you vnderstanding the same, may the rather in time take heede to such as proceede in like manner: least they being suffered too long, burst out to worke the same effect. I accuse none, onely I suspect the authoꝛs of this Admonition, and their fauours: what cause I haue so to do, I refer to your selues to iudge, after that I haue set forth vnto you the Anabaptistlicall practises, euen as I haue learned in the writings of suche famous and learned men, as had themselues experience of them, when they first began in Germanie, and did both personally reason with them, and afterwar des very learnedly write against them: neither will I in this point write one word, which I haue not my authoꝛ to shew for.

### *An answere to the Exhortation to the*

ciuill Magistrates.

T.C. pag. 2. Sect. 1.

Bigge wordes.

(a) A charitable iudgement, and yet before he reproofed the like.

It is more than I thought could haue happened vnto you, once to admitte into your minde, this opinion of Anabaptisme, of your brethren, which haue alwayes had it in as great detestation as your selfe, preached against it, as much as your selfe, hated of the folowers and fauourers of it, as much as your selfe. And it is yet more strange, that you haue not doubted to giue out such slanderous reportes of them, but dare to present such accusations to the holy and sacred seate of iustice, and therby (so much as in you lyeth) to corrupt it, & to call for the sword vpon the innocent, (which is giuen for their maintenance and safetie) that, as it is a boldnesse vntollerable, so coulde I hardly haue thought, that it could haue fallen into any, that had caried but the countenance and name of a professor of the Gospell, much lesse of a Doctor of diuinitie. Before you will ioyne with vs in this cause, you will place vs whether we will or no, in the campe of the Anabaptistes, to the ende you might therby, both with draw al frō aiding vs, which are godly minded, as for that you fearing (as it seemeth) the insufficiencie of your pen, might haue the sword, to supply your want other wayes. And if we be founde in their campe, or be such disturbers of the quiet estate of the Church, defacers of such as be in authoritie, mainteyners of licentiousnes & lewde libertie (as you do seeme to charge vs with) we refuse not to go vnder those punishments, that some of that wicked sect receiued, for full recompence of their demerites. You say you will not accuse any, (a) I know it is for want of no good will, that you do not accuse them, of whose condemnation & extreme punishment, we might be sure, if your hand were as strong as your harte. But you suspect the authoꝛs of the Admonition, and their fauours. (\*) Charitie is not suspicious. Let vs therefore see, whether there be iustice 1. Cor. 13.5. matter to beare out, and to vphold this suspicion. You will beare men in hand, that if we be not already full Anabaptists, yet we are in the way thither, the footsteps wherby you trace vs, must be considered.

### *Jo. Whitgifte.*

There is no cause why you should so maruaile at the matter, all things well considered, neither do I thinke that the Anabaptistes do so greatly detest and hate them, as you woulde make vs beleue. I do not accuse them of the doctrine of Anabaptisme (as you your selfe in the ende of this section do acknowledge) but I declare that I greatly suspect them, bicause they come so neare vnto the qualities and practises of the Anabaptistes, and vse the same beginnings: whether this my suspicion be true or no I referre it to the iudgement of others. If the reportes be slanderous, let them take their lawfull remedie against me: but if they be most manifest, then it is conuenient that the Magistrates haue vnderstanding thereof. Your great wordes doe not answere the matter. I feare not the insufficiencie of my pen (I thanke God) neither is there any cause why I should: for the truth hath alwayes a plentiful defense, whereas error and schisme is compelled to vse arrogant, opprobrious, and contemptuous speeches to maintaine it selfe.

Of all other T.C. hath least cause to complaine of such extremitie, or to speake in this manner. I haue much more cause to accuse his vndutifull and vnthankfull nature. If Charitie be not suspicious, why do you then thus not suspecte, but directly giue sen-



sentence; that it is not for want of good will, that I doe not accuse them of Anabaptisme: is it not lawfull for me to suspect, and is it lawfull for you to condemne? You take vpon you to reprove me before for judging, and can you fall so sone into it your selfe. In deede charitie is not suspicious without iust and lawfull causes: but whether the causes be iust or no, let those iudge to whom it doth especially appertaine.

*To Whitgiste.*

The first article, pag. 2. Sect. 1.

First Anabaptisme tendeth to this ende, that (in those places where the Gospell hath bin for a time preached, and where Churches be reformed) the Gospell may be hindered, the Churches disquieted, the simple brought to doubt of the Religion that hath bene taughte them: contentious and biquiet mindes may haue matter to worke on, the preaching of the Gospell become odious: finally that Magistrates and such as be in authoritie, may be contemned, and despised of their subiectes and inferiours.

Bul. aduersus Anabap. fol. 1.

T. C. pag. 2. Sect. 2.

It is all true you heere alleadge of the Anabaptistes: God be prayed there is nothing of it true in vs. If through these questions moued, the Church be disquieted, the disquietnesse resteth in that the truth and sinceritie which is offered, is not receyued. We seeke it in no tumultuous manner, but by humble sute vnto them, to whom the redzesse of things pertayne, and by teaching as our callings will suffer. If all those are to be counted in the way to Anabaptisme, which moue controuersies when the Gospell is preached: (\*) Then those that taught that the Gentiles weare to be preached vnto, when as the most of the beleeuing Jewes (which likewise preached the Gospell) thoughte otherwise, are to be counted in the way of Anabaptisme. Likewise, those that preached that circumcision was not necessarie vnto saluation, when as a greate number of Christians at the first thought it necessarie. Then Maister Zuinglius, and Decolampadius smelt of Anabaptisme, which went aboute to ouerthrowe diuers things, which Maister Luther helde. I coulde goe further with this, but I content my selfe with these examples. If any be brought in doubt, or hatred of the truth hereby, or any man take occasion to be contentious, it is not in the nature of the doctrine which is taught, but in the corruption of their mindes; nor it is not offence giuen, but taken; nor this doctrine can be no more charged, than the rest of the Gospell, which is a (\*) sworde that cutteth a Citie or kingdome in sander, and setteth a (\*) fire where there was none, and putteth contention betwene the father and the sonne. But what is to giue an incurable offence vnto the simple, and matter to the enemie to reioyce in, to all good Christians of teares and weeping, if this be not, to make the worlde thinke, that numbers of those which profess the Gospell, are infected with the payson of Anabaptisme, which can not be touched with the finest point of it: As for the Magistrate, and authoritie, we acknowledge the lawfulness, necessity, and singular commoditie of it, we commend it in our sermons to others, we pray for them, as for those of whose good or euill estate, hangeth the flourishing or decay of the common wealth, and Church both. We loue them as our Fathers and Mothers, we feare them, as our Lordes and Masters, and we obey them in the Lord, and for the Lord. If there be any thing, wherein we do not according to that which is commaunded, it is, because we can not be perswaded in our consciences, that we may so doe (whereof we are ready to render a reason out of the word of God) and if that will not serue, forthwith to submitte our selues, to that punishment, that shall be awarded against vs. And herein, we first call the Lord God to witnesse of our meaning, and then we refferre our selues to the consciences of all men in the sight of God.

\* The case is nothing lyke.

A good saying if vnlayned.

Mat. 10. 34.  
Luc. 12. 49.

*To Whitgiste.*

Nothing is here sayde of you in the defense of the authors of the Admonition, but the Anabaptistes will say the same in theirs: Let the like effectes proceeding from the like causes, and in like manner iudge the likelyhode betwixte the Anabaptistes and them. One of the chiefe notes that are giuen of Anabaptistes by Zuinglius in his booke called Ecclesiastes, and in his other booke where he speaketh of them, is, that they sowe discorde and contention in those Churches where the Gospell hath bene truly preached, and that about external matters, as it may more at large appeare in the seconde edition of my answer to the Admonition, And tell me I praye you what Church bath

Zuinglius.



The admoni-  
tors iustly ac-  
cused of con-  
tention.

Their disor-  
der in publi-  
shing the Ad-  
monition.

Their disor-  
der in prea-  
ching.

hath any of them settled themselves in, but in such, wherein the Gospel hath bene well planted before: or in what place haue they for any time remained, where they haue not with contention and factions troubled not that place onely, but the whole coun- trey rounde aboute in lyke manner: Surely if they preached doctrine necessarie to saluation (that is the Gospel) and in those places wherein the Gospel is not recey- ued, then if contentions shoulde arise, the cause were not to be ascribed vnto them, but vnto their hearers onely: but seying they can not teache the Gospel more sin- cerely than it is taught, and seying the matters they contend for, be not of such neces- sitie, that the Churches shoulde for them be disquieted, seying also that they seeke refo- mation (as they call it) neither in due time, due place, nor before meete persons: And finally, seying contentions are raised by them in those places where the Gospel is re- ceived, I see not howe they can auoyde the iust accusation of contentious persons, and disturbers of the peace of the Church. For if you aske of the time: the Admonition was published after the Parliament (to the which it was dedicated) was ended. If you speake of the place: it was not exhibited in Parliament (as it ought to haue bene) but spred abroade in corners, and sent into the Countrey. If you inquire of the persons: it came first to theyr handes who had least to doe in refoyming. Likewise your ser- mons of these matters: when preache you them? surely euen in this troublesome and tumultuous tyme, when there is especiall occasion to moue men to prayer, to vnitie, and to the embracing of the substance of Religion, which by all meanes is sought to be ouerthrowne. Where preache you them: euen where they doe least good and most harme: in places where the Gospel hath bene alreadye planted, yea and of- ten times in secrete conuenticles and corners, which the truth neuer seeketh, but vpon extreme necessitie: and before whom preache you? not before such as haue autho- rity to redresse, but before the common people, who (although some of them be godly and sober) yet for the most parte be greatly delighted with nouelties, loue such schole- maisters as teach libertie, and continually inueigh against superiours. All this beyng true, as you can not denie it to be true, there is no cause why you shoulde be offended with the setting downe of the first article.

To preach the Gospel is a thing necessary vnto saluation: to preach that circum- cision and suche like ceremonies be not matters of saluation, is a necessarie doctrine, & of the substance of Religio. Zuinglius and Oecolampadius and other differed fro Lu- ther in some matters of substance, and yet did they orderly and lawfully with the con- sent of their Magistrates proceed in these matters: wherfore these examples helpe you nothing: for the matters you contend for, be not of y same nature, neither do you pro- ceede in like maner. The same answer may be made to all other like examples, that you can vse in these matters. But bicause I will not leane onely to mine owne iudge- ment in this case, let it not greeue you if I set downe M. Zuinglius opinion touching the same, who in his booke called *Ecclesiastes*, speaking against the Anabaptistes saith on this sort, If they were sent of God, & endued with the spirit of God, they woulde haue construed in the best parte these externall things, which be not as yet rightly reformed, they woulde haue become all things to all men, that they might haue wonne all to Christ. &c. M. Caluine also in his booke against y Anabaptists saith, that whe vnder the colour of a zeale of perfectio, we ca beare no imperfectio, either in the body, or in the members of the Church, it is the deuill which puffeth vs vp with pride, and seduceth vs with hypocrisie to make vs forsake Christs flocke.

Zuingl. in ec-  
clesi.

Caluin aduers-  
sus Anabap.

T. C. vbleth  
the same de-  
scend for his  
contentio, that  
the Anabap-  
tists do.

Zuingl. in ec-  
clesi. The sword  
which Christ  
sendeth is not  
betwene the  
faithfull,

Whatsoever you alleage for the saluing of your contentious doctrine out of y. 10. of Mathew verse. 34. y same do y Anabaptists vse for their excuse also, as Zuinglius testi- fieth in his *Ecclesiastes*, his words be these. Their doctrine bringeth forth nothing but con- tention & tumults, in the defense wherof they alleage that Christ said, I came not to sende peace but the sword: to who we answered, that this sword hath no place among the faithfull: for it diuideth the faithfull fro infidels: but they make contentio and brawling among the faithfull, & that for externall things. Hether to Zuinglius: which is a sufficiēt answer to you also vsing y same excuse, & mouing cōtentiōs in like maner & matters. The same sense haue the words of Christ. Luc. 12. ver. 49. for the Gospel is a sword that deuiddeth the faithfull from infidels, but not the faithfull among themselves. It



It is the greatest offence to the simple, and most worthy of Christian teares and weeping, that men shoulde cloake and colour their arrogancie, contention, and errors, with a false pretence of godly zeale for the puritie of fayth, the sinceritie of the Gospell, and the reformation of the Church, as Maister Bucer in 4. ad Ephe. saith that somedey even in Eph. his time.

What you thinke and teach of the authoritie of the ciuill Magistrate will appeare hereafter more plainly in some other partes of your booke, your additions to your protestation of allowing Magistrates, and of your obedience to them, may colour your abiding of their authoritie: For if they commaunde you any thing wherein you intende not to obey, you may say, they commaunded not that in the Lorde, and that it is against your conscience: These exceptions or excuses be very general, & may with you (who in all things pretende the worde of God, and conscience) straghten the authoritie of the Magistrate to your owne purpose. But hereof we shall something more playnely (although not fully) vnderstande your opinion hereafter. The same protestation that you make, it may appeare that the Anabaptistes made also in the beginning, as Zuinglius declareth in his Ecclesiastes.

I. VV. The seconde Article. pag. 2. Sect. 2.

Secondly, they bitterly inueyed agaynst ministers and preachers of the Gospell, saying, that they were not ordinarily and lawfully called to the ministerie, because they were called by the Magistrate, and not by the people: that they preached not the Gospell truly, that they were Scribes and Pharisees: that they had not those thinges which Paule required in a minister. 1. Tim. 3. That they did not themselves those thinges, which they taught vnto other: that they had stipends, and laboured not, and therefore were ministers of the belly, that they could not teache truly, because they had great liuings, and liued wealthyly and pleasantly, that they bled not their authoritie in excommunication, that they attributed to muche vnto the Magistrate.

T. C. pag. 3. & 4.

There was neuer heretike so abhominable, but that he had some truth to cloke his falshode, should his vncriticall and blasphemous, write vs from the possession of that, whiche he holdeth truly: no not the Diuell him selfe, saying, that God had given his Angels charge ouer his, can thereby bring this sentence from vs, why we should not bothe beleue it, and speake it, being a necessarie truth to beleue and speake. You may as well say, we are Anabaptistes, because we say, there is but one God, as they say, one Christ as they say, &c. And heere I will giue the Reader a taste of your Logike, that you make so much of in your booke. The Anabaptistes say that the Churches should choose their ministers, and not the Magistrate, and you say so, therefore you are Anabaptistes, or in the way to Anabaptisme. The Anabaptistes complayne, that the Christians bled not their authoritie in excommunication, and so do you complayne, therefore you are Anabaptistes, or in the way to them. I will not lay to your charge, that you haue not learned Aristotles Porizums, which sayth, it is *αὐτοματόν* as often as the meane in any syllogisme, is consequent to bothe the extremes. But haue you not learned that which Seton, or any other halfe peny Logike telleth you, that you can not conclude affirmatiuely in the seconde figure? And of this sorte are euery one of your surmises contayned in this treatise, whiche you entitle, an exhortation, &c. And if I liked, to make a long booke of little matter (as you doe) I woulde thus gather your argumentes out of euery branche whiche you ascribe, as common vnto vs with the Anabaptistes, as you make adoe, vpon euery place, whiche is quoted by the Admonition to the Parliament. But answere, I pray you, in good faythe are you of that iudgement, that the ciuill Magistrate should ordayne ministers? (1) Or that there should be no excommunication, as it was, and is vsed in certayne the Heluetian Churches? If you be, your controuersie is not so muche worth vs, as worth the Bishops, whiche bothe call ministers, and excommunicate. If you be not, why is that Anabaptisticall in vs, whiche is Christian and Catholicke in you? And why do you go about, to bring vs in hatred for those thinges, which you do not more allowe, than those which you thus endeavour to discredit? We do not say that there is no lawfull, or no ordinarie calling in Englande, for we do not denie, but that he maye be lawfully called, which is not ordinarily, as M. Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Decolampadius, And there be

This is your owne Logike, & these be arguments of your owne framing.

(1) No: but that may be the true church of Christ wherein there is no excommunication: the contrarie whereof the Anabaptistes asseyme.

(2) places



(1) By what authoritie preiudice those parishes so to do.

(3) What scriptures, or wheres will you not quote once

(4) This is vntre

(5) If it be not so, what may be said of you

What other thing is affirmed in the seconde article

(6) Note his modest & manerly speeches.

(2) places in England, where the ministers be called by their parishes in such sort, (3) as the examples of the scripture doe shewe to haue been done, before the elder ship & gouernment of the Church be established. I knowe not any, thit sayth, that the Gospell is not truly preached in Englande, and by those also that are not of the same iudgement, that the Admonition to the Parliament is of. But if it be sayde, that it is not generally of euery one of them, and in all poynts, or not so often, or not there where their duetie byndeth them, and they are called vnto, or not so sincerely, or without mixture, as it ought to be, then there is nothing sayde, but that, which we feare, may be too easily praied. If it be sayde of some, that in certayne there are foundesome of those things, that were reprehended in the Phariseis, what is that to proue, that they be Anabaptistes that speake of it. Your sette in one place of your booke, call the authozs of the Admonition, and their fauourers, Phariseis, who doe all things to be seene of menne, and therefore they sighe, and holde downe their heades, &c. And this you speake, agaynst them that preache the Gospell. Therefore by your reason you giue sentence of Anabaptisme agaynst your selfe. You promised you woulde not write one worde, whercof you had not your authoz for it. First you haue (4) peruerterd the meanyng of the Anabaptistes, in that wherem they accused the godly Ministers, that they were not according to that which is written in the thirde of the 1. Epist. to Timothe, and all because you woulde multiply the number of your likelyhoodes. For they charged the Ministers, by that place, of dissolutenesse and losenesse of lyfe, and corruption of manners, and we alleadge it to proue that they should be able to teache and instructe, agaynst the dumbe Ministerie that is abroad. But that which followeth, vttereth not onely great (5) vntreuth and falsification of the authoz, but sheweth a minde desirous to slander, and lozie (as it seemeth) that those which you so greuously discredit, are no lyker the Anabaptistes, than they be. I wyl set downe the wordes, as they are written in the 102. lease, that it may appeare howe faythfully you haue dealte. Libere enim dicunt concionatores qui stipendium accipiunt, non esse veros Deiministros, neque posse docere ueritatem, sed esse uentris ministros, qui otiose accipiant ingentia stipendia, ex illis rebus, quae simulachris immolatae fuerunt, & ex diuitijs splendide & luxuriose uiuant, cum tamen Christus dixit, gratis accepistis, gratis date, & prohibuit duas tunicas, peram & pecuniam habere, preterea Paulum aiunt manibus suis laborasse, & mandasse reliquis, ut idem faciant, itaque concludunt nulla debere stipendia habere sui officij, sed laborare & gratis ministrare, & quia hoc non faciunt, non posse ipsos ueritatem docere. They say freely (speaking of the Anabaptistes) that the preachers which take stipendes, can not be the true ministers of God, nor teach the truth, but are ministers of the bellie, which to liue idly take great stipendes, of those things which were offered to images, and do of their riches liue gorgeously, and riotously, when notwithstanding Christ sayde, ye haue receiued freely, giue freely, and forbade them to haue two coates, or a scrippe, or money. Besides that, they say that Paule laboured with his owne handes, and gaue commaundement, to the rest of the Ministers, that they should doe so, and therefore they conclude, that they should haue no stipende for their office, but labour and minister for nought, and because they do not so, they cannot teach the truth. Howe let all men iudge, whether it be one thing, to say, that they ought not to haue stipendes, that labour not, or to saye as the Anabaptistes sayde, that it was not lawfull to haue any stipende, or to say, they could not teach truly, because they had great humings, or because they had any liuings at all. Although I neuer read nor heard any of those that you meane, say, that those which had great stipendes and liuings could not preach truly. It may be that diuers haue sayd that it were meete, the ministers should be content, with competent stipendes, and that the ouerplus of that might go to the supplie of the want of other ministers liuings, and to the maintenaunce of the poore, or of the vniuersitie, and that that excesse, is the cause of diuers disorders in those persons, that haue it, but that they could not preach truly (when they preached) which had great liuings, I for my parte neuer hearde it. I thinke you woulde not be exempted from reprehension of that, wherem you faulte, and therefore I knowe not what you meane by these wordes (that they byd not those things themselves which they taught others) we professe no such perfectio in our liues, but that we are oftentimes behind a great deale, in doing of that which is taught to be our dueties to doe, and therefore thinke it necessarie that we should be reprehended, and shewed our faultes. Whereas you say that the Anabaptistes accused the ministers, for giuing too much to the Magistrates, I haue shewed what we giue, and if it be too little, shewe vs and we will amende our fault. I assure you it greeneth me, and I am euen in the beginning wearte, of turning vp this (6) dung, and refuting so vaine and frivulous slanders, with out all shewe and face of truth, and therefore I will be brieue in the rest.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I speake not here of the doctrine of the Anabaptists which is the certaine note wherby they may be knowne: but of their other qualities and manner of talke and preaching. The wordes be M. Bullingers, they be not mine. The argumentes framed, be yours, and neither his nor mine.

They seke not the reformatio but the diffamation of ministers.

Your disciples magnifie you, because your vsuall talke both publike and priuate, is against the Ministers of the Church, against their calling, against their preaching, against their life, &c. which you doe not to reforme them (for you doe it in their absence and to the people) but to deface them, and to discredit them: not to promote the Gospell (which they preache as diligently and sincerely as you doe) but to bring them in to hatred with the people, whereby you might the rather preuaile in your enterprises:



tes: not to reforme their manners (for they maye compare with you in all kinde of  
honestie and dutie) but to expresse your malice and wrathe: for that whiche Zwin- *Zwingl. in*  
glius in *Elench. contra Anabap.* speaketh of them, (It is melancholie and wrathe, not true *Elench. con-*  
zeale of whiche they glorie) maye be truly verified of you, and thereof let thys your *Anabap.*  
booke be iudge.

Nowe if I say, that in this poynte you agree with the Anabaptistes, I doe not  
therefore straightway conclude that you are Anabaptistes: but thys I conclude, that  
you are not for: suche inuencions to be esteemed as more pure in deede than your  
brethren, nor they theoughlye suche slanderous speeches of yours to be discredi-  
ted: because herein you speake of praise nothing agaynste the true Ministers  
of the worde of God, but that whiche the Anabaptistes haue done in the selfe  
same forme and manner before you. And that these be qualities worthe to be  
observed in the Anabaptistes, and suche as procede in lyke manner, it maye ap-  
peare not onely by this obseruation of M. Bullinger, but of other learned, and  
Goodlie menne also, that haue written agaynste them, and giuen notes of their  
qualities. Zwinglius in his Booke before named sayth, That they speake euill booke  
of the Ciuill Magistrate, and of the ministers of the Church, that if an anye  
eyther of them accordyng to theyr office, reprove them, then they straightwaye saye  
that therefore they bee enmyes vnto them. Because they tell them of theyr fault-  
tes: And in his *Eclesiast.* he sayeth thus of them: They so slander, rebyle, and  
backbyte the Ministers of the worde, and of the Church, that they ought to be  
suspected and hated of all Godlye menne: even for theyr slanderous and falsed  
speaking. But theyr ende and purpose is, by thys meanes to wylne credite vnto  
them selues, and to discreditte suche as sette them selues agaynste them, and desceiue  
theyr errorres. The lyke saying he hath in his booke *De Baptismo*. To the same  
effecte also speaketh Gassius of them in his Booke *De exordio et progressu Cathari*  
where among other sentences he hath thys: Theyr talke vntoed, nothinge else but  
reprehension of the Ministers of the worde, and libertie in externall thinges. Nowe iudge  
I praye you, whether this hath ben a qualitie worthe to be observed in the Ana-  
baptistes or no?

I doe not speake agaynste suche as modestly and accordyng to the rule of the  
Apostle. i. Timothy. 5. doe reprove any, but agaynste those that haue nothinge els  
in theyr mouthes, but inuencions agaynste the Ministers of the worde, obseruyng  
neyther place, tyme, nor anye other circumstances, whome I will say in this poynt  
to be fitly compared to the Anabaptistes.

Nowe whether it be my Logike, or yours that you geue a taste of in thys place,  
lette the learned Reader iudge, to whome also I committe the tryall of thys spee-  
che of yours, whiche bursteth out in suche vnseemely manner, vpon the consi-  
deration of your owne deuyled argumentes, to seide your contempte and disdain  
with. In deede if you make argumentes where I make none, and if you frame  
them as it pleaseth you, no mervayle it is though you make a long booke, and cause  
your Reader to beleue, that my Logike is as simple as you woulde haue it.  
But deale with mee vprightly and honestly, and then set downe my vnskillfulnesse,  
and spare not, as I trust you woulde doe to the vttermost in euery poynt, if you could  
seeing that you doe it where there is no occasion at all offered vnto you by mee, but  
imagined of youre selfe. Well, let these quarells goe, moze meete to be among  
boyes than among men. *Gratia Dei sum quod sum*, neyther haue I any thing but that  
whiche I haue receyued of him from whom commeth all good things.

Bothe of the election of ministers, and of excommunication what I thinke, I  
will declare God willing in their proper places. The wordes here by me alledged  
(as I haue saide) are Master Bullingers, and they be truly spoken, and to good purpose  
as there it shall appeare. In the meane while I referre you for that of the Magi-  
strate in electing of ministers, to the 87. and 88. leaues of that his Booke *Aduersus*  
*Anabap.* and for that of excommunication to the. 233. and. 234. leafe of the same  
Booke.



**First Admonition contra-**  
**rie to T.C.**

You denye, that you saye, there is no lawfull or no ordinarie calling of Ministers in Englande, whych is a strange hearing to me: for whereunto then tendeth all that which is wyrtten in your Booke touching the electing and calling of Ministers: or that which is wyrtten in the fyrst Admonition Folio 5. where they say in playne termes, that wee haue neyther a ryghte Ministerie of God, nor a righte gouernment of this Church. And Folio 34. 35. 36. see Folio 157. where they saye, that this prescrip-  
**Laufull is or-**  
**dinarie in a**  
**Church esta-**  
**lished.**

forme of Seruice vsed in this Church of Englande mayntayneth an vnlawfull Ministerie: by that whyche is so hytterly spoken agaynst the Booke of ordering Ministers and Deacons, whyche they call the Pontifical. But you saye that he may be lawfully called, whyche is not ordinarie. I woulde haue you to speake playnely. Is our calling to the Ministerie here in Englande lawfull, but not ordinarie? If it be lawfully then is it not agaynst the wordes of God, neyther is there any Lawe in the Scriptures to the contrarie, as you woulde make vs to beleue. But truly I thinke that you were not here well aduysed, or else haue you some suttile meaning, for you adde immediately, that there be places in Englande where the Ministers are called by these Parishes. &c. So that I suppose you meane, that in some Parishes of Englande, there is a lawfull calling of Ministers: if it be so, then is it notwithstanding truly sayde, that you denie the maner of calling Ministers in this Church of Englande to be lawfull: for that maner of calling is not to be ascribed to this Church, which is vsed in some conuenticles and secrete congregations, but that which is allowed by publike and common authoritie.

Your distinction of lawfull and ordinarie is not simply good, for whatsoever is lawfull in a Church established, that is ordinarie: I thinke that euen very comon reason dothe teache this to be true. Wherefore certainly if our ministerie be lawfull, it is ordinarie. If any Parishes in Englande doe electe or call their ministers otherwyse than the orders and Lawes of this Church dothe permitte, I can not see howe that Parishes can excuse it selfe of schisme, and I thinke verilye, that suche Parishes ought to be looked too in tyme.

I doe not well vnderstande, what you meane by these wordes, in suche sorte as the examples of the Scripture doe shewe to haue bene doone, before the Eldership and gouernments of the Church be established. What examples be these? you quote no places where to fynde them. Or when was the gouernment of the Church and Eldership established: If you had more playnly expressed these two thyngs, wee myghte haue the better vnderstode youre meaning. But belyke these Parishes doe not call theyr Ministers in all poyntes accordyng to the rule that you woulde haue prescribed, and therfore you make an Interim of it, vntill your gouernment be fully finished. This is your dealing to allowe of all thyngs done out of order: yea, though it be agaynst your owne order, so that it tende to the derogation of publike and common order.

**The Admo-**  
**nitors denye**  
**the Gospell to**  
**be truly pre-**  
**ached in Eng-**  
**lande.**  
**Seconde Ad-**  
**monition**  
**pag. 6.**

Whether they saye, that the Gospell is not truly preached in this Church of Englande or no, looke in the whole discourse of their booke: and in the seconde Admonition page. 6. where you may fynde these wordes, I saye that we are so scarce come to the outward face of a Church rightely reformed, that althoughe some truth be taught by some preachers, yet no preacher maye without greate daunger of the Lawes, vter all truth comprised in the booke of God, it is so circumscribed and swapt within the compasse of suche statutes, suche penalties, suche excommunications, suche Aduertisements, suche Articles, suche sober Cautels, and suche manyfolde pamphlets, that in manner it dothe but peepe out from behynd the screene. What say you to these wordes: how can you salue them?

Whether they generally call all the Ministers of the Gospell which be not on their secte Phariseys or no, lette the whole discourse of bothe the Admonitions iudge, and that Pamphlet entituled, An exhortation to the Bishops to deale brotherlye with theyr brethren: In my answer to which pamphlet, I proue that this name Pharisey doth much more aptely agree vnto the Authors thereof, and suche lyke, than to the Bishops and other ministers, whome they so often call by that name, and so odiously compare them together in that pamphlet.

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I must once tell you agayne, that I make no argumentes here, I doe but onely compare their qualities and conditions: I haue performed my promise, if I haue not, shewe me wherin. I peruert not the meaning of the Anabaptistes, but set down the verie wordes of M. Bullinger worde for worde, without any addition, diminution, or alteration: it had bene well if you had examined the places better.

Touчыng the falsification, and vnturthe you charge mee with, I thynke you be not in god earnest, it is but because you could no longer temper your heate: for you make manie of these outcrys, but I suppose you vse them only as meanes to caste vpon your melancholie, whiche you call zeale. Whatsoeuer I there speake of the Anabaptistes, I fynde it in the same forme of wordes in those leaues of M. Bullingers booke, whiche I haue quoted in the Margent. Verble with a little moze diligence fol. 18. where he hath these wordes: *Quod stipendia habeant, & non laborent, atque ideo ventris ministri sunt*, and the. 102. And if you send not there word for worde all this that I haue here spoken, touchyng the stipendes and liuings of ministers, and in the same forme of wordes, then vse your hotte Rhetorike: but I knowe they be there, and you reprove you can not tell what. If this so greatly trouble you, I will tell you what Zuinglius also sayth of this matter in his *Ecclesiastes*, where he speaketh of Anabaptists sayth thus: They teach that suche can not preache the Gospell syncerely, whiche haue benefices, but their hope is to haue the true Pastors expelled, that they may succede in their places, and yet they publikely protest that they seeke for no liuing. Nowe whether you or your men agree with them in this poynt or no, I neither denie nor affirme: if you be pricke, I can not blame you thoghe you kicke. Neither do I say, that those ought to haue stipends which labour not, I do but report Bullingers wordes of the Anabaptistes, I woulde haue no man exempted from due reprehension: I only reporte this to shewe the malicious spirites of the Anabaptistes agaynst the ministers of the worde, that it maye be knowne of what societie they may be suspected to be, whose talke is wholly bent against the Ministers of the worde of God.

That you give too little to Magistrates it shall be shewed in place.

Though you be wearie, it is no meruayle, for it greueneth you to be touched so narrowly: And surely if you vse no cleanyer termes than you doe in this place, or continue in pouring oute your choler in suche aboundance, you will tye mee also, or euer I make an ende.

Whatsoeuer I haue here spoken of the Anabaptistes is moste true, and therefore no flaunder.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

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Thirdly, the whole reformation that was then in the Church displeased them, as not spirituall inough and perfect. For the Sacramentes were not (as they sayd) syncerely ministred, things were not reduced to the Apostolike Church, excommunication not rightly vbled, no amendement of lyfe appeared since the preaching of the Gospel: therefore the Church then reformed no moze the true Church of Christ, than was the Papistlicall Church.

T. C. Pag. 4. Sect. 1.

Wee prayse God for this reformation, so farre forth, as it is agreeable vnto the worde of God, wee are gladd the worde of God is preached, that the Sacramentes are ministred, that whiche is wantyng, we desire it maye be added, that whiche is ouermuche, cut off, and wee are not ashamed to protest, & we desire it may be done according to the institution of the Church in the



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*Lawful is or-  
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*anillo*

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That you giue too little to Magistrates it shall be shewed in place.

Though you be wearie, it is no meruayle, for it greueth you to be touched so narrowly: And surely if you vse no cleanyer termes than you doe in this place, or continue in pouring oute your choler in suche abundance, you will tyre mee also, or euer I make an ende.

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### To. Whitgiste.

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Wee praye God for this reformation, so farre forth, as it is agreeable vnto the worde of God, wee are gladde the worde of God is preached, that the Sacramentes are ministred, that whiche is wantyng, we desire it maye be added, that whiche is ouermuche, cut off, and wee are not ashamed to proteste, we desire it maye be done according to the institution of the Church in the



## Io. Whitgifte.

The. 6. Article. Pag. 3. Sect. 3.

Bullin. fo. 10.

Sixthly, they pretended in all their doings, the glorie of God, the edifying of the Church, and the puritie of the Gospell.

T. C. pag. 5. Sect. 3.

We pretende it not, but we propounde it, and herein we call God to witnesse against our owne soules.

## Io. Whitgifte.

All seeke not  
the glorie of  
God, that pre-  
tend so to doe.

Zuinglius in  
Ecclesiast.

Gastius.

Bucer.

I can not let you to applie things to your owne selues at your pleasure. *Volenti, non fit iniuria.* I sette that of the Anabaptistes down to this end, that men may vnderstande not al those to seek the glorie of God. &c. which pretend the same: because y Anabaptistes haue those pretences, and yet they seeke nothing lesse. That the Anabaptistes, and suche lyke disturbers of the Church haue those pretences, not only M. Bullinger in those places by me quoted, but other godlie and learned men also do testifie. Zuinglius in his *Ecclesiast.* sayth that they boast: that whatsoever they speake, they speake it of zeale, being moued with the spirite. Gastius sayth in his booke *De exordio & erroribus casabap.* that vnder the pretence of zeale, they subuert whatsoever other men haue buylded. Bucer in *4. ad Ephef.* sayth, that Satan couereth and cloketh arrogancie, selfeloue, enuye, and hatred, with a false pretence of godlie zeale for the puritie of faith, for the sinceritie of Christes doctrine, and for the saluation of the Church. It is expedient for men to know this, else might they thorough simplicitie easily be deceyued.

## Io. Whitgifte.

The. 7. Article. Pag. 3. Sect. 4.

Bull. fo. 11. 17.

They earnestly cryed out against pride, gluttonie, &c. They spake much of mortification: they pretended great grauitie, they sighed much: they seldome or neuer laughed: they were verie austere in reprehending: they spake gloriouflye. To be shorte, *Magna & varia erat ipsorum hypocrisis*, they were greate hypocrites, thereby to winne authoritie to their heresie, among the simple and ignorant people.

T. C. Pag. 5. Sect. 4.

If you doe note these thinges (which we say not) we will rather doo them with the Anabaptistes, than leaue them vndone with you. Of our simple heart and meaning in them, we haue before protested. In the meane season, we will patiently abyde, vntill the Lord bring our rightousnesse in this behalfe vnto lyght, and our iust dealing as the noone day. Touching our sighing and seldome or neuer laughyng, you giue occasion after to speake of it, vnto the whiche place, I reserue the answere.

Psalm. 77.  
ver. 6.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

I doe not wryte this of them because I woulde haue men absteyne from reprouing vice, and exhorting to godlinesse, but to lette it be vnderstande, that these be no certaine proofes of the veritie of the doctrine, being commonly vsed in most vehement sort of the heretikes and sectaries to allure the people vnto them, and to winne credite vnto their opinions.

## Io. Whitgifte.

The. 8. Article. Pag. 3. Sect. 5.

Bull. fol. 11.

If they were at any tyme punished for their errors, they greatly complained that nothing was vsed but violence, that the truth was oppressed, that innocent and godly men which would haue all things reformed according to the word of God, could not be heard, nor haue libertie to speak. That Zuinglius stopped their mouths, & defended his cause, not by the word of God, but by y authoritie of the magistrate.

T. C.



T.C. Page 5. Sect. 5.

We are no Stoikes, that we should not be touched with the feeling of our griefes, if our complaints be excessive, shew them and we will abridge them. What errors we defend, and how you maynteyne your parte by the word of God, it will appeare in the discourse of your Booke.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

And yet your complaint in this point, as it is without iust cause, so is it common to you with the Anabaptists, and therefore no true note of the veritie of your doctrine, nor any sufficient cause why you should therefore be more gracious unto the people. The chiefest thing that the common sort haue to say in your defense is, that you be persecuted, put from your livings &c. Which if it were altogether true, as it is reported, yet your complaint is no other, than the Anabaptists is, and therefore no more to be alleadged for the iustifying of you, than the like is for the iustifying of them.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The 9. Article. Page. 3. Sect. 6.

They found great faulte with the baptising of chldren, and ceremonies bled in the same: But after ward did vtterly condemne it. Bu. Fo. 10. 214.

T.C. Page. 5. Sect. 6.

Their finding fault without cause in the ceremonies of baptisme, cannot barre vs from finding fault where there is cause. We allow of the baptisme of chldren and hope through the goodness of God, that it shall be farre from vs, ever to condemne it. But to let your slanderous tongue go (all the strings whereof ye seeme to haue loosed, that it may the more freely be throwen out, and walke against the innocent) where, where is the modestie you require in other, of not entering to iudge of things vnknewen, which dare insinuate to the Magistrate, that it is like they will condemne childrens baptisme, which do baptise them, preach they shoulde be baptised, and which did neuer by sillable, letter, or countenance, mislike of their baptisme.

Marke the modestie of the m<sup>a</sup>.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Can you denie any thing to be true that I haue spoken of the Anabaptists in this article: or can you denie but that your selues also mislike the ceremonies bled in baptisme in this Church: yea and the same that they did: what followed in them is manifest: what will follow in you God knoweth: I iudge not. What be my suspicions is declared in my answer to the Admonition, which if you haue truly taken away, I am satisfied: but I am afraid the contrarie will appeare in your booke.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The 10. 11. 12. Page. 3. Sect. 7.

They taught that the ciuill Magistrate hath no authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters, and that he ought not to medle in causes of religion and faith. Bul. Fol. 19.

Page 4. Sect. 1.

That no man oughte to be compelled to faith and to religion. Bul. Fol. 19. 96  
That Christians oughte to punish faultes, not with imprisonment, not with the sword, or corporall punishment, but only with excommunication. 242.  
Fol. 178.

T.C. Page. 5. Sect. 7.

I answer as vnto the fifth, and for further answer, I will referre the reader to those places, where occasion shall be given to speake of those things as aye.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

And I referre my selfe also to the Admonitions, and to your owne booke, and to my severall answers which shall be made touching these matters.

D. iiii.

L. VV.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

The.13. Article. Page.4. Sect.3.

Fol.11.242.

They complayned much of persecution.

T. C. Pa.5. Sect.8.

This is a braunch of the eyght, and added for nothing else but to make by the tale.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

And yet a worthy note, else shoulde it not haue bin so often repeated, not only of Bullinger, but of other goodly men also, as of Zuinglius, Galtius, and others.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

The.14. Article. Pa.4. Sect.4.

Fol.11.

They bragged that they would defend their cause not only with words, but with the shedding of their blood also.

T. C. Pa.5. Sect.vlt.

We feare no shedding of blood in hir maiesties dayes, for mainteining that which we hope we shall be able to proue out of the word of God, and wherein we agree with the best reformed churches, but certaine of the thinges whiche we stand vpon are such, as that if euery heare of our head were a life, we ought to asoide them for the defense of them. We brag not of any the least abilitie of suffering, but in the feare of God, we hope of the assistance of God his holy spirit to abide, whatsoeuer hee shall thinke good to trie vs with, either for profession of this, or any other hys trueth whatsoeuer.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Second Admon. Fol.59

The state of the cōtentiō altered by T.C.

Thanks be vnto God, there is no cause why you should feare. But wherefore do you then beate any such suspition into the peoples heads? or why do you boast of that that you know is nothing nere you? and whiche no man once goeth about to offer vnto you: what meane you in the. 59. page of the second Admonition to say that there is a persecution of poore Christians, and the professours of the Gospell, suffered, not farre vnlike to the five articles, which crafty heads deuised, and brought the king hir noble father vnto, as they would do hir maiestie now? Can any thing be spoken more vntuly, more suspiciously, may I may rightly say, more seditionally?

If there be such things in controuersie betwixt vs, that require defense even vnto death, yea and that if euery heare of our head were a life, we ought to asoide them for the defense of the same, then truly is there greater matters in hand, than euery body doth consider of. Hitherto it hath bin the common opinion, that our contention was but about trifles, about externall things, such as might admit alteration, and were not of the substance of religion: but if this be true that you here set downe, belike a great sort haue bin hitherto deceived. Truly if the matters be of such weight that they require defense of life, you are much to blame that haue not hitherto made them better known. I trust we shall in this booke vnderstand what they are. In the meane time the stout bragges that are vsed by some, might well be spared: but we haue oftentimes seene greate cloudes and small rayne, and heard great crackes of thunder, and (thanks be vnto God) small harme done. Neither are you more to be credited for these bragginges, than were the Anabaptists for bling the like.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

The.15. Article. Page.4. Sect.5.

Fol.17.77.

Their whole intent was to make a separation and a schisme, and to withdraw men from their ordinary Churches and pastours, and therefore most odiously they inueied against such pastours, and sought by all meanes to discredite them.

T.C.



T.C. Page 6. Sect. 1.

We make no separation from the Church, we go about to separate all those things, that offend in the Church, to the end that we being all knit to the sincere truth of the Gospel, might afterwards in the same bond of truth, be more neerely and closely ioyned together. We endeavour that euerie Church hauing a lawfull pastoure, whiche is able to instruct, all might be ranged to their proper Churches, whereas diuerse, vnlesse they go to other than their owne parishes, are like to heare few sermons in the yeare, so farre are we from withdrawing men from their ordinarie churches and pastours. Let him that inueyeth against any pastoure without good cause, beare the punishment: as for inueyng againste heaping of liuing vpon liuing, and ioyning sleeple to sleeple, and nonresidence and such ambition and tyrannie, as beareth the sway in diuers ecclesiasticall persons, if the price of the pacification, be the offending of the Lorde, it is better you be displeased, than God bee offended.

*Io. Whitgiste,*

Whether you make a separation or no, and a schisme in the Church, let all men iudge: and whether you draw the people from their ordinarie pastours or no, let the secrets conuenticles (for I can call them no better) vled not only in the citie, but in other places of the countrey also testify: whether iustly, and as it becommeth you, you enuey against such pastours and preachers as mislike your opinion, and seeke their discredit, let the bitter inuectiues in sermons before the people, when none of them is present, the common table talke, bothe your Admonitions, the firste and the second, yea and this your passing modeste booke declare. Truly this article and euery content in it, was neuer more truly veriefyed of the Anabaptists, than it is, and may be of you.

What you haue to say against the ambition and tyrannie of any such as you especially shoute at, we shall see in your particulars, I trust you will speake all you know, and more to, else you do degenerate.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The. 16. Article. Page. 4. Sect. 6.

There was no staye in them, but daily they inuented new opinions, and did runne from errour to errour. Fol. 18.

T.C. Page. 6. Sect. 2.

Eph. 4. v. 13  
Col. 3. v. 10. We stay ourselues within the bonds of the word of God: we professe our selues to be of the number of those, which should grow in knowledge, as we do in age, and which labor that the image of God may be dayly renewed in vs, not only in holynesse of life, but also in knowledge of the truth of God, and yet I know no question moued, which hath not bin many yeares before in other churches reformed, holden as truth, and therefore practised, and in our Church also haue bin some yeares debated.

*Io Whitgiste*

Thus muche might they alleadge for themselves also, and applie those textes of scripture to as good purpose as you do. For that place of the fourth to the Ephe. doth teach that God hath therefore appointed his ministerie in the Church, that it might be a meanes to bring vs to a perfect knowledge of Christ. The meaning is not that we should be daily altering our iudgement, and broching new opinions: for against such vconstancie, the same Apostle speaketh in the. 14. verse of the same Chapter. True it is that we must dayly grow in faith and loue, to the full perfection whereof, we cannot attaine in this life: but it doth not therefore follow, that we like children must be carried about with euery wind of doctrine, and neuer remaine constant in one religion. To the same end are the words of the Apostle in the. 3. to the Collo. to be referred. 4. Eph. ver. 14.

I beleue it will fall out that in this your replie, there will be found sundry articles, neyther allowed nor practised in any Church reformed, nor in our Church debated at any time heretofore.

*Io Whitgiste*

The 17. Article. Page. 4. Sect. 7.

They were very stubbozne and wilfull, which they called constant. En. Fo. 78. 244  
cie:



ric: they were wayward and froward: without all humanitie, they iudged and condemned all other men.

T.C. Page. 6. Sect. 3.

If we defend no fallshood or inconvenient thing, we cannot be counted stubborne or willfull, wherof we offer to be tried by the indifferent reader. For waywardnesse & inhumanitie, we thinke it a fault, as we esteeme godly societie and affabilitie to be commendable: and what is our behauiour herein: we likewise referre to their iudgements, with whome we are conuersant, and haue to do with, being misiudged and vniuersally condemned of you, we iudge not condemne no man, their vices we condemne, so far forth as the titles of our vocation doth permit vs,

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Because the answer to this Article consisteth of (It) and dependeth especially of the testimonie of such as haue bin a conuenient time conuersant with you, I referre the iudgement hereof to their experience, and indifferent considerations.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The 18. Article. Page. 4. Sect. 8.

They soughte to ouerthrow common weales, and states of gouernement.

T.C. Page. 6. Sect. 4.

We allow of common weales, \* as withoute whiche the Church cannot long continue, wee speake not against ciuill gouernment, nor yet against ecclesiasticall, further than the same is an enemie to the gouernment, that God hath instituted.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

So do the Anabaptists in words protest as it appeareth by these words of Zuingli- us in his Eccle. Though they protest, and by oth denie that they take any authoritie from magistrates, y et shortly after we should haue scene it come to passe that they would haue bin disobedient to all lawes of magistrates, if once they had increased to that number, that they might haue trusted to their owne strength. But what your doctrine tendeth to (though peraduenture you meane not so) it will, I thinke, appeare when it is examined.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The 19. Article. Page. 4. Sect. 5.

They gaue honoure and reuerence to none, and they bled to speake to such as were in authoritie withoute any signification of honour, neither woulde they call men by their titles, and they answered churchly.

T.C. Page. 6. Sect. 5.

If we giue honoure and reuerence to none, let vs not only haue none againe, but let vs be had as those that are unworthy to liue amongst men. I feare there be of those, which are your fauourers, ecclesiasticall persons, that if they should meete with my Lord Mayor of London, woulde streine cartellie, whether he or they should put off the cappe first. We giue the titles of Maiestie, to the Queene our soueraygne, of grace, to Duke and Duchesse, of honoure to those whiche are in honoure, and so to every one, according to their estate. If we misse, it is not because we are not willing, but because we know not alwayes what pertaineth vnto them, and then our fault is pardonable, for answering churchly. (\*) It is answered before in the seuenth Article.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Iudee the Anabaptists in the end rejected all authoritie of superiours, and refused to giue vnto them their due titles and reuerence, yet when they had for a time obtayned their owne desire, they took that to themselues most ambitiously, which they refused to giue to other. You are not so farre gone as yet in all states, but in the contempt

Fol. 78.

\* This seemeth to be contrary to that which he hath. Page. 35

Zuingli. in Ecclesi.

Fol. 79.

(\*) Wher nothing is mentioned of it, but it is referred (bylike) to this place, and from hence posited ouer thither agaync.

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tempte of the state Ecclesiasticall, you may compare with them to the bittermost: what you will do in the end touching the ciuill Magistrate (if you obtaine your desire) I will not determine, but leane it to the discretion of such as shall peruse these our booke of such controuersies.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The.20. Article. Page.4. Sect.10.

They attributed much vnto themselves, and pleased themselves very well; other men they contemned, and therefore their munde were full of pride and contempt.

T.C. Page.6. Sect.6.

With acknowledging of our manyfold want and ignorances, we doubt not also to take vpon vs, with thanksgiuing, that knowledge, whiche God hath giuen to euery of vs according to the measure of faith: we seeke not to please ourselves, but the Lorde and our brethren, yea all men in that whiche is good. We reuerence other mens gifts, so as we thinke the contempt of them, reboundeth to the giuer. Therefore although the common infection be in vs, yet we hope yett bothe not repine in our mortall bodies.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Well for the right application of this Article, I will go no further than to thys your owne booke. Surely if the rest of your fellowes haue the same spirit, there was neuer Anabaptists in these qualities to be compared vnto you. But I thinke better of some of them, so would I haue done of you also, if I had not seene the contrary in you, even sithence our first acquaintance, but especially, sithence the time, wherein vpon iust occasions, I began to stirre you: and now most evidently in your Replie, yea this very answer of yours to this article, verifieth the same to haue place in you, whiche in this.20. Article is ascribed to the Anabaptists.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The.21. Article. Page.4. Sect.11.

They went not to preach in suche places where the Gospell was not planted, but only they insinuated themselves into those places, wherein the Gospell had bin diligently preached: and where there were godly and quiet men: there they made a sturre, they rayled by factions and bredde discord.

T.C. Page 6. Sect. vlt.

We hold that it is no ministers part, to choose his owne place where he will preach, but to tarie vntill he be chosen of others. Likewise, that he insinuate not himself, but abide a lawful calling: therefore this cannot agree to vs, but to those rather, which extort themselves with a routing & wandering ministerie, and defende the ministers owne presenting and offering himselfe as euer hee bee called.

How happened it then that so many of you flocke together at London who calleth you?

*Io. Whitgiste.*

And why haue you then hitherto chosen such places to remaine and preach in, as London, &c. Where the Gospell without you, and before your tyme was planted? why haue you there and in suche like places disquieted the Church and sowed the seede of contention? What calling haue you had in those places, which you might not haue by the selfe same meanes in other places also, where the Gospell is not so well planted? Truly this note is so common to all Anabaptists, and so notorions, that I know very few writing against the Anabaptists, which do omitte it. Zuinglius reporteth it of them in his *Elenc: contra Anabap.* In his *Ecclesiastes* diuers times, and in his booke *de Baptismo*. Gastius likewise, in his booke *de exordio & erroribus catabantist.* which they would not do, if it were not a note worthy to be noted. Surely I thinke that I

Zuinglius.

Gastius.

am



A man may  
offer his helpe  
in the minis-  
trie in some re-  
spect.  
1. Tim. 3.

amable to p[ro]vide viuent of you to haue instructed yourselues to places (which please you) before you were called therunto. And I am of that iudgement, that a man may lawfully so do, as he desireth to do good and to profite. For S. Paule saith. *Qui episcopatum &c* If a man desire the office of a Bishop, &c. Which place by the iudgement of all the interpreters that I haue read, both signify that a man may offer himselfe with a mind to do good, so that he do not intrude himselfe, or seeke by unlawfull meanes to obtaine that which he desireth: for then it is like that he seekeh not to profite other, but to profite himselfe.

If there be any rousing or wandring ministers it is amongst yourselues, which wander up and downe, from place to place to sow contention, and to deface by slanderous reports suche as mislike your proceedings. Any other that may so truly and hytly be called rousers and wanderers I know none.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The 22. & 23. Articles. Page 5. Sect. 1. 2.

They sought to be free from all lawes, and to do what they list.

They were animated by crafty and luttie Papistes, whiche dyd seeke the ouerthrow of the Gospell, and the restoring of Papisme.

T. C. Page 7. Sect. 1.

I answer as to the fifth, and touching the 21. referre the reader to a further answer in that place, where occasion is offered to speake of it againe.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

And for iust application of the 22. Article I referre you to the 60. and 61. Page of the second Admonition, where I would haue you consider, what their meaning is by that Promise, that they would haue for themselves, and by that exemption that they require to haue from the iurisdiction of the Bishops, Iustices of Peace. &c. It is not amisse also to weigh what the equalitie meaneth that they seeke for among the Clergie, and the state of the Segniorie, where the Pastor must be the chiefe of what degree soeuer the rest of the seniors be, whether Clerges, Barons, &c.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

The 24. Article. Page 5. Sect. 3.

To be short the people had them in great admiration, because of their hypocrisie, and straightnesse of life, and such as were of contentious natures ioynd with them, and commended their doings.

T. C. Page 7. Sect. 2.

So farre sooth as we may (for the infirmities wherewith we are inclosed) we intendure to adorne the doctrine of the Gospell, which we professe, we seeke not the admiration of men (if God do giue, that we haue honest reporte, we thinke we ought to mainteine that, to the glory of God, and advancement of the Gospell. What is our straightnesse of life any other, than is required in all Christians? we bring in I am sure no monachisme or anchorisme, we eate and drinke as other men, we lue as other men, we are apparelled as other men, we lie as other men, we vse those honest recreations that other men do, and we thinke there is no good thing or commoditie of life in the world, but that in sobriety we may be partakers of, so farre as our degree and calling will suffer vs, and as God maketh vs able to haue it. For the hypocrisie that you so often charge vs with, the day shall trie it. If any man loyne with vs, with mind to contend, it is against our will, notwithstanding we know none, and what great stirrers and contenders they be which fauour their cause, let all men iudge.

### Io. Whitgiste.

These be faire speeches, sooner said than p[ro]ued: I accuse you not of these matters, I do but report the qualities of the Anabaptists, if your owne consciences accuse you, or if you will needes applie these things vnto yourselues (as I haue said before) I can not let you.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

An exhortation &amp;c. Pag. 5. Sect. 4. 5.

These were the maners, conditions, practises, and proceedings of the Anabaptistes in Germanie, before they vttered their seditious and monstrous heresies.

I leaue the application hereof to your wisdomes, who easily can coniecture, what kind of men they be that come nearest to these steps. Onely I desire you to be circumspecte, and to vnderstande that Anabaptisme (which vsually followeth the preaching of the Gospell) is greatly to be feared in this Church of Englande, and almost playnely professed in this Admonition, the authours wherof agree w<sup>th</sup> them in these forenamed practises and qualities.

T.C. Pag. 7. Sect. 3.

Doe you thinke to mocke the worlde so, that when you haue so vniu<sup>er</sup>sally, and so hapnously accused, you may wipe your mouth, and saye as you dyd before that you will not accuse any: and as nowe, that you leaue the application: Is not this to accuse, to say that the authours of the Admonition doe almost playnely professe Anabaptisme: Is not this to apply, to say that they agree w<sup>th</sup> the Anabaptistes in (\*) all the forenamed practises and qualities: you woulde faine strike vs, but you woulde doe it in the myghte, when no man shoulde see you, and yet if you haue to doe agaynst Anabaptistes, you neede not feare to proclaime your warre agaynst them: you haue a glorious cause, you shall haue a certayne victorie. I dare promyse you, that you shall haue all the estates and orders of this Realme to clappe their handes and sing your triumphall, and triumphant songes. But that you woulde conuey your sting so priuily and hyslingly, as the Adder doth, it carryeth w<sup>th</sup> it a suspition of an euill conscience, and of a worse cause, than you make the worlde beleue you haue.

(\*) A falsification for he addeth this word, all.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Truely I am in good earnest: I mocke not: I greatly feare Anabaptisme, which is an heresie that hath many branches, and creepeth in secretly vnder notable pretenses: and therefore I thought it conuenient to gather these notes together out of suche learned & godly w<sup>ri</sup>ters as haue had experience of them, the which also I haue moze at large set oute in the seconde edition of my booke. If this offende you, the offence is taken and not gyuen: you are not able to accuse me iustly hetherto of any vntruth. I accuse none, bycause I knowe none, that will openly professe himselfe to be one, or playnely asseyme any article which is of the substance of theyr heresye. But I see diuers walking in the same steppes that the Anabaptistes dyd, towarde theyr heresy: and therefore I thoughte it my durtie to admonish those that be in authority to take heed of them (Let men apply them as they see cause, and haue experience) there can be no hurte in that, it shall make them the moze circumspect, and arme them agaynst the hypocryte of diuers. Howe the authours of both the Admonitions do agree w<sup>th</sup> the Anabaptistes, in these forenamed practises, I haue declared in my answer to your Reply.

You falsifie my wordes when you asseyme, that I say they agree w<sup>th</sup> the Anabaptistes in all the forenamed practises, and qualities, for I haue not this vniuersall signe all: if they agree w<sup>th</sup> them in many, they are to be suspected. I thinke the Anabaptistes themselves, as they haue diuers and severall opinions in doctrine, so haue they also diuers qualities concerning lyfe and conuersation: and yet some there are which be common to them all, I know that all the estates and orders of this Realme hate Anabaptisme: I require not your promyse for that matter, which you offer vnto me *Sed pro imperio*. I know their detestation of that heresie, and therefore I am bolde to open these practises & qualities vnto them, least they may by some mens hypocryte, and close dealing be deceiued. My wordes and w<sup>ri</sup>tings be publike, my speeches plaine, and therefore if I sing, it is openly enough. The p<sup>re</sup>achers and singers, be those that secretly

singe



smite they? neighbour, and hitte at them in their absence at tables, and in corners, and sting them behinde their backs, whē they are not present to answer for themselves: Such adders and Scorpions, swarme among you.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

An exhortation, &c. Pag. 5. Sect. 6.

Donatistes.

Moreover it may please you to consider the conditions & practises of the Donatists, who deuided them selues fro the congregation, and had their peculiar Churches, or rather conuenticles, in Africa. They taughte also that all other Churches were spotted and impure, bycause of their Ministers. Finally, that there ought to be no compulsion vled in matters of Religion and sayth, and that none should be punished for their conscience.

T.C. Page. 7. Sect. 4.

Some you carie vs from the Anabaptistes in Europe, to the Donatistes in Africke, and you will paynte vs with their colours, but you want the oyle of truth, or likelihood of truth, to cause your colours to cleaue and to endure. The Lorde be prayed, that your breath although it be verie ranke, yet it is not so strong, it is able cyther to turne vs, or chaunge vs into what formes it pleaseth you. I shall desire the reader to loke Theodoret lib. 4. de fabulis Hæreticorum & Augustin, ad quod-vult-Deum: and in his firste and second bookes agaynst Petilianus Letters, where he shall fynde of these heretikes, that by comparing them with these, to whome M. Doctor, lyketh them, the smoke of this accusation mighte the better appeare: For these scounders are not worthe the answering. To this diuision from the Churches, and to your supposed conuenticles, I haue answered. They taught that there were no true Churches but in Africke, we teache nothing lesse, than that there is no true Church but in Englande. If the Churches be considered in the partes, whether Minister, or people, there is none pure and vnspotted, and this is the saythe of the true Church, and not of the Donatistes: If it be considered in the whole and generall gouernment and outwarde policie of it, it may be pure and vnspotted, for anything I knowe, if men would labour to purge it. The Donatistes vaunted themselves to be exempted from sinne, and what likelihood is there betwene any assertion of the authors of the Admonition, and this fanisie of the Donatistes. To the last poynt of no compulsion to be vled in matters of Religion denying it to be true, I referre the further answer to another place.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The admonitions compared with the Donatistes.

This that I haue set downe of the Donatistes is all true, neyther can you disproue one word of it. I write so much of their practises as be correspondēt to the doings of the Authors of the Admonition. The Donatistes deuided themselves from the congregation, and had peculiar Churches, or rather conuenticles in Africa. These also deuide themselves from the Church. And although they tye not the Church of Christ to any one corner, yet haue they their seuerall Churches, and secrete meetings. The Donatistes made this their excuse, why they departed from other Churches: bycause they were not pure and vnspotted, and their ministers of euill life: These men for the lyke causes separate themselves from the Church also. The Donatistes would haue no compulsion vled in matters of Religion, and sayth: These men in effecte be lykelie to be punished: so they would haue no corporall punishment vled, which may appeare by that which is written in the second Admonition fol. 57. where they saye that it is not to make any lawes but meere truth, bycause the gouernment of the Church is already perturbed the word, and fol. 56. and in diuers places else they speake to the lyke purpose, whereof occasion will be giuen hereafter better to consider.

Second Admon. fol. 57.

Aug. de heresib. ad quod-vult.

Lib. 4 de fab. Heret.

Augustine in his booke de heresibus ad quod-vult-Deum sheweth that some of the Donatistes were also Ariany, but not all, and some of them were Circumcellions, of which seate Theodoret speaketh in the place by you cyted. But what is all this to the purpose? I speake not of their opinions, nor of all their conditions, but of such onely



onely, wherein these that separate them selves in our dayes, seeme to agree wyth them. *Similia* (as you knowe) agree not in all poyntes, it is sufficient if they doe in those things in quibus comparantur. Neyther doe I anye otherwyse reporte of them, than M. Caluine him selfe doth in his booke against the Anabaptistes: and Augustine with others that wyrite of them.

Surely neyther in the whole, nor in parte can the Church be supported in this wyld, no not in the outwarde pollicie and government of it: neyther doe I thinke that you are able to shewe any examples of suche Puritie: we haue to the contrarie euen in the Apostolicall Churches in the Apostles tyme, as the Church of Corinth, and of the Galatians. Maister Caluine in his booke *aduersus Anabaptistas* is directly against you, and in dede I thinke that you are not able to shewe me learned wyrite of your opinion in this poynt.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

An exhortation. &c. Pag. 5. Sect. 7.

To conclude, these men flatly ioyne with the Papistes, and by the selfe same assertions, benide their force against this Church of Englande.

T. C. Pag. 7. Sect. vlt.

Ecdcl. 10.  
Ver. 13.

Salomon sayth that the beginning of the wisdom of an unwise man is follyshene, but the latter ende of them is more madnesse: euen so it falleth oute by you: for whylest you suffer your selfe to be carped headlong of your assertions, you hurle, you knowe not what, nor at whom. Whatsoever cometh first to hande, and speake things that the eyes, and eares of all men, see, and heare, to be otherwyse: whylest you compare them to the Anabaptistes, and Donatistes, and friends of yours mighte thinke, you sayde truly, because suche alwayes seekinge dark and solitary places, myghte happely haue some fauourers, whych are not knowne. But when you ioyne them wyth the Papistes whych are commonly knowne to all men, whose doctrine they imagine, as (\*) well as you, whose markes and badges they can lesse awaye wyth than you, whose companye they sue more than you, whose punishment they haue called for more than you for your parte haue done, and therefore are condemned of them as cruel, when you ostentymes carie awaye the name of myldnesse and moderation, whych forsothe knowe (as you haue professed) no commandement in the Scripture to put heretickes to death: when I saye, you ioyne them thus wyth the Papistes, you doe not onely leaue your credite in these vntreue furnises (wherein I truste wyth the indifferent reader your neuer had any) but you make all other things suspected, which you asseure, so that you geue much occasion to take up the common prowerbe against you: I wyll truste you no farther than I see you. After you haue thus poked them wyth the Papistes, you go aboute to shewe wherein they diuie wyth them. Wherein I fyrt aske of you, if all they that asseyme or doe any thing that the enemies of the Church doe, are forsothe ioyned and conspired wyth them against the Church? what (\*) say you to S. Paule that ioyned wyth the (\*) Pharisies in the resurrection, with the false Apostles in takinge no (\*) wages of the Corinthians, our Saviour Christ, which spake against the Jewes which were then the onely people of God, as the Gentiles dyd which were their enemies, will you saye therefore that eyther S. Paule ioyned wyth the Pharisies or false Apostles, against the Church, or that our Saviour Christ ioyned against the Jewes wyth the Gentiles: but let vs see your standers particularly.

Act. 23. v. 6.  
2. Cor. 11.  
v. 12.  
2. Cor. 9.

(\*) And yet in defacing and deprauing this Church of England they fully ioyne wyth them, and so doe not I.

(\*) I say, that nei-ther Christ nor Paule ioyned ei-ther with Gen-tils, Pharisies, or false Apostles against the church

I thinke they ioyne a church for me in S. D.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The same Salomon sayth, that in the mouth of the foolyshe is the roote of pride. &c. Euen so it falleth oute with you: for whylest with suche proude wordes you seeke to dreyne at me, you doe but condemne your selfe of follye. Pilate and Herode were at enmitie betwixte them selues, and yet they ioyned together against Christ: The Phariseis and Saduces were of contrarie opinions, yet were they both enemies to the doctrine of Christ. The Turke and the Pope be of contrarie Religions, yet doe they both conspire against the Gospell: Papistes and Anabaptistes agree not eyther in opinion or in societe, yet doe they both seeke to deface the Church of Christ: Euen so they, though they impugne the doctrine of the Papists neuer so stoutly, yet cast away their markes and badges neuer so farre from them, though they cannot

Pro. 14.

Men of contrarie iudgements ioyne together against the truth.

E. y.

abyde



abode theyr companie, yet doe they wyth them by the same assertions, (thoughe not by the same argumentes) assaulte this Church of Englande, and vende their force against it: Dyd not the seditions Jewes within Jerusalem, ioyne wyth the Romans beyng their enimyes, in procuring the destruction of that Citty: you are not so ignorant as you woulde seeme to be, I am sure you understande my meaning.

And where you have called for the punishment of the Papistes more than I have done, and therfore you counted cruel, and I mude and moderate, certaynely I knowe not, I heare onely your selfe say so. What I have done, and where, I mude not to bragge of at this tyme, I leave that for you.

What I have professed concerning the putting to death of Heretikes, the same doe I profess till, and am ready thereof to geve an accounte at all tymes as I shal be required: although neyther you, nor any man else, have heard me teach that doctrine, or professe it: but thys is one of your glances by the waye: when occasion is gyuent me to speake of that matter I wyll plainly utter my conscience by the grace of God, In the meane tyme, it is no cause why I shoulde be better thoughte of among the Papistes, for bothe theyr practise and theyr doctrine is cleane contrarie.

To your question I answer, that if they doe that against the Church, which the enimyes doe against the same, then doe they in that conspire wyth them against the Church: and therefore all your examples here bled are to no purpose at all. For Saynt Paule ioyned wyth the Phariseys and wyth the false Prophetes in those thyngs which were allowed of the Church, and for the commoditie of the Church, and therefore in no respecte agaynst the Church, the same I answer I make to the example of Christe iustly reprovynge the Jewes: if you woulde have bled apte examples for your purpose, then shoulde you have broughte in such as beyng of contrarie iudgements, have nothing standing together to querry one and the selfe same thing, although by divers meanes. But then shoulde you have concluded agaynst your selfe, as you must of necessity doe, so that here where you woulde seeme to say much, you have said nothing at all.

*10. Whitgife.*

An exhortation See page 5. Sect. vi.

First the Papistes affirme that we are not the true Church, no, that we have not so much as the outward face and the boe of the true Church, and so doe these men almost in flat and playne termes.

*T. C. page 8. Sect. i.*

They doe not deny but there is a visible Church of God in England, and therefore your sayings of them, that they doe almost in playne and flat termes say, that we have not so much as any outward face and the boe of the true Church, argueth that you have almost no love in you, which upon one word once uttered, contrarie to the tenour of their booke, and course of their whole life, surmise this of them, and how truly you conclude of that word (scarce) it shall appeare when we come to that place.

*Jo. Whitgife.*

They doe in playne and flat termes write as much as I doe reporte of them in this article: for a manifest proofe thereof I referre the reader to the 6. page of the seconde Admonition, and the 33. of the first Admonition: and to the whole discourse of both. *ape* (almost) is equivalent to theyr *scarce*. But whosoever shall well consider the tenour of theyr booke, and the course of their life, may easily understande, that both I myghte have lefte oute my *almost*, and theyr *scarce*, lyke wolle.



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

An exhortation &c. Pag. 6. Sect. 1.

Secondly the Papistes say, that we haue no ministerie, no Bishops, no pastours, bicause they be not rightly and canonically called to these functions: the selfe same do these men affirme.

T. C. Pag. 8. Sect. 2.

I haue answered this in the seconde article of Anabaptisme, that you charge by faith.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Then haue I answered the same there also.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

An exhortation &c. Pag. 6. Sect. 2.

Thirdly the Papistes say that our Sacraments be not rightly ministred: and so say they likewise.

T. C. Page. 8. Sect. 3.

This is also answered in the thirde.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

That is, you haue there closely confessed this to be true. But that the reader may vnderstande that it is most truely verifed of them, let him peruse that which is written in the seconde Admonition. fol. 43. where they saye, the sacraments be wickedly ministred: and in the first Admonition. fol. 89. and that also that followeth in this booke.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

An exhortation &c. Pag. 6. Sect. 3.

Fourthly the Papistes wholly condemne our booke of common prayers, set out by publike authoritie, and the whole order of our seruice: in that poynt do these men fully ioyne with them also, for they condemne it wholly, and that with most bitternesse.

T. C. Page. 8. Sect. 4.

I answer, that they doe not condemne it wholly, but finde fault with it, as in some poynts disagreeing with the word of God.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

For the prooffe of this article, reade the first Admonition. fol. 85. 86. 87. 143. &c. the seconde Admonition fol. 9. 10. 38. 39. &c.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

An exhortation &c. Page. 6. Sect. 4.

Fiftly the Papistes would not haue the Scriptures read in the Church to the people: no more would they. For they saye, reading is not feeding, but as euill as playing on a stage and worse so.

T. C. Pag. 8. Sect. 5.

All men shall perceiue, when I come to that place, howe you haue racked their wordes to another sense, than they spake them, in the meane season it is inoughe that they confesse that reading in the Church is godly.



*Io. Whitgiste.*

It is wel that you confesse it to be good, it will appeare when I come to that place, that the authors of the Admonition, both write and thinke farre other wyse, excepts they write one thing and thinke another.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

An exhortation &c. pag. 6. Sect. 5.

Sixty the Papists denie the ciuill Magistrate to haue any authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters, and so doe they.

T. C. pag. 8. Sect. 6.

I haue answered in the (\*) tenth article of Anabaptisme.

Where you haue not spoken one word of it.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Your answer is there very confused, and vncertaine: but for the profe of this article, I referre the reader to certaine notes which I haue collected out of your booke touching this matter in this my defense.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

An exhortation &c. pag. 6. Sect. 6.

To be short, the Papistes refuse to come to our Church, to Communicate with vs in the Lordes Supper: and these men would not haue them by lawes and punishment compelled therunto.

T. C. pag. 8. Sect. vlt.

I answer that Doege, when he saide that Dauid came to Abimilech, sayde nothing but truth, and when they that witnesed against Christ that he sayde, destroy the temple, and in three dayes I will build it by againe, saide nothing but that our saviour Christ sayde. But yet Doege was a slanderer, and the other, false witneses: because the one spake of minde to hurte, and the other vnderstoode it of another temple, than our saviour Christ ment it: so although you do in parte rehearse their wordes, yet taking them contrary to their meaning (which might easily appeare by the circumstances) I see not howe you can bee free from these fautes, belesse it be done ignorantly, which I wolde were true for your owne sake. And here I wolde desire thee gentle reader, to marke with what conscience this man sayth, that they are toynd and confederate with the Papistes against the Church. The Papistes mispke of the Booke of common prayers for nothing else, but because it cometh from their Masse booke, and is not in all poyntes lyke vnto it. And these men mispke it, for nothing else, but that it hath to much lykelyhoode vnto it. And iudge whether they be moze toynd with the Papistes, which woulde haue no communion or fellowship with them, neyther in ceremonies, nor doctrine, nor gouernment, or they, which forsaking their doctrine, retayne part of the ceremonies, & almost their whole gouernment: that is, they that separate themselves, by three waies, or by one, they that woulde be parted by the broad sea from them, or which woulde be deuided by narrowe water, where they maye make a bridge to come agayne, and displace the truth of the Gospel, as they haue done in tymes past: They that woulde not onely vnhorse the Pope, but also take awaye the Synnops, whereby he shoulde neuer get into the saddle agayne: or they that being content with that, that he is vnhorsed, leaue his ceremonies and his gouernment especially, as Synnops, whereby he maye leape by agayne when an occasion serueth. They that are content, onely to haue cut the armes and body of Antichristianitie, or they which woulde haue stumpe, and roote all by.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Better it is to haue a bad excuse than none at all. Their words and meaning is playne, as shal appeare when I come to the. I thinke in dede their meaning is, that they would not haue them compelled to come to our Churches, and to communicate in the Lordes Supper with vs, as it is now ministered: For it is well knowne, howe they themselves refuse to do the same, and howe they haue defaced both this Church, and the manner and forme of administering the Sacrament: what they woulde doe, if they might haue their owne deuised reformation, and haue the lawe in their owne handes, I can not tell, but it is very lyke that they woulde be sharpe and seuer enough



through in compelling men to come. I speake of their opinion touching the compelling of men to come to our Church, unto the whiche they come not themselves.

That whiche followeth in your Replie, I haue sufficiently answered before, *P. 2. 51.* where I haue declared, howe that it is no straunge thing for men of cleane contrarie iudgements and opinions, to ioyne together in oppugning one and the selfe same truthe. The Papistes pretende one cause of misliking the booke of Comon prayers, and they pretende an other cause of misliking the same, do they not nolue both ioyne in defacing and ouerthrowing it? That which followeth is but words, those things whiche they reprove in that booke be goodly, and mosse of them not to be bettered. The persons that stande in the defense of that booke, haue all poyntes of Papistrise in as great detestation, as they, and peradventure greater, for they so occupie themselves in these externall thinges, whiche be of small importance, that in the meane time they slippe ouer matters of weighte and substance, even the principall poyntes wherein we differ from them. Wherefore this comparison of yours standeth upon a false ground. For I am fully perswaded, that you and they do the Pope great good service, and that he woulde not misse you for any thing. For what is his desire, but to haue this Church of Englande (whiche he hathe accursed) utterly defaced, and discredited, to haue it by any meanes ouerthrowne, if not by foreyne enemies, yet by domesticall dissention. And what fitter and apter instrumentes coulde he haue had for that purpose than you, who vnder pretence of zeale, ouerthrowe that whiche other men haue buylded, vnder colour of puritie, seeke to bring in desozmitie, and vnder the cloke of equalitie and humilitie, woulde vsurpe as great tyrannie and lusty Lordshypes ouer your parishes, as euer the Pope did ouer the whole Church? For who should be the chiefe man of the seignorie but the Pastor, what state and degree of men soeuer else were in that parish, yea the Prince hir selfe: loke their Admonitions, and especially the seconde, and this booke also: and tell me whether it be so or no? Wherefore these glorious wordes of yours be but mistes to blinde the eyes of the simple, in lyke manner, and to the lyke purpose used of the Anabaptistes agaynst Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, and suche like sincere professours of the word of God. Peruse the notes that I haue collected, not onely out of Bullinger, but out of Zuinglius, and Gastius also, and you shall see them in all poyntes to vse these plausible pretences, and to accuse their aduersaries after the lyke maner.

The Admonitions gratifie the Papists.

Equalitie made a cloke for ambition.

In the second edition of the answer to the Admonition.

### *Io. Whitgiste.*

An exhortation, &c. *Pag. 6. Sect. vi.*

Whereby it is manifest, that the Papistes and they ioyntly doe seeke to shake, nay to ouerthrow the selfe same foundations, groundes, and pillars of our Church, although not by the selfe same instrumentes, and engines. Wherefore it is tyme to awake out of sleepe, and to drawe oute the sword of discipline, to prouide that lawes, whiche be generall, and made for vniformitie, as well of doctrine as ceremonies, be generally & vniuersally obserued, that those which according to their consciences and duty execute them, be maintained, and not discouraged. Either boldly defend the Religion & kind of gouernment in this Realme established, or else (if you can) reforme and better the same: for it can not be but that this freedome giuen to men to obey and disobey what they list, to speake what they list, against whom they list, and where they list, to broche what opinions & doctrine they list, must in the ende burst out into some strange & dangerous effect. The Lord both graunt vnto you that be Magistrats, the spirit of gouernment, and to all other that be subiects, the spirit of true obedience. Amen.



Note the mild-  
ness of the man  
in this section.  
A charitable  
surmise.

Other simili-  
tudes might  
have becomed  
you better.

After you haue all to be blacked and grined with the inke of Anabaptisme, Donatisme, and Baptisme, those whome you founde cleare from the least spot or specke of any of them: You whette the sword, and blow the fire, and you will haue the godly Magistrate minister of your choler, and therefore in stead of feare of lesing the multitude of your liuinges, forgoing your pompe and pryde of men, and delicacie of fare, unlawfull iurisdiction, which you haue, and heereafter looke for, conscience, religion, and establishment of the common wealthe muste be pretended. What haue you forgotten that which you sayde in the beginning, that you accused none, but suspected certayne? Would you haue the sword to be drawne vpon your suspicions? But now you see, that they, whom you haue accused, are nothing like either Anabaptistes, Donatistes, or Baptistes, and your selfe moste unlike to him that you professe to be, and that you see, that all your scounders are quenched by the innocencie (as it were by water) of those men, whome you so hapnously accuse: you are to be put in minde of the lawe of God, which decreeth, that he which accuseth an other, if he proue it not, shall suffer the punishment, which he should haue done, agaynst whome the accusation had bin iustly proued. The Romanes did nourishe in Capitolio, certayne dogges, and geese, which by their barking and galing, should giue warning in the nighte, of theeuers that entred in: but if they cried in the day tyme, when there was no suspicion, and when men came in to worke, then their legges were broken, because they cried when there was no cause. If therefore he haue accused iustly, then is he worthy to haue his diet allowed him of the common charges: But if otherwise, we desire not that his legges may be broken (as theirs were) but this we humbly craue, that if this our answer do not sufficiently purge vs, that we may be sifted and searched nearer, that if we nourishe any suche monstrous opinions (as are surmised) we may haue the rewarde of them: if we doe not, then at the least, we may haue the good abearing agaynst suche sclanderous tongues, seeing that God hath not onely committed vnto the Magistrate, the safetie of our goodes and life, but also the preservation of our honest reposte.

### Io. Whitgiste.

*Conuicta impietas dum non habet quod respondeat, conuertit se ad conuicta.* Vngodlynesse being conuicted, when she is destitute of a good answer, turneth hir selfe to reprochefull wordes: but your heate of wordes, and forgetfulnesse of dutie and reuerence, I passe ouer with silence. The multitude of liuinges which I haue, I do enioye by law, and may retayne (I thanke God) with a farre better conscience, than T. C. did one liuing for the space of certayne yerres, and would haue done still with all his heart, if he mighte haue bin winked at, though it were expressely agaynst his othe. My pompe is very small, my pride of men is but according to my calling, it were more for my profite if I had fewer. My delicate fare is very simple: I haue witnesses mooue of it, peradventure if you were kept to that diet, it would not be with you as it is. If my iurisdiction be unlawfull, I am content it be reformed, it is according to the statutes of the Colledge where I am (to the which T. C. hath bin sworn) and to the lawes of the Realme. What I heereafter looke for, it is harde for you to iudge: But I most humbly thanke my heauenly father, that in all this storming of yours, wherein you haue blowne out agaynst me what you could possibly imagine, you haue only vttered your boyling stomacke, and not touched me in any thing, wherof I neede to be ashamed, which surely you would haue done if you could.

The sword of  
discipline ne-  
cessarily cal-  
led for.

In his Epi-  
stle before his  
booke called  
Ecclesiastes.

I whet the sword no other wise agaynst you, than christian charitie and the state of the Church requireth. It is neither the sword that taketh away life, nor fire that consumeth the body, which I moue vnto, but it is the sword of correction and discipline, which may by sundrie other meanes be drawne out, than by shedding of blood. That sword of discipline, I call for still, and say wyth Zuinglius: If it be permitted that euery man may freely defend his errors, and spread abroad in the Church false doctrine, there wil be more contentions, sectes and discorde among Christian Churches, than euer there was among Infidels. And again, If euery man may without controlment preach among the people his own priuate phantasie and opinion, contrary to the determination and authority of the Church, it will shortly come to passe that we shall haue more errors than Christians.

If I haue accused any man vniuersally, there is a lawe, wher vnto I am subiecte: but your wordes are not of that weight, neither your defense suche, that therefore they please or satisfie wise men, because you speake them. If they can say no more for them selves than you haue sayd for the, then they must remayne still in the same suspicion.

If there be any iust cause why ye should haue the good abearing agaynst any man, if you will come for the, and orderly require it. I am sure you may haue it. But oh the mildnesse, the patience, and the quietnesse of this spirit of yours.

The



# The preface of the Admonition. 57

To the godly Readers, grace and peace from God, &c.

a  
1. Thel. 5. 21  
Iam. 1. 19. 20  
Iam. 2. 1.  
b  
Math. 15. 23  
Luc. 16. 15.  
c  
Mat. 20. 25.  
26.  
Mat. 23. 8. 9  
10.  
Mar. 10. 42.  
43.  
Luc. 22. 15.  
&c.  
d  
Mat. 24. 48  
49.  
e  
Math. 9. 37.  
38.  
Eph. 4. 11.  
12.  
f  
Mat. 18. 15.  
16. 17.  
g  
Pro. 29. 18.  
Amos. 8. 11.  
12. &c.  
Ma. 21. 23.  
&c.  
h  
1. Cor. 11. 30  
Mat. 10. 16.  
26.  
i  
Esa. 59. 1.  
k  
Exo. 23. 1. 2  
Mat. 7. 1. 2  
Iam. 4. 11. 12  
l  
1. Cor. 5. 20  
1. Cor. 7. 27  
m  
Pfal. 50. 15.  
Mat. 7. 7.  
1. Tim. 2. 1. 2



Two treatises ye haue heere ensuing (beloued in Christ) which ye muste reade without (a) parcialitie or blinde affection. For otherwyle you shall neither see their meaning: nor refrayne your selues from rashly condemning of them without iust cause. For certayne men there are of great countenance, whiche will not lightly like of them, because they principally concerne their persons and vniuersall dealings: whose credite is great, and whose friends are many, we meane the lordely Lords, Archbishops, Bishops, Suffraganes, Deanes, Doctors, Archdeacons, Chancellours, and the rest of that proude generation, whose kingdome muste downe, holde they neuer so harde: because their tyrannous Lordshyp can not stande (b) with Christs kingdome. And it is the speciall mischief of our English Church, and the chiefe cause of backwardnesse, and of all breach & dissention. For they whose authoritie is (c) forbidden by Christ, will haue their stroke without their selous seruants, yea, though vngreatly, cruelly and despitefully they take vpon them to (d) beate them, and that for their own chydish Articles, being for the most part against the manifestt truthe of God: First, by experience their rigour hath too playnely appeared euer since their wicked raigne, and specially for the space of these fure or sixty yeres last past together. Of the enormities, whiche with suche rigour they mainteine, these treatises do in parte make mention, iustly craving redresse thereof. But the matters do require a larger discourse. Onely the authors of these, thoughte it their partes to admonish you at this time, of those inconueniences whiche men seeme not to thinke vpon, and whiche without reformation, can not but increasse further dissention: the one parte being, proude, pontificali, and tyrannous: and the worde of God for the other parte expresse and manifest, as if it pleased the state to examine the matters, it woulde be euident. And woulde to God, that free conference in these matters might be had, for howsoeuer learned and many they seeme to be, they should & may in this realme find more, to match them and shame them, if they holde on as they haue begonne. And out of this realme they haue all the best reformed Churches throughout Christendome agaynst them. But in a fewe wordes to say what we meane. Either muste we haue a right (e) ministerie of God, and a right (f) gouernment of his Church, according to the Scriptures set by (both which) we lacke: or els there can be no right religion, nor yet for contempt thereof can (g) Gods plagues be from vs any while deferred. And therefore though they linke in together, and sclanderously charge poore men (whome they haue made poore) with grievous faults, calling them Puritans, worse than the Dominicans, exasperating & setting on such as be in authoritie agaynst them, having hitherto miserably handled the with railing, & denunciations, imprisonments, banishments, & suche like extremities, yet to these poore mens cause neuer the (h) worse: nor these chalengers the better: nor God his (i) hand the further off to linke in with vs agaynst them: nor you (christian brethren) shall neuer the rather without examination (k) condemne them. But thankfully take this taste whiche God by these treatises offereth you, and weigh them by the worde of God, and do your endeour, euery man in his (l) calling, to promote his cause. And let vs all with more (m) earnest prayer than we are now, earnestly commende it to Gods blessing, and namely that it will please him by his spirit to lighten the heart of our most gracious Soueraigne, and the rest in authoritie, to the benefite of his small flocke, and the ouershowe of their proude enemies: that godlinesse may by them proceede in peace, and God his glory through Iesus Christ, be thoroughly aduanced. Whiche we call God to witnesse, is our onely labour and sure. And so presently we leane you: hartly beseeching God to graunt it. Amen.

## An answer to the Preface of the Admonition.



These two treatises contayned in this Admonition, as they be boyde of sound learning, so are they full of blinde affection, and stuffed with vcharitable and vnchristian termes and phrases. Wherfore it is to be feared, that they proceede not of loue, but of hatred, not of zeale, but of malice, not of humilitie, but of arrogancie, not of minds desirous to refozme, but of stomackes seeking to defozme and confounde that which is in due forme and order by lawfull authoritie established. For what charitable, zealous, and humble spirite, would so spitefully and sclanderously speake of their brethren, whose doctrine is pure, whose zeale is feruent, whose suffering for the Gospel hath beene in time of triall comparable with any manys that nowe liueth: who haue

Arrogancie  
and vnchristian  
speeches  
of the Libellers.



pretended  
persecution.

blunt bragge.

haue also paynefully taught the worde of God in this Realme, and do at this day, and by whose ministerie the Gospell hath taken roote, and is come to that encrease that nowe (God be thanked) appeareth. Surely these opprobrious termes, *Proude generation, tyrannous Lordships, vngenerous, cruell, Popelike, wicked raygne, proude enemies.* &c. applied to brethren, proceede not from the humble and mylde spirite of God, but from the proude and arrogante spirite of Sathan. Therefore by this vnseemely Preface, it may appeare from what spirite the rest of this Admonition springeth. Touching the crueltie and rigour these men complayne of, I shall neede to speake little, being manifest to all that be not with sinister affection blinded, that lacke of leueritie is the principall cause of their licentious libertie. But who seeth not their hypocrisie, whiche woulde make the worlde beleue that they are persecuted, when they be wyth too muche lenitie punished for their vntollerable contempte of good lawes, and other disordered dealings? Nay suche is their perversnesse, or rather arrogancie, that if they be debarred, but from the least parte of their wyll and desire, by and by they crie oute of crueltie and persecution, it is to bee doubted what these men wyll doe when persecution commeth in deede, whiche nowe make so muche of a little, or rather of nothing. As for this great bragge, *For howe soeuer learned and many they seeme to be, they shoulde and maye in this Realme finde howe to matche them, and shame them too, if they holde on as they haue begonne.* *Satis ar rogante dictum est.* and verifieth that to bee true, that is commonly spoken of these kinde of men, that is, that they contemne all other in comparison of them selues: that they thinke them selues onely zealous, onely learned. &c. But it is possible that they maye be matched, and I knowe no man of learning, asfayde to encounter wyth them, either by worde or wytyng. Touching the ministerie and gouernemente of the Church, what fautes there is to be therein founde we shall vnderstande, when we come to their reasons. God graunt vs humble and meeke spirites, that godly vnitie may be maynteyned in the Church.

Scriptures  
abused in the  
Admonition.

One thing I muste desire thee to note (gentle Reader) (wherein the folly of these men maruellously appeareth) howe they haue paynted the margent of their booke with quoting of Scriptures, as thoughal were scripture they write, when as in deed they abuse the scripture and thee. For what one place of scripture is in all this Preface alleaged to any purpose, and yet how many is there quoted? To proue that we must reade these two treatises without partialitie or blinde affection, heere is noted in the margent. 1. *Thel. 5. verse. 21.* *Jam. 1. Jam. 2.* The place to the *Thessalonias* is this: *Trye all chinges, and keepe that vvhiche is good.* The place of of the firste of *James* is this: *VVherfore my deare brethren, let euery man be sylviste to heare, slowve to speake, and slowve to vvrathe.* And the seconde place of *James* is this: *My brethren, haue not the faythe of our Lorde Iesus Christe in respecte of persons.* And to what purpose are these places alleaged? what proue they? or what neede is there to alleage them?

These



These Apostles in these places speake not of rayling Libels, but of hearing the worde of God, and iudging of matters of saythe, according to the truthe, and not to the persons. Scriptures wrested.

To proue that tyrannous lordship can not stande with Christs kingdome, they alleage the. 15. of Matth. and Luke. 16. The place in the. 15. of Matth. verse. 23. is this: But he answered him not a worde then came to him his Disciples, and besought hym, saying: sende him away for he cryeth after vs. In the sixteenth of Luke it is thus: Then he sayde vnto them, ye are they which iustifie your selues before men, but God knoweth your heartes: for that which is highly esteemed among men, is abomination in the sight of God. I would gladly knowe howe their assertion, and these two textes hang together. I allowe not tyrannous lordship to stande with Christs kingdome: But it may well inoughe for any thing in these two places to the contrarie. Tyrannous lordship is not esteemed among men, but hated.

## The Replie vnto the answer

of the Preface.

T.C. Pag. 9. Sect. 2.

I maye be sayde vnto you, that whiche Aristotle sayde of a certain Philosopher, that he knew not his owne voyce: For if that you had remembred that which you do so often promise, that you will not answer wordes, but matter, the Printer shoulde not haue gaped so muche, men shoulde not haue bestowed so muche money of a thing not of so greate value, nor that (whiche is more) the worlde shoulde not bee burdened with vnprofitable writings. For howe often runniges out haue you, to drawe the authors of the Admonition into hatred, by tyngeing bitterly agaynst their vnlarnednesse, maliciousnesse, &c. (as it pleasech you to terme it) so that if there were any excess of speeche in them, you haue payde it agayne with measure pressed downe, and running ouer. Howe often charge you them with pride and arrogancie, men that confesse once or twice of them selues their wante of skill, and whiche professe nothing of them selues, but onely a bare and naked knowledge of the truthe, whiche maye be done with modestie, euen of them which haue no learning. And yet those that know them, know that they are neither boyde of the knowledge of the tongues, nor of the liberall Artes, albeit they doe not make so many wordes of it, as you. Salomon saythe, that he that is despised, and hath but one seruante, is better than he whiche magnifieth and setteth out him selfe, and yet wanteth bread: wherby he meaneth, that the man that hath but a little, and carrieth his countenance accordingly, is muche more to be esteemed, than he whiche beareth a greate porte, and hath not to supporte it. These brethren haue not undertaken the knowledge of Logike, Philosophie and other schoole learning, wherof notwithstanding they are not destitute: you in so often reproching them, with the ignorance of them, woulde make vs beleue, that you are so notable a Logician, and Philosopher, as if Logike and Philosophie had bene borne with you, and shoulde dye with you: when as it may appeare partly by that whiche hath bene spoken, and partly by those thinges, that will fall out hereafter, that you are better acquainted with the names of Logike and Philosophie, than with any sounde, or substantiall knowledge of them. But let that be the vniuersities iudgement, where you haue bene brought vp, and are best knowne. To returne to your vnprofitable excursions, howe often times in your booke doe you pull at the Magistrates sword, and what sworde you woulde haue, I leaue to the consideration of all men, seeing you are not satisfied with their imprisonment: wherby you also dothe encrease the expence of that whiche they haue, what matter is in all these, that bringeth any helpe to the decision of these causes, that are in question betwene vs? howe many leaues haue you wasted in confuting of the quotations, whiche (you saye) are vayne, foolish, vnlarned, and to no purpose of that for whiche they are alleaged: And if they be so, where learned you to spende so muche time aboute them: vnto you neuer learne that οὐδ' ἂν τὰ μὴ σπουδαῖα ἔτι εὐχέλων τῶν ἀτόμων ἐστὶν, to confute (a) trifling thinges seriously, is a paynte of those, whiche haue no iudgement to knowe what is meete for the tyme and place, and other suche circumstances: If I (b) shoulde of the other side nowe goe aboute too mayntayne euery place, too bee not vnsurely quoted, vnto that end, wherof it is alleaged, and shewe howe vniuersall your reprehensions are, and howe small cause you haue

Though they be vayne, yet were they alleaged of them for sounde proofes, and therefore necessarily confuted: (a) It is no trifling thing to abuse the scriptures. (b) You would if you could, saye they are the foundation and groundes of that booke.



haue to leaue them oftentimes, so gloriously in triumphe (as you do) which I assure you I could do in the most places. As what could be more fitly alleged, to induce to reade the booke, than that they should trie all things? what more fitly to holde men from rashly condemning of things, than that they should be slowe to speake? what more fitly to moue that they should not mislike of the goodnesse of the cause, for the simplicitie or base degree of them that defende it, than that we should not haue the saythe of our Lord Iesus Christe in respecte of persons? and what more humbly done than that you should whip them for the Writers faulte, in putting one place for another? Al I saye, I should thus goe aboute to make good every place, howe euill should I deserue either of learning, or of the truthe it selfe, in blotting of muche paper, whereby no profite woulde come to the Reader? And if the dayes of a man were as many as the dayes of an oke, I woulde neither willingly trouble, nor be troubled, with suche strife of wordes. Seeing therefore, God hath put us in so narrow termes, we thinke men should haue conscience of persequing the wordes with such (c) unprofitable treatises.

(c) What mente you then to persequer the world with yours?

Page. 10. Sect. 1.

Therefore all these, and whatsoeuer else swarming wordes, I shall meete with in this booke, I meane (by Gods grace) as deade things and nothing worthe, to burie with silence, and will not speake to thall things, which touch the matters that lye in controuersie betweene vs. And as for the vnlearnednesse, blind zeale, malice, intollerable pride, contempt of all good orders, and twentie such more things, wherewith Mr. Doctor chargeth vs, if our life and conuersation both not confute them sufficiently, our wordes and profession of our selues will not doe it. And therefore we will first stay our selues, with the testimonie of our owne consciences, and then in the equitie of the iudgement of all those, which shall indifferently consider these things that we are charged with. And as for the sword that is so hotly and hastily called for, we hope it be in their hands, which will vse it better than they are by you directed.

Io. Whitgiste.

I thinke those that shall reade my booke, with indifferent iudgement, will saye that I haue perfourmed my promise: and am as spare in wordes without matter, as conueniently I coulde be, and muche more sparing than you are, either in this place where you haue nothing but wordes, or in the residue of your booke. The blame of my booke, and the unprofitablenesse of it, I referre to the iudgement of others. I haue done my dutie in it (as I am persuaded) and satisfied my conscience.

I doe inuenge against the authors of the Admonition in no other wyse and sorte, than modestly, and the cause it selfe requireth: If I haue, shewe the particulars, note the places. I speake not of their knowledge and learning, otherwyse than it is vttered in their booke. I neither despise them in suche sorte, nor magnifie my selfe: I leaue that to you and yours, and thereof I require the testimonie of this your owne booke.

I boast not of anye profounde skill in Schoole learning. (I thanke God for that which I haue) I refuse not the Vniuersities iudgement of me, from the time of my firste being Scholaster vnto this day. I thinke it hath bene, and is better persuaded of me than I am worthy, which appeareth in that it hath layde vpon me (as muche as vpon any one man) from time to time, from my firste peeping out, vnto this day, all the publike exercises in all sciences that I haue professed, without my seeking, nay against my will: and I trust that I neither haue in doing of them disgraced hir, nor shamed my selfe. But surely I am ashamed thus to burst out to the defense of my selfe, if I were not therewith compelled by your vnciuill and opprobrious speeches.

My excursions be necessarie. I put no oftener, nor in any other manner, nor at any other tyme of the Magistrats, than the state of the Church, my office and vocation, and charitie it selfe requireth: neither doe I meane the authors of the Admonition onely, but their adherentes also. Surely I beleue that by that meanes these controuersies woulde shortly be ended, and the Church kept in great quietnesse and good order.

The confutation of the quotations was most necessarie, and it is that, that both pinche you moste sharpely. True it is, that they be vayne, vnlearned, and to no purpose, and yet vied as groundes of that Admonition, and the doctrine therein contayned. Wherefore the opening of the vanity and vnprofitablenesse of them, is the overthrowe of that booke: which the common sorte thought to be all Scripture, and nothing else but Scripture, and

The vayne quotations were necessarily confuted.



and therefore the doctrine therein conteyned to be moste true, when as in dede the Scriptures be there as manifestly wrested, and unfitly vsed as they be of the Papistes and Anabaptistes. And therefore though they were vayne allyedged of them, yet were they necessarily confuted by mee. M. Caluine in his booke against the Anabaptistes, sayth, That they winne credite with those that bee zealous, bycause they pretende the woorde of God, and haue it alwayes in their mouthe. And therefore though their allegations be friuolous, yet doth he spende much labour in detecting them: euen so saye I, you pretende the woorde of God in all thyngs, and thereby you doe deceyue the godlie and zealous people: wherefore it is expedient, that your groundes be layde open, to the intente it maye be knowne howe crookedly and euill fauouredly you buylde vpon them.

If you coulde mayntayne every place, or manie of the places, I dare say you would, but surely I commend your Rhetorike. Those places that you would seeme to giue some countenaunce vnto, bewray your lacke of abilitie to defend eyther them, or the reste. For you answered not one woorde to the reasons, for the whiche I disallowe them, nor to the true sense and meaning whiche I giue of them. Truly if you shoulde thus goe aboute to make them good, in so doing you shoulde doe your cause no greate good. But here you haue wholly omitted, the. 15. of Mathewe, and the. 16. of Luke. The one whereof though it be corrected, yet it is in a maner as farre from the purpose as it was before, as it maye appeare in the Additions and alterations, &c. at the ende of the fyrste booke. Your wordes of pleasure whiche folowe, bycause they bee but wordes, I wholly omitte them, as I will also doe in many other places, where I shall fynde nothyng else, least I make this Booke longer than is conuenient.

## Whether Christ forbiddeth rule and superiortie vnto the Ministers. Tractat. I.

The true interpretation of the twentieth of Mathew. &c.  
*Reges gentium. &c.*

### Chap. I. The fyrst Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 13. Sect. 3.

**T**O proue that they whose authoritie is forbidden by Christe, wil haue their stroke without their fellowe seruantes. &c. is quoted, Math. 20. Math. 23. Marke. 10. Luke. 22. In the. 20. Math. it is thus written: Ye knowe that the Lordes of the Gentiles haue domination ouer them. &c. In the. 23. of Mathew, Be ye not called Rabbi, for one is your doctour or teacher, to vvit, Christe. The places in Marke and Luke be al one with that in the. 20. of Mathew. The conclusion that is gathered of these places is very darke and generall: they shoulde haue declared who they be that haue this authoritie forbidden, and what the authoritie is. Touching these places alleaged in the. 20. of Mathew. 10. of Marke. 22. of Luke, Musculus and dyuers other learned men thinke, that they extend not onely to the Apostles, and menne of the Clergie, as wee call them, but to all Christians, of what state so euer they be. And it is the common opinion of al wyters, that these wordes of Christ doe not condemne superiortie, Lordshippe, or any suche lyke authoritie, but the ambitious

Scriptures  
wrested.  
The true ex-  
position of the  
20. of Math.  
&c.

f.

delyre



despyze of the same, and the tyrannicall blage thereof.

T.C. Page. 10. Sect. 2. & 3.

This is a note  
of your owne  
deuiling.

To come therfore vnto the matter out of the places of the. 20. of Mathewe, and the. 22. of Luke, where our Sautour Chyste, vpon occasion of the inordinate request of the sonnes of Zebede, putteth a difference betwene the ciuill and ecclesiasticall function, he placeth the distinction of them in two poyntes, whereof the one is, in theyr office, the other is in theyr names and titles.

(a) Petitio principij.  
(b) equiuocatio.

The distinction of the office, he noteth, in these wordes, the kyngs of the Gentiles haue dominion ouer them, and the Princes exercise authoritie ouer them, but it shall not be so with you. Wherevpon the argument may be thus gathered, that wherin the Ciuill magistrate is seuered from the Ecclesiasticall officer, dothe not agree to one minister ouer an other. But the (a) ciuill magistrate is seuered from the Ecclesiasticall officer by bearing (b) dominion. Therfore bearyng dominion doth not agree to one minister ouer an other.

Page. 11. Sect. 1. & 2.

Touching their names and titles, he putteth a difference in these wordes: And they are called Gracious Lordes, but it shall not be so with you. And so the argument may be framed as before, that forasmuche as they are seuered in titles, and that to the Ciuill minister doth agree the title of gracious Lordes, therfore to the Ecclesiasticall minister the same dothe not agree. For as it is fitte, that they whose offices carrie an outwarde maiestie and pompe, shoulde haue names agreeable to their magnificence, so is it meete, that those that God hath remoued from that pompe and outwarde shewe, shoulde likewise bee remoued from suche swellng and lofty titles, as doe not agree with the simplicitie of the ministerie whiche they exercise. And where as it myghte seeme somewhat vniust, that he that hath the greater giftes, shoulde not be preferred to those whiche haue lesse, our sauiour Chyste sheweth that the matter is farre otherwyse. For by how muche euery man dothe excell his fellowe in the giftes of the holpe Ghost, by so muche moze he ought to employe himselfe to the benefyte of others: so that in a maner he shoulde become (as it were) theyr seruant to doo them good, whiche although it be in parte, common to the ciuill magistrate, with the minister of the worde, yet he dothe neuer lette downe hymself so lowe, nor giueth his seruice eyther to the Church or common wealth, but that he dothe and ought in that seruice to retayne that dignitie and countenance, with the markes and notes thereof, whiche his Princely estate dothe require.

In the ende he propoundeth hymselfe for example, in whome he setteth before theyr eyes a perfecte paterne of the ministerie. For seeyng he beeyng Lord, tooke vpon hym to be a seruant, and beeyng Emperour and kyng of heauen and earth, was content to want all the glorie & shewe of the worlde (his ministerie so requyryng) it shoulde be great shame for them whiche were his disciples, cholen out for the ministerie, not to content themselves, but to aspyre vnto suche offices and dignities, as they dreamed of.

Jo. Whitgiste.

You saye that Chyste in that place putteth a difference, betwene the Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall functions, and that in two poyntes, in theyr office, and in their names and titles: the distinction of the office (you saye) he noteth in these wordes. The Kings of the Gentiles, &c. of their names and titles these: And they are called gracious Lordes, &c. Wherevpon you conclude, as though all were cocke sure.

Government  
not forbidden  
of Chyste, but  
the kinde of  
gouernment.

But I pray you tell me, wher vpon do you gather that Chyste maketh any such distinction here, eyther of offices, or titles: In dede he woulde haue a difference bothe betwixte the authoritie of his Disciples and other Christians, and the dominion of Heathenish Princes: and also betwixt theyr affections in desyryng the same: and therfore dothe he expressely saye, The kings of the Gentiles, &c. If he had ment any suche distinction of offices or titles, as you woulde make vs beleue, he woulde haue sayde, The Kings and Princes of the Iewes, &c. or rather Kings and Princes, without any further addition: but seeing that he sayth the Kings and Princes of the Gentiles, it is manifest, that he forbiddeth not onely to his Disciples, but to all Christians such tyrannicall kynd of gouernment as the Gentiles vsed, and that ambitious despyze and affection of the same whiche ruled in them. For Chyste bleth to call backe those that bee his from errors and corrupt affections, by the example of the Gentiles, as he doth in the. 6. of Mathew from too much carefulnesse for meate & drink, & such lyke. *Nam omnia ista gentes exquirunt.* For after all these things do the Gentils seeke:

Where



where he dothe not forbidde them to seeke for meate, drynke, and clothing, but to seeke for it too carefully, and with mistrust of Gods providence, as the Gentiles did. In lyke maner here he forbiddeth not government, either in the civil or Ecclesiasticall state: but he forbiddeth suche government as the Gentiles used, and such corrupt affections as they had in desiring the same.

Touching your argument, I saye it hath two faultes. First, it is a fallacy, *à petitione principij*, for you take it as graunted, that the Civil Magistrate is severed from the Ecclesiasticall officer, by bearing dominion, whiche I will not simply graunte unto you, for that is partely oure question. Secondly, your *minor* is ambiguous, and therfore in that respect, your argumente may be also placed in the fallacion of equivocation, for the worde Dominion, may have diuers significacions: It may signifie suche dominion as Christe speaketh of in this place, that is, rule with oppression. It maye also signifie the absolute authoritie of a Prince, suche as is mentioned. 1. Samuell. 8. Thirdely, it maye signifie any peculiar office of superiority and government vnder the Prince, at the appoyntment of the Prince, as the authoritie of a Judge, Justice, Maior, &c. Laste of all, it may signifie any iurisdiction or kynde of government. If you take it in eyther of the two first significacions, your *minor* is true: if in either of the two latter significacions, it is false. For we graunte, that there is greate difference betwixte the dominion of Kings and Princes, and betwixte the Iurisdiction and authoritie of Bishoppes. Kings haue power ouer lyfe and goddes, &c. so haue not Bishops. Kings haue authoritie in all causes, and ouer all persons within their dominions, without any limitation: if Bishops haue any suche dominion, especially in Ciuill causes, it is not in the respects they be Bishops, but it is from the Prince, and limited vnto them.

Touching theyr names and titles (you saye) he putteth a difference in these woordes, and they are called gracious Lordes, but it shall not be so with you, &c. The woordes of the twentieth of Mathewe be these: And they that are greate, exercise authoritie ouer them. In the. 10. of Marke, the same woordes be used. In the. 22. of Luke, the Greeke worde is *ἐνεργῆται καλοῦνται*, *benefici vocantur*, they are called bountifull, or beneficiall, whiche I see not howe you can by anye meanes applye to your purpose: For Mathewe and Marke referre thys clause, It shall not bee so among you, not to anye name, but to the ambition and tyrannicall kynde of dominion, whiche our Sauoure Christe there reproveth, as it is moste manifeste. And therfore thys place of Luke, muste also bee expounded by them. Neither is this worde *ἐνεργῆται*, of anye suche imperiousnesse, that Christe shoulde forbidde his Disciples the name. M. Caluine in his Commentaries interpreting these woordes of Sainte Luke sayeth thus: As touching the woordes: where Mathewe hath, that kings exercise authoritie ouer them, in Luke wee reade, that they are called bountifull, in the same sense: as though he shoulde saye, Kings haue plenty of all thyngs, and are very ryche, so that they maye bee bountifull and liberall: And a little after he sayeth, that they doe *appetere laudem munificentie*, desire the commendation of bountifulnesse. I knowe that certayne of the Kinges of Egypte were called *ἐνεργῆται*, *munifici & benefactores*, bountifull and benefactours: and that they were designated to bee so called. I knowe also that among the Hebryues they Princes were called *Munifici & liberales per antonomasian*: But what then? if eyther they bayne gloriously desired that name, or were so called, when they deserved rather the names of Tyrantes and oppressours, dothe it therfore followe, that they be unlawfull names for suche as maye deserue them? The moste that can bee gathered of this place (for anye thyng that I perceyue) is, that the Kings of the Gentiles had bayne and flattering titles giuen them, bearing nothing lesse in dede than that whiche their names did signifie: and so maye it bee a good admonition for menne to learne to answer to theyr names and titles, and to do in dede that whiche by suche names and titles is signified. Nowe then if you will haue *Vos autem non sic*, but it shall not bee so wyth you, to bee a prohibition to all Christians, and especially to Bishops

Two faultes in the argument of T. C. The civil Magistrate doth not simply differ from the Ecclesiasticall, by bearing dominion. Diuers significacions of the word Dominion.

Caluinus.

Howe the woordes, Vos autem non sic, may be referred to names.



to Bishops, that they shall not ambitiously seek dominion as the Gentiles did: uniuersally and tyrannously use their authoritie, as they also did: nor haue names and titles to the which they doe not accordingly answer, no more than the Gentiles did, then I agree with you. But if you will haue *Vos autem non sic*, to restrayne them from being called *εὐεργεταί*, that is, liberal benefactors, &c. as your interpretation agreeth not with the wordes of the other two Euangelistes, so both it not with any learned interpreter that I haue read.

**Divers kindes of names.**  
**Names common to ciuill and Ecclesiasticall persons.**  
 To your argument concerning names and titles, I answered as I did to the former: Some names & titles are proper to the ciuill Magistrate only, as the names of Emperour, King, Prince, Duke, &c. These names are not giue to any of the Clergie in this Church to my knowledge: some names are common to the Ciuill Magistrate, with Ecclesiasticall persons, as certaine names of reuerence, of superiortie, & of office. The name of Gracious Lord, is a name of superiortie, and of reuerence, according to the manner of the countrey where it is used, and therefore may well agree, eyther to the ciuill or Ecclesiasticall persons: and in many places, dyuers are called by this name Lord, (which is in Latin *Dominus*.) for reuerence and ciuilitie, which haue verie small dominion. As for the name of Archebischoppe or Metropolitane, that is not proper to any ciuill Magistrate, and therefore without the compass of your argument. Thus then you see, that some titles are proper to the ciuill Magistrate, some to the Ecclesiasticall, and some common to both, wherby your maior is utterly overthrowne. As for this worde *εὐεργεταί*, upon the which you seeme to grounde your argument, I see not why it may not be common to all men, that shewe themselves liberall and beneficiall.

There is no man denyeth but that there is, and must be great difference betwixt the pompe and outwarde shewe of a Prince, and the state of an Ecclesiasticall person, bothe in titles and other maiestie: and I thinke that he is verie blynde, that seeth it not so to be in this Church of England: yet may the Ecclesiasticall person shewe forth the countenance of his degre, wherunto he is called of God, by his Prince, and by the lawes of that realme wherein he is a subiect.

**Ministers may execute some kinde of ciuill iurisdiction.**  
 It is true, that an Ecclesiasticall Minister doth much differ from a ciuill Magistrate touching his ministerie and spirituall calling, yet is he not so distincte, that he may exercise no such ciuill office wherein he may doe good, and which is an helpe to his Ecclesiasticall function. As the ciuill Magistrate may in some thynges exercise iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, and medle in matters of the Church, so may the Ecclesiasticall person in some causes use ciuill iurisdiction, and deale in matters of the common wealth, if it shall be thought expedient or necessarie by the chiefe Magistrates.

**Caluine.**  
**A temporall lord may be a preacher.**  
**Brentius.**  
**What kinde of external dominion is denyed to ministers.**  
 M. Caluine in his Commentaries vpon this texte, thoughte in some poyntes he agree with you, yet hath he these wordes. Adde herevnto, that Christe did not so muche respect the persons of men, as the state of his Church, for it may so bee, that he which is Lorde of a village or citie, doe also (necessitie constraining) exercise the office of teaching. Wherby it is playne, that a temporall Lorde (if necessitie require) maye together with his Lordship become a preacher of the Gospel. M. Brentius in his. 48. Homilie vpon Luke, speaking of this matter sayeth, that Bishops which glorie themselves to be the successours of the Apostles, may not vnder the pretence of their Ecclesiasticall office vsurpe externall dominion ouer kings and Princes, to make kings whom they list, and to displace whome they list. And by and by he obiecteth and answereth as followeth, Therefore thou wilt say, it is not lawfull for a minister of the Church (whether thou callest hym a Bishop or a preacher) to haue temporall dominion, and to gouerne the people committed vnto him by ciuill pollicie: I answered that it is not lawfull for a Minister of the Church to vsurpe suche rule and dominion, vnder the pretence of the Gospell, and of his Ecclesiasticall Ministerie: Peter muste not therefore haue dominion ouer Antioche or Rome, because he is an Apostle. &c. But if temporall dominion or possession happen to the minister of the Gospell, eyther by inheritance, or ordinarie election, or any other Ciuill or lawfull contracte, &c. then maye he enioye these

**What kind of temporall dominion a Minister may exercise.**

But as vs they haue them vnder the pretence

exter-



externall thyngs. &c. And in his. 52. Homilie, vppon these wordes of Christ nowe *Idem.*

in question, he wyrteth thus: VVhat shall wee then saye to these thyngs? bycause

Chryste sayeth: The kyngs of the Nations beare rule ouer them, and are called boun-  
tyfull, but it muste not bee so among you, shall it not bee lawfull for a Christian man  
to beare rule in a temporall kingdome, and acknowledge the tytles of honoure, as of  
bountyfulnesse and clemencie, whyche are gyuen vnto Princes? Is it not lawfull also  
for a Bishop, to haue temporall dominion? Chryste in thys place dothe not thynke it  
vnlawfull for Christians, to bee Magistrates, neyther dothe he forbidde Bishoppes to  
haue externall dominion. But he sheweth a difference betweene the kingdome of thys  
worlde, and his kingdome. He teacheth, that the kyngdome of this worlde and his king-  
dome are so distincte, that he which is a minister of his kingdome, must not in that respecte

vsurpe the kingdome of this worlde: for the Apostles thought, that bycause they were A-  
postles, therefore they shoulde possesse the kingdomes of the worlde. And therefore  
Chryste in this place condemneth their false opinion. &c. Chryste doth not condemne  
Magistracie among Christians. &c. No, he dothe not forbidde Bysshops to haue externall  
dominion, if they come vnto it by inheritaunce, or by lawfull election. It is a verye  
harde matter bothe to preache the Gospell, and to exercyse temporall dominion, and  
yet it is not of it selfe vnlawfull together with the ministerie, to keepe and vse tempo-  
rall dominion, if it come ordinarily and lawfully. For Chryste came not to trouble ci-  
uill lawes, and the ordinarie gouernmentes of the kingdomes of this worlde, but rather  
that these beinge preserued, his Gospell might be preached quietly. *Ha. Brentius.* But  
of ciuill authoritie in Ecclesiasticall persons, occasion wil be giben to speake more at  
large hereafter.

That which Chryst sayde, *Quicumq; maior erit inter vos. &c.* VVhosoever will be great  
among you, let him be your minister: though it may especially appertaine to the Apo-  
stles, yet it is also a generall rule for all Christians, and so is the example of him al-  
so, whiche hee propoundeth vnto them. And so doth Musculus verie truly interpret  
this place, to whome M. Bucer agreeth, whose wordes be these: The Anabaptistes  
thynke here that they are able to proue, that it pertaineth not to a Christian to beare rule,  
and that no man can be together a Magistrate, and a Christian, bycause Chryste sayde  
here to his Disciples, *Vos autem non sic*, not consydering that those, whyche godlylie and  
according to the wil of the Lord beare rule, *Nihil minus quam dominari, imò maxime seruire,*  
*& tanto pluribus, quanto pluribus praesuerint*, doe nothyng lesse than beare rule in deede,  
yea verily doe mozte of all serue, and euen vnto so many doo they serue, ouer howe ma-  
nye so euer they beare rule: surely Chryste woulde haue his Apostles to haue their au-  
thoritie in Churches, and they themselues did greatly require to be obeyed: but bycause  
in that they sought nothing vnto themselues, but only saluation and the glorie of God in  
those whome they ruled, they did gouerne the Churches: they had euery where the supe-  
rioritie: they ruled suche as beleueed: they woulde haue the godlie to bee obedient vnto  
them: *interim nihilominus seruiuerunt omnibus, dominati sunt nemini*, And yet in the meane  
tyme serued all, and had dominion ouer none: So also in the Ciuill gouernmente, who  
was euer in greater dignitie than Moses, or more to bee feared for his authoritie and  
power: and yet whoeuer serued mo, more diligently, and more humblye, whiche neuer  
foughte any thing for himselfe, or tooke any thing vnto himselfe. &c. but day and nighte  
to the vtermoste of his power, sought for the safetie of the people. &c. If any now so beare  
office, and rule the workes of the handes of the Lorde, and gouerne the sheepe of his pa-  
sture according to his will, what doth he else but serue all those whom he gouerneth? And  
therefore Chryst doth not here dehort from bearing rule, and being a Magistrate, but from  
seeking rule and dominion: for I had rather take this saying of the Lord in this generalitie,  
than to restrayne it to the Apostles only: *Equid omnino pius Magistratus seruiat non do-  
minetur, habeatq; per se omnia secundum praesentem domini cobortationem*: Bycause a godlie  
Magistrate doth altogether serue, and not beare rule, and hath by himselfe all things agree-  
able to this present exhortation of the Lord. Thus you see Bucers iudgemente vppon  
these wordes of Chryste.

Chryst forbid-  
deth not tem-  
porall domina-  
on, eyther to  
Christians in  
generall, or  
particularly  
to Bishops.

and our men that  
they are bishops they  
must be lords.

*Quicumq; ma-  
ior erit inter  
vos. &c.*  
expounded.

Bucer in. 20.  
Matth.

They whiche  
beare rule god-  
ly, serue.

The place of  
Math. 20.  
generall.



## Chap. 1. seconde Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 14. lin. 11.

And it is the common opinion of all writers, that these words of Christ doe not condemne superiortie, Lordship, or any such like authoritie, but the ambitious desire of the same, and the tyrannicall blage therof.

T. C. Pag. 11. Sect. 3. &amp; 4.

Agaynst this is sayde, that the places doe nothing else but condemne ambitious desire, and tyrannicall blage of authoritie, and doth not barre the ministers of these things.

Then be yke all those godly and learned men, whiche haue vsed these places to proue that the Pope, whiche professeth himselfe to be an Ecclesiastical person, ought not to haue the ciuil sword, nor to vsurpe vnto himselfe such glorious pompe, haue abused them. For you teache hym, howe he shoulde answer, that there is nothing forbidden but ambition and tyrannie, and in dede this is the answer of all the Papistes to that obiection.

The Bishop of Salisburie allegeth this place in his detelle of the Apologie against M. Harding pag. 431

## Io. Whitgiste.

These places are rightly vsed against the Pope, notwithstanding this interpretation.

The Popes dominion such as Christ here forbiddeth.

Those godly and learned men whiche haue vsed these places agaynst the Pope, haue rightly vsed them, and if it had pleased you, you might haue vnderstode, that in the verie next lease folowing I say: that these places may be aptly alleaged against the pryde, tyrannie & ambition of the Bishop of Rome, which seeketh tyrannicallly to rule, and not to profit, but not against the lausfull authoritie in any state of men. They therefore alledge it truly, and yet you vntuly expounde it, for the Popes dominion is such, as is in this place forbidden, that is vsurped and tyrannicall, because he hath not onely entred into the spirituall kingdome of Christe, and sought to reigne in mennes consciences, but also pulleth from Princes the power of earthly dominion, saying that he hath that immediatly from God, and the Emperours and Princes immediatly from him. And so doe the learned expounde this place, and it is their answer to the obiection of the Anabaptistes. I fully agree with my L. of Salisburie his allegation of this place, for Bishops may not be kings, nor haue any such ciuill dominion, as the Pope claymeth and vsurpeth.

## Chap. 1. Diuision. 3.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 14. Sect. 1. &amp;

Pag. 15. Sect. 1. &amp; 2.

Musculus.

Musculus expounding these places sayth in this sorte: VVho so euer vill be great among you. &c. He saith not, no man ought to be chiefe among you, vvhich he should haue said, if it had not bin lawful in the kingdome of God for some to be great and chief, or if it had bin necessarie, that all should haue bene in all things equal: the Celestial spirits are not equall: the Starres be not equall: the Apostles themselues vvere not equall: Peter is founde in many places to haue bene chiefe among the rest, vvhich vve do not denie. Therefore this is not Christes meaning to haue none greate or chief among Christians, seing the verie necessitie of our state requireth that some be superiours and betters, so farre is it from being repugnant to charitie. In a common vveale it is necessariethat some should excell other, so is it in a vvell ordered familie: In like maner there must be in the Church gouernours, presidentes, rulers, of vvhome Paule maketh mention, Ro. 12. 1. Co. 12. Heb. 13. as ther is also in the bodie some principal mebers, some



some inferiour. &c. Therefore Christ doth not require that in his kingdom all should be equall, but this he doth require, that none should desire to bee great, or to be thought and counted chiefe. **Hitherto Musculus.**

Which interpretation must needs be true, else we may saye that Christ in this place reiecteth and disalloweth the Princes and Magistrates of the Gentiles, and also forbiddeth the same among Christians: which is false and Anabaptistricall.

Like wise the same Musculus saith, that Christ teacheth in this place, what he ought to be indeede that desireth to beare rule over other, to witte, that he ought to be a seruāt to other, that is (as he doth interpret it) to profite other, and to serue for the commoditie of other: for though the name of a prince and of a Lord be a name of honoure and dignitie, yet is it the office of a Prince and Lord to serue those which be vnder them, in gouerning of them carefully, and in prouiding for their welth and peace.

T. C. Page. ii. Sect. 5. & 6.

But Musculus a learned man is of that iudgement. And master Caluine as learned as he, and diuers other are of that iudgement that I haue alleadged: this is no great prooffe on your side, nor reproofe of ours: let vs therfore see the reasons wherewith this exposition is warranted. (a) Musculus reason is this, that if he should haue ment that the Apostles should haue bin equall and none greater than an other, then there should be equalitie of all, and none should haue authoritie ouer other. And so there should be no degrees of the Prince and subiect in the common welth, of master and seruāt in a family, of people and minister in the Church. But it is no good reason to say there is, nor ought to be, any inequality amongst the Apostles, therefore there is none, nor ought to be none at all. Or to say there is no inequality amongst the pastors, therefore there is no inequality betwene the pastors and the people, for as the common wealthes, and families, and Churches are preserved by inequality, and in that some are higher, and some are lower, some rule, and some obey: so are the same likewise preserved by equalitie of certaine amongst themselves, as albeit the (b) Consuls in Rome were aboue other officers, and the people, yet were they equall betwene themselves. (c) And although it be the preservation of the familie, that the master should be aboue the seruāt, and the father aboue the sonne, yet it tendeth also to the quiet of the house, that the seruants amongst themselves, and the brethren amongst themselves, should be equall. And so we graunt, that for the preservation of the Church, it is necessarie that there be some should beare rule, and other should be vnder their rule, but I denie, that thereof followeth that one minister should beare rule ouer another. Whereas master Musculus saith that Peter was found in many places chiefe among the rest, if he meane as Eusebius cap. 14. lib. 2. doth, which saith that he was (d) τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων προήγορον. or his vertues and gifes he had, one that spake before the rest, and in the name of the rest, (which he seemeth to do in that he doth not absolutely giue any chieftie vnto him, but only in certaine places) I agree with him, and do not denie, but suche chieftie may be amongst the ministers, as shall appeare more at large hereafter.

This interpretation of master Musculus (master Doctor saith) must needs be true, or else Christ should reiect Princes and Magistrates, amongst both Christians and other. I haue shewed that it doth not follow because he forbiddeth that rule vnto the ministers, therefore he forbiddeth it simply and altogether, no more than the law which forbiddeth that any strainger should be king of the realme, forbiddeth therefore that there should be no king of the realme. Whereas you say master Musculus teacheth how he ought to rule which ruleth, and what he ought to be, I haue told you before, other thinke other wise, and therefore you hauing set downe his iudgement before, needed not to haue repeated it here againe.

### Io. Whitgife.

Not only master Musculus doth so expound this place, but also Bucer and sundry others, both old and newe writers: as Chrysostome, Theophylact &c I knowe that M. Caluine doth other wise thinke of it, but that is no sufficient answer to Musculus hys reasons. The firste reason of Musculus you collect on this sort: If Christe should haue meant, that the Apostles should haue bin equall, &c. then there should be equalitie of all: wherein you deale with Musculus, as you deale with me: that is, you make his arguments against his expresse words: for where doth Musculus reason in that manner?

The first reason of Musculus is this, If Christ had ment that it should not be lawful in the kingdome of God for some to be great and chiefe, then would he haue said, no man ought to be great among you, but he said not so, for his words be, whosoever will be great

This is a simple answer to oppose one mans authoritie against another. A false collection vpon master Musculus hys words.

(b) Ministers may haue domination ouer the people, but one of them must not be aboue another, i. they may rule but not be ruled.  
(c) Examples against himselfe  
(d) Eusebius not truly translated.

Musculus his reasons vpon the 20. of Math.



among you. &c. therefore. &c. And this is a better reason than you can well answer. If you could haue done it, you would not haue shifted it off with a vaine confutation, not of Musculus, but of your owne deuised argument.

Musculus his second reason is this. There is superioritie in the kingdome of God, and one aboue another, as there is in the celestiall spirites, in the starres, and in other states. For Peter is found in many places to haue bin chiefe among the rest, and therefore this is not the meaning of Christ, that none should be great or chiefe among Christians.

His third reason may be thus gathered. The very necessitie of our state requireth that some should be superiours and betters, as well in the Church, as in the common welth. &c. therefore it is not Christes meaning to haue no superiours. &c.

In like manner doth he reason out of the 12. of the Rom. 1. Cor. 12. Heb. 13. and of the parts and members of mans body: And in the end thus he concludeth: Therefore Christ dothe not require that in his kingdome all should be equall, but this he dothe require, that none should desire to be great. &c.

Musculus  
his reasons  
not answered  
but shifted off  
by T. C.  
The examples  
of T. C. are  
gainst himself  
Math. 24.

Ge. 49. ver. 3.

To these reasons you answer not one word, but shift them off by telling vs, that as common weales and families and Churches are preferred by inequalitye, &c. and as albeit the consuls of Roome, &c. which be to no purpose, and make directly against you. For not only in a family the maister is aboue the seruante, but one seruant also aboue another, wherevnto Christ himselfe alludeth Mat. 24. when he saith, who is a faithfull seruant whome his master hath made ruler ouer his household. &c. In like manner not only the father is aboue the sonne, but also in the same family one brother is aboue another: and euen in the scripture Gen. 49. and other places, it may be seene that preheminence of dignitie hath bin alwayes (for the most part) giuen to the eldest: wherefore these similitudes help you not.

And whereas you seeme to graunt, that the pastour must be superiour to the people, and yet one Pastour not to be aboue another, the words of Christ rather import the contrary: for the dominion that is here forbidden, is not of one minister ouer another, but ouer the people of God, as the similitude of them that sit at the table, and of them that serue doth evidently declare: for who are they that sit at the table to be serued, but the people (which is the Church) in respect of whome the ministers are seruants? Therefore this place is very vnsitly alleadged, to proue that there shoulde be no superioritie betweene ministers: for suche superioritie in gouernment as by your owne confession may be in ministers ouer the people, may also be in one minister ouer another, for any thing that this place hath to the contrary.

Tract. 8.

But whether one minister ought to be aboue another or no, shal be discussed in his proper place.

What superioritie soeuer M. Musculus giueth vnto Peter ouer the rest, that example is aptly applied to the iustifying of his exposition vpon this place, that we haue now in hand. But I must tell you that you do not truly translate the words of Eusebius concerning Peter. For this worde *πρωτογενος* signifyeth not only to speake before the rest, and in the name of the rest (as you translate it) but it signifyeth also *principem in omni re gerenda*: a chiefe ruler or guide, in euery matter or businesse. Wherefore I say still that this interpretation of M. Musculus must needes be true, and that it may as well be alleadged to take away superioritie from Christian Princes, as it may from ecclesiasticall ministers.

This of M. Musculus that he saith, that Christ here teacheth, what he ought to be indeede, that beareth rule ouer other, neither haue I before reuered, nor you hitherto answered.

### Chapter. 1. the. 4. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition Page. 15. Sect. 3. & 4.

Moreover the Greeke words that Christ useth in al these places,

as



as κατεκυριεύουσιν, κατεξουσιάζουσιν do signifie to rule with oppression, & to rule as a man list.

Furthermore Christ doth not say, that no mā shall be great among them, or beare rule, but he saith. Quicumque voluerit inter vos magnus fieri, &c. He that desireth to be great among you. &c.

T. C. Pa. 12. lin. 8.

But the greeke word κατεκυριεύουσιν καὶ κατεξουσιάζουσιν do signifie to rule with oppression. And why may not I say that this preposition (1) κατε, doth not signifie here a perversnesse of rule, but an absolutenesse and a full power, and iurisdiction, as καταμαρτυρεῖν, καταλαβάνειν, is not to learne, or to perceiue, euilly, and perversly, but to learne exactly, and to perceiue thoroughly and perfectly: but what neede we to follow coniectures in so plaine a matter? why as St. Luke vlieth the simple words without any composition of ἐξουσιάζειν καὶ κυριεύειν, do you not perceiue that the preposition wherewith you put so great confidence deceiveth you, besides the manifest vnttruth you committe in saying, that all (2) three Euangelistes haue κατεξουσιάζουσιν καὶ κατεκυριεύουσιν. Furthermore you say that our sauiour Christ saith not that no man shall be great amongst them, but he that desireth to be great amongst the. He had said so before, whē he had said, it shall not be so amongst you, and therefore needed not to repeat it. And yet another Euangelist saith not, he that desireth to be great, but let the greatest among you be as the least, whereby he dothe not reprehende, onely the desire of being greates, but will not haue them to be one aboue another.

(1) Because thes you should say contrary to the iudgement of al learned men.

(2) Vnttruth, for I name not three Euangelists.

Lu. 22. v. 26

### Io. Whitgiste.

You aske me why you may not say that this preposition κατε doth not signifie here a perversnesse of rule, but an absolutenesse, and a full power and iurisdiction? I answer that if you should so say, you should say otherwise than the truth is, and contrary to the iudgement of the best interpreters. Erasmus expounding that place of Mattheu, saith thus, Nec est simpliciter dominantur sed κατεκυριεύουσιν, dominantur in eis, sine aduersus eas, frequenter enim ea prepositio in malum sonat, quod tyranni populi male gerant principatum, neither is it simply they haue dominion, but they haue dominion ouer them, or against them: for that preposition (κατε) doth oftentimes sound in euill part, bycause the Tyrannes of the people do rule euill. And expounding the other word κατεξουσιάζουσιν he saith. Et prepositio similiter in partem malam sonat, iudicans eam protestatem esse tyrannicam & cum malo parentis esse coniunctam: And the preposition (κατε) likewise soundeth in the euill part, declaring that power to be tyrannicall, and ioyned with the hurt of the subiects. M. Beza in hys notes vpon the same place, wel alloweth of this interpretation. But this also (saith he) is to be vnderstanded (which Erasmus did not let passe) hoc vocabulo & eo quod proxime sequitur, non quamuis dominationem significari, sed cum imperiosa quadam acerbitate coniunctam, quam prohibet Paulus Eph. 6. &c. that by this word, and that which nexte followeth, al kynde of domination is not signified, but that which is ioyned with a certaine imperious crueltie, whiche Paule forbiddeth. Eph. 6. so it is taken. Acts. 19. & 1. Peter. 5. For otherwise the faithfull ministers of the word of God do exercise an authoritie, not at all to be contemned: And therefore also I haue interpreted κατεξουσιάζουσιν ἀντιθέτως, licentia vtuntur aduersus eas, They vse licence or vnlawfull libertie against them. That place of the 19. of the Actes, verse. 16. doth manifestly declare the true meaning and signification of this word κατεκυριεύουσιν, both in this place, and in the 1. Pet. 5. vers. 3. for there it is manifest that it signifieth a violent kinde of dominion.

The true interpretation of

κατεκυριεύουσιν

κατεξουσιάζουσιν

κατεξουσιάζουσιν

κατεξουσιάζουσιν

κατεξουσιάζουσιν

κατεξουσιάζουσιν

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κατεξουσιάζουσιν

κατεξουσιάζουσιν

κατεξουσιάζουσιν

κατεξουσιάζουσιν

The place of Saint Luke must be interpreted by these places of Mattheu, and Marke. It is sufficient that these two Euangelists haue these words, and a manifest declaration how that place of Saint Luke is to be vnderstoode.

My words be not as you report them, I do not say in all three Euangelistes, but in all these places, meaning of Mattheu and Marke. This is but a shift to dallie of a matter which you cannot answer, and the vnttruth returned vpon your selfe.

When I say that Christ doth not say that no man shall be great among them, but he that doth desire to be great. &c. I saye as the wordes be, and as

Musculus



The place of Luke insinuateth a majoritie among the Apostles. Luke. 22. Musculus himselfe noteth. That place of Luke which you recite is so farre from answering this, that it doth confirme it rather. For in that that Christ there saith, he that is great among you. &c. he insinuateth that there must be some great among them, whom he ther teacheth how to use himself, as I haue before declared out of M. Bucer, and as Musculus doth likewise note.

### Chapter. 1. the. 5. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Page. 15. Sect. 5. & 6.

To conclude, it is manifest, that in Matthew and Marke he reproveth the ambition of the sonnes of Zebedie, who ambitiously desired the one to sit on his right hande, the other on his left. And in Luke the ambition of the rest of the Apostles, who contended among themselves which of them should be greatest.

So that it is plaine, that these places suppress ambition and desire of rule, in all kind of men: and not superiortie, not magistracie, not jurisdiction in any kind of persons.

T. C. Page. 12. Sect. 1.

Last of all you conclude that our saviour Christ in the. 20. of Matthew reproveth the ambition of the sonnes of Zebedie, and in the. 22. of S. Luke all the rest of the Apostles. I grant you, he doth so, and that could not be done better, than in telling them, that they desired things not meete for them, and which would not stand with their calling. And if as you say the ambition (a) only was reprehended, and the desire of rule to oppress others with, the answer you attribute to our saviour is not so fit, for they might haue replied and said, that he forbade tyrannicall rule and oppression of their inferiours, but they desired that which was a moderate and well ruled government. And seemeth it unto you a probable thing that S. Luke meaneth tyrantes and oppressours, when as he sayth they are called beneficiall and gracious Lords? (b) men do not use to call oppressours, liberrall or bountifull Lords, neyther is it to be thought of all the Apostles, that they desired rule one ouer another, to the end that they should use crueltie, or tyrannie, or oppression, one ouer another, for that were to do them great iniurie. Besides that it is sayd, that the rest of the disciples disdayned at the two brethren, which they would not haue done, if they had had any purpose of mind to haue oppressed them, then they would haue contemned them, rather than haue disdayned them, if they had broken out into such grosse faults. For Aristotle teacheth that *ἐννομία* (which is the (c) same that *ἀρχή* in the verb whereof the Evangelist useth) is against those that are supposed of them that beare the disdayne, to be lifted by higher and into better estate than they are worthy of, which agreeth with that interpretation which I haue alleadged, and cannot agree with the other, which you set downe. For who (speaking properly) would speake after this sort? The rest of the Apostles disdayned at the two brethren, or thought them unworthy that they should beare tyrannicall rule ouer them.

In his rhetoric  
ad Theod.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I haue declared both my anshours and their reasons concerning the exposition of these places, which may satisfie any man that is not wilful. Your reasons to the contrary, haue no ground, but only used, that it may be thought that you haue said something. Well, that Christ told the sonnes of Zebedie, that they desired things not meete for them. What is that to the purpose, to proue that he did not reprove their ambition: as though there may not be ambition both in desiring that which is vnlawfull, and that also which is lawfull.

I do not say that their ambition only was reprehended (I marvel what you meane so to falsifie my words) for I thinke also that he reproveth the tyrannicall rule of the kings of the Gentiles. But this I with Musculus, Bucer and other learned men constantly affirme, that he condemneth not rule, but violent and heathenish rule, not superiortie or government, but the ambitious and greedy desire of the same.

If it so displease you that I interprete the Graeke words to signify a tyrannical rule, and a government by oppression, blame Erasmus, Musculus, and Beza, who so interprete them: nay blame S. Luke who both most evidently in the. 19. of the Act. ver. 16. use one of these words in the same signification. Why they were called Liberal and bountifull,

They called by  
titles not de-  
served.



full, notwithstanding they be tyrants and oppressours, I haue before declared: they desired the commendation of bountifullnesse and liberalitie, though they did not deserve it. It is no straunge matter for men of great authoritie to be called by such titles, as they do not deserve. The Pope is called *sanctissimus*, and *seruus seruorum Dei*, and yet is he farre from doing any thing by these names signified. Men vse to call their rulers and gouernours by their accustomed titles, howsoeuer they deserve them, though it be gracious or bountifull Lords, when they haue no sparke of grace or bountifullnesse. What rule or superiortie soeuer it was that the Apostles desired, they desired it ambitiously and out of time, and therefore were iustly reprobued for theyr ambition.

I told you before that Chyriste in those places condemneth not ambition only, but vnlawfull gouernemente also, euen such as the Gentiles vsed of whome Chyriste in those places speaketh. And whereas you say that the rest of the disciples disdayned the two brethren, &c. you do but spend inke and paper in dallying. The disciples heard by their request that they desired promotion and preferment aboue the rest and therfore they disdayned them: what opinion they had of their vsage in their offices, that is vnknewen either to you, or to me, because the scripture hath not expessed it: but thus I think, that they were as ambitious in disdaining, as the other were in desiring. Your definition of *νέμεσις* out of Aristotle is needelesse (but only that thereby we may know you to be an Aristotelian) for the Apostles disdayned them, because they desired rule and dominion, not because they desired to rule well or to rule euil. And surely an enuious person and a disdaining, hath not so much respect to the lawfulness or vnlawfulness of the preferment and promotion of him, whome he doth enuy and disdayne, as he hath to the partie that is preferred, and to the preferment it selfe: as it is not vnlike that there are some of you that disdaine such as be in place aboue you, be they Deanes, Bishops, or Archbishops, although you say that their offices be vnlawful, and tyrannicall. And this vice is too common among you, for you thinke some of vs to be lifted by higher, and to better estate, that be not so worthy as your selues, & *hinc ille lacryma*: if I iudge amisse, let the modesty of your booke reprove me.

In that you say *νέμεσις* and *ἀγανάκτησις* be all one, you are much deceiued: for *νέμεσις* is indignatio ob res prosperas alicuius seu felicitatem, qua indignus est, a disdayne for the prosperitie or felicitie of some man, which he is vnworthy of: *ἀγανάκτησις* est indignatio seu stomachatio qualibet & de qualibet causa, is any kind of indignation or stomacking, and for any cause: so that *ἀγανάκτησις* doth containe *νέμεσις* and is as it were genus vnto it.

*νέμεσις* &  
*ἀγανάκτησις*  
is not one.

## The Exposition of the place *Matth. 23.*

### Chapter. 2.

Answer to the Admonition Page. 15. Sect. vlt.

& Page. 16. Sect. 1. & 2.

Touching the place in the. 23. of *Matth.* where Chyriste saide vnto his disciples Be not you called Rabbi, cal no man father, be not called masters. Who is so ignorant to thinke that Chyrist forbiddeth by these words one Christian man to cal another Lord, master, father: Chal not childzen call their parents father: Chal not schollers call theyr teacher master: and Chal not seruants call him master, vnder whose gouernment they are: Is it not lawfull for one to call another master, Doctor, father, Lord, &c. Paule (notwithstanding these words of Chyrist). 1. Cor. 4. calleth himselfe their father: and. 1. Tim. 2. he calleth himselfe the Doctour of the Gentiles. Wherefore it is manifest that

Rabbi Ma. &c  
The place of  
*Matth. 23.* expounded.



that these names be not here prohibited, muche lesse the offices: but only the Pharisaical, ambitious, and arrogant affection of superi-  
 ritie: As it is also manifest by this that followeth: whosoever exal-  
 teth himselfe, &c. And surely as Christ condemneth heere the ambi-  
 tious affection of such as ambitiously desire these names of supe-  
 rioritie, so dothe he in lyke manner condemne those who be so puf-  
 fed up with pride and arrogancie, that they contemne and dis-  
 daine to call men in authoritie by the titles of their offices. For  
 pride, contempte, and arrogancie, is as well in refusing to give  
 honoure and reuerence, as it is in ambitiously desyring the  
 same.

But the chiefe purpose of Christ in this place is, to teache vs not  
 so to depende vpon men, as though it were not lawfull to breake  
 their decrees, or to decline from their authoritie: For there is one  
 onely father, Lorde, and maister, to whome we are so bounde,  
 that by no meanes we may decline at any tyme from his pre-  
 ceptes.

These places therefore may be aptly alleadged agaynst the  
 pride, tyrannie, and ambition of the Bishop of Rome, whiche see-  
 keth tyrannically to rule, and not to profite: but it maketh nothing  
 at all agaynst the lawfull authoritie of any other in any state or  
 condition of men.

T. C. Page. 12. Sect. vi.

\*Bylike it was  
 fondly allead-  
 ged, when you  
 do but suppose  
 their meaning.

Concerning the exposition and sense of that place I agree with you, and suppose that it is  
 quoted of the authours of the Admonition, rather to note the ambition of certaine, whiche gave  
 greedily at these bishopricks whiche wee haue, to the ende they might be saluted by the name of  
 Lords, and honours, than to proue that one minister should not haue dominion ouer another. And  
 therefore although these places be against no lawfull authoritie of any estate or condition of men,  
 yet as they are aptly alleadged against the bishop of Rome, the one against his estate and authoritie  
 simply, the other against his tyrannie, and euill vse of himselfe in that authoritie: so it may be  
 aptly alleadged agaynst any other, whiche shall fall into the lyke faulte of the Bishoppe of  
 Rome.

Jo. Whitgiste.

It is manifest that they quote this same place for the selfe same purpose that they  
 do the other: there can be no mist so thicke, that may darken the eyes of men from  
 seeing it, except they seeing will not see, as you do at this time,

I am glad that you agree with me in the exposition of this place: surely in so doing  
 you must also agree with me in the exposition of the other. For as Christ heere doth  
 not forbid the names but the arrogant and ambitious desire of them, so doth he not  
 there forbid authoritie and superioritie, but the coneting of it, and ambitious and in-  
 ordinate desire of the same. And if you well marke the words, Christ doth here much  
 more plainly forbid these names, then he doth there those offices of superioritie.

If any man doth imitate the Bishop of Romes ambition, either in office or in  
 name, he hathe me as greate an enimie, as he hath you. But in that you passe ouer  
 with silence, these words of mine, these places therefore may be aptly al-  
 leadged. &c. you seeme eyther to allow my expositions of the other places also, or  
 else you are ashamed of your owne vnfaythful and subtil dealing, which before would  
 haue made your Reader beleue, that I had misliked all those godly & learned mens iudg-  
 ments, which vse these places against the Bishop of Rome: it had bin plaine dealing  
 to haue set downe my words in order, as I haue done yours.

Answer



Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 17. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

Howe aptly that place of the. 24. of Mathew, But if the euil seruant shall say in his heart, &c. is alleaged, let all men iudge. I thinke it fo: biddeth not to punish such as breake good lawes. But Lorde howe these men are beaten, which do as they list, say what they list, & that with reioycing thereto: that is, if they be no otherwise beaten than hitherto they haue bin, they will not only with schismes & factions teare in sunder this Church of Englande, but in time ouerthrow the whole state of the common wealth.

Unapte allegations of scripture bled in the Admonition.

To proue that either we must haue a right ministerie of God, and a right gouernment of his Church according to the Scriptures let bp. &c. or else there can be no right religion &c. is alleaged the ninth of Mathew, the fourth to the Ephe. and the eighteenth of Mat. In the ninth of Mathew the place they alleage is this: Surely the harvest is great, but the labourers be fewe: vvhetherfore &c. In the fourth to the Ephe. He therefore gaue some to be Apostles. &c. In the eighteenth of Mat. If thy brother trespasse agaynst thee &c. The first place declareth that ministers of the word are necessarie in Christs Church. The seconde, that there is diuers kinds and degrees of them. And the thirde sheweth an order of correcting secreete sinnes, and priuate offences, and medleth not with those that be open and knowne to other. Now therefore consider to what purpose those places be noted in the margent, and how little they proue that which is concluded.

As for all the rest of the places of scripture that followeth, noted in the margent of this Preface, I knowe not to what purpose they be alleaged, but only for bayne glory, to blear the eyes of the ignorant people, and to make them beleue, that al that which is written in this booke, is nothing else but scripture it selfe. They haue delte very subtilly, to quote the places only, and not to set them downe in playne wordes, for by this meanes they thinke that of the most part it shall neuer be vnderstanded, howe vnaptly, and to what small purpose they be alleaged.

Subtily in quoting places only.

### Io. Whitgiste.

All this T. C. passeth ouer in silence, thereby (as I thinke) acknowledging it to be true.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 18.

This name Puritane is very aptly giuen to these men, not because they be pure, no more than were the Heretikes called Cathari, but because they thinke them selues to be *mundiores ceteris*, more pure than others, as Cathari dyd, & separate themselves from al other Churches and congregations as spotted and defiled. Because also they suppose the church which they haue deuised, to be without all impuritie.

The name of Puritane.

T. C. Pag. 13. Lin. 1. & Sect. 1.

The purenesse that we boast of, is the innocencie of our saviour Christ, who shal couer al our vnpurenesse, and not impute it vnto vs. And for so much as sayth purifieth the heart, we doubt not but God of his goodnesse hath begon our sanctificatio, & hope that he wil make an end of it ere vnto the day of our Lorde Iesus. Albeit we hold diuers points more purely than they do, which impugne them,



them, yet I knowe none that by comparison hath either sayde or written, that all those that thinke as we doe in those poyntes, are more holy, and more vnblyssable in lyfe, than any of those that thinke otherwyse. If we saye that in those poyntes whiche we holde from them, that we thinke sounder than they doe, we are ready to proue it, if we saye also, that we lyue not so offensively to the worlde commonly, by getting (a) so many luynges into our hands, as woulde fynde foure or fyue good learned able Ministers, all the world will beare us witnesse. Other puritanes we take not vpon vs. And therefore, as the name was first by the Papistes maliciously inuented, so is it of you very vnbrotherly confirmed. Whereas you saye, that they are Puritanes, whiche suppose the Church whiche they haue deined, to be without all impuritie, if you meane without sinne, you doe notably slander them, and it is already answered. If you meane that those are Puritanes or Catharanes, whiche doe set forth a true and perfecte patrene or platfforme of refozming the Church, then the marke of this heresie reacheth vnto those, whiche made the booke of common prayer, (b) whiche you saye is a perfecte and absolute rule to gouerne this Church, wherein nothing is wanting, or too little, nor nothing running ouer, nor too much. As for the Catharanes (whiche were the same that are otherwise called Nouatians) I knowe no suche opinion they had, and they whome you charge, are as farre from their corruption, as you bee.

(a) And yet some of you haue a competent number, without doing any durtie at them.

(b) An vntruth, for I do not saye so in any place.

### Io. Whitgiste.

You haue sayde vnto me in one place of your booke, *Quid verba audiam cum facta videam*: euen so I saye to you, for why will they not come to oure Sermons, or to oure Churches? why will they not communicate with vs in oure Sacramentes? not salute vs in the strettes: nay spitte in our faces, and openly reuile vs: why haue they their secrete conuenticles? You knowe all this to be true in a number of them. I knowe not why they shoulde doe so, excepte they thinke them selues to be contaminated by hearing vs preache, or by coming to our Churches, or by communicating otherwyse with vs. Whiche if they doe, it argueth that they perswade them selues not onely of suche an outwarde perfection, but of suche an inwarde puritie also, that they may as iustly for the same be called Puritanes, as the Nouatians were. You knowe that the first occasion why Nouatus did separate him selfe from the Church, was because he coulde not obtayne the Bishoprike of Rome, whiche he ambitiously desired. You knowe also that his pretence was because the Bishops dyd receyue those into the Church, whiche had fallen in the time of persecution. Afterwardes he fell into greater and moe absurdities, for commonly suche as once denide them selues from the Church, fall from errour to errour, without staye. This Nouatus thoughte he seemed to condemne ambition in all other men, yet was he most ambitious him selfe: thoughte he by vehement othes denied him selfe to desire a Bishoprike, yet did he most greedily seeke for it: though he boasted of more perfection in lyfe, and of a more perfecte platfforme of a Church than he thoughte others had, yet was it nothing so. He was the firste that I reade of, that forsooke his ministerie, and that sayde, *Senolle amplius presbyterum esse, sed alterius Philosophia studiosum*: that he woulde no longer be a Minister, but a student in other Philosophie. Reade Eusebius in his sixte booke of his Ecclesiasticall historie, Cap. 43 and Nicephorus in his sixte booke also, and third chapter. Surely the storie of Nouatus is worthy to be noted, because there be so many at these dayes, which do not so much differ from him in opinions, as they agree with him in conditions.

The qualities of Nouatus, and cause of his heresie.

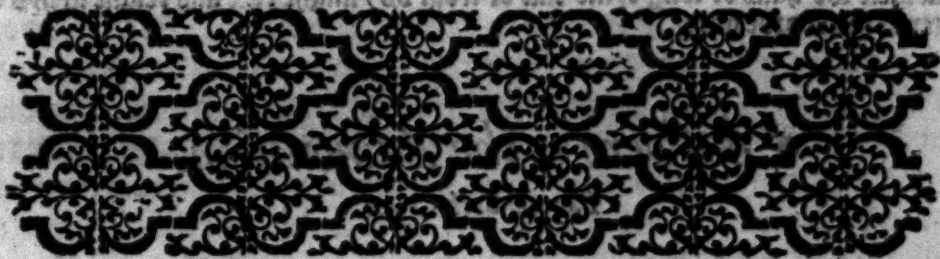
Nouatus the first that forsooke his ministerie.

You affirme that I saye, The booke of common prayer to be a perfecte and absolute rule to gouerne this Church, wherein nothing is wanting or too little, nor nothing running ouer, or too much. If I haue sayd any suche thing, quote the place, that the Reader may consider of it, and knowe that you speake the truthe. But if I neuer eyther spake, or wrytte any suche thing, then are you a false witnesse, and I haue to desire the Reader to consider of the reste of your sclaunderous reportes, according to the truthe of this. I haue learned with Saint Augustine to giue this reuerence onely to the wryters of Canonicali Scriptures, that I thinke none of them to haue erred in wryting. And I doe firmly beleue, that onely the bookes of the Canonicali Scripture, are of that absolutenesse, and perfection, that nothing maye be taken

The canonically Scriptures are only absolute & perfect.



(5)



It is the price nothing at all.  
In this book he takes to authorize himself by the titles of  
pressed in the books of God. And the close the most of their arguments  
nothing of our, testimonies, scriptures, or government, except he were  
nothing to be collected in the Church of Christ, containing either  
himself in his book commended. And though they should take  
that those things ought to be placed in the Church, which the Holy  
Scripture groups together as I can gather of their books, that is,  
and to examine that assertion which is the title and  
text before I enter into their reasons. I think it not  
impossible to imagine but reasons; and therefore in an  
matters of negations but reasons: and therefore in an  
will not answer to them, but answer, not have any

[illegible]



# Of the authoritie of the Church in things indifferent. Tract 2.

Some thinges may be tollerated in the Church, touching order, ceremonies, discipline, and kinde of gouernement, not expressed in the word of God. Chap. 1. the first Diuision.



Seeing that nothing in this mortal life is more diligently to be soughte for, and carefully to be looked vnto (a) than the restitution of true religion and reformation of Gods Church: it shall bee your partes (dearely beloued) in this present Parliamēt assembled, as muche as in your selfe to promote the same, and to employe your whole labour and studie, not onely in abandoning all those remnantes bothe in ceremonies and regiments, but also in bringing in and placing in Gods Church those thinges onely, whiche the Lorde himselfe (b) in his worde commaundeth. Because it is not mought to take paynes in taking away euill, (c) but also to be occupied in placing good in the steade thereof. Nowe because many men see not all thinges, and the (d) worlde in this respect is maruellously blinded, it hath bene thoughte good to profer to your godly considerations a true platforme of a Church reformed, to the ende that it being layde before your eyes, to beholde the greates vnlykenesse betweene it and this our Englishe Church: you maye learne, eyther with perfecte (e) hatred to deteste the one, and with singular loue to embrace, and carefull endeour to plante the other: or else to be without excuse before (f) the maiestie of our God, who (for the discharge of our conscience, & manifestation of his trueth) hath by vs reuealed vnto you at this present, the sinceritie and simplicitie of his Gospel. Not that you should either (g) wilfully withstand, or vngraciously tread (h) the same vnder your feete, for God doth not disclose his wil to any such ende, but that you should yet nowe at the length with all your mayne and might, endeour that Christe (whose (i) easie yoke and light burthen we haue of long tyme cast of from vs) might rule and reigne in his Church by the scepter of his worde onely.

## Answer to the Admonition.

Pag. 10. Sect. 1. & 2.



Will not answere wordes, but matter, nor bare affirmations or negations, but reasons: and therefore in a fewe wordes as I can, I will comprehend many lines. But before I enter into their reasons, I thinke it not amisse to examine that assertion which is the chiefe and principall grounde (so farre as I can gather) of their booke, that is, that those thinges only are to be placed in the church, which the Lord himselfe in his worde commaundeth. As though they shoulde saye, nothing is to be tollerated in the Church of Christ, touching either doctrine, order, ceremonies, discipline, or gouernment, except it be expressed in the word of God. And therefore the most of their arguments in this booke be taken ab authoritate negatiue, whiche by the rules of Logike proue nothing at all.

T. C. Pag. 13. Sect. 2.

You giue occasion of suspicion, that your ende will be scarce good, whiche haue made so euill a beginning. For whereas you had gathered out of the Admonition, that nothing shuld be placed in the Church, but that God hath in his worde commaunded, as though the words were not playne enough, you will giue them some light by your exposition. And what is that? you answere that it is as muche as though they would say, nothing is to be tollerated in the Church of Christ, touching either doctrine, order, ceremonies, discipline, or gouernment, except it be expressed in the word of God. Is this to interpret: is it all one to say, (a) nothing muste be placed in the Church, and nothing muste be tollerated in the Church? he hath but small indgemente, that can not tell; that certayne thinges maye be tollerated, and borne with for a tyme: Which if they were to be set in and placed, could not be done without the great faulte of them that should place them

The grounde  
of the Admo-  
nition.

(a) But their  
quarrell is in tol-  
lerating, not in  
placing.

a  
2. Reg. 22.  
3. Chro. 17.  
2. Chro. 29.  
30. 31.  
Psal. 132. 1.  
3. 4.  
Mat. 21. 11.  
Ioh. 2. 15.  
b  
Deut. 4. 2.  
Deut. 12. 31.  
c  
Psal. 37. 27.  
Rom. 12. 9.  
d  
1. Cor. 2. 14.  
e  
Psal. 31. 6.  
Psal. 139. 22.  
f  
Iohn. 15. 21.  
g  
1. Tim. 3. 8.  
h  
Math. 7. 6.  
i  
Mat. 11. 31



them. Agayne, are these of like waighte, excepte it be commaunded in the worde of God, and excepte it be expresse in the worde of God? Many thinges are bothe commaunded and forbidden, of whiche there is no expresse mention in the worde, whiche are as (b) necessarily to bee followed or auoyded, as those whereof expresse mention is made. Therefore vnlesse your weightes be truer, if I coulde let it, you shoulde waighe none of my wordes. Heerebpon you conclude, that their argumentes taken ab authoritate negative, proue nothing. When the question is of the authoritie of a man, in deede it neither holdeth (c) affirmatiuely nor negatiuely. For as it is no good argument to saye, it is not true because Aristotle or Plato sayde it not: so is it not to saye, it is true because they sayde so. The reason whereof is, because the infirmitie of man can neither attayne to the perfection of any thing, whereby he mighte speake all thinges that are to be spoken of, neither yett bee free from error in those thinges, whiche hee speaketh or giueth oute, and therefore this argument neither affirmatiuely, nor negatiuely compelleth the hearer: but onely induceth him to some lyking or mislyking of that, for whiche it is broughte, and is rather for an Oratour to perswade the simpler sorte, than for a disputer to inforce him that is learned. But for so muche as the Lorde God, determining to set before our eyes a perfecte forme of his Church, is bothe able to doe it, and hath done it, a man maye reason bothe wayes necessarily. The Lorde hath commaunded it shoulde be in his Church: therefore it muste. And of the other side, he hath not commaunded: therefore it muste not be. And it is not harde to shewe, that the Prophetes haue so reasoned negatiuely. As when in the person of the Lorde the Prophet saythe, whereof I haue not spoken, and whiche neuer entred into my heart: and as where he condemneth them, because they haue not asked counsell at the mouth of the Lorde.

(b) A Papistcail assertion.

(c) Vtrue.

Ierem. 7.  
ver. 31. 32.  
Esay. 30. V. 2

### Io. Whitgifte.

This my interpretation of their wordes is grounded vpon the whole discourse and drift of their booke, as it may evidently appeare to be true to any that hath eyes to see, and eares to heare: and shewe you if you can any one place in their booke, whiche dothe ouerthrowe this my interpretation of their wordes. I knowe it is one thing to saye, that nothing muste be placed in the Church, and an other thing to saye, that nothing muste be tolerated, but I see that they make no difference betwene them neither in their writing, nor yet in their practise. And I thinke also that there is some difference betwixte these two manner of speeches, excepte it be commaunded in the worde of God, and excepte it be expresse in the worde of God. For I knowe sundrie thinges to be expresse in the worde of God, whiche are not commaunded: as Christ his fasting fortye dayes, and his other myracles, and therefore by that interpretation I haue giuen vnto them a larger scope than they them selues require, whiche if it be an iniurie, it is to my selfe, and not to them.

But I thinke you were not well aduised, when you sayde, that many thinges are both commaunded and forbidden, of whiche there is no expresse mention in the word of God, whiche are as necessarie to be followed or auoyded, as those whereof expresse mention is made. If you meane that many thinges are commaunded or forbidden in the worde, which are not expresse in the worde, in my opinion you speake contraries: For howe can it be commaunded or forbidden in the worde, excepte it be also expresse in the same? If you meane, that many thinges are commaunded or forbidden to bee done, necessarie vnto saluation, whiche notwithstanding are not expresse in the worde of God, then I see not howe you differ from that opinion, whiche is the ground of all Papistrie, that is, that all things necessary vnto saluation are not expresse in the scriptures. How soeuer you meane it, it can not be true: for there is nothing necessarie to eternall life, which is not bothe commaunded and expresse in the Scripture. I counte it expresse, when it is either in manifest wordes containned in Scripture, or therof gathered by necessary collection. If I had to doe with a Papist, I coulde proue this to be true by the manyest testimonies of the Scripture it selfe, and also by sundrie other, bothe auncient and late wyters, but because I thinke it hath but ouerslipped you, and that vpon better aduise you will refoyme it, therefore I will cease to deale further in it, vntill I vnderstande more of your meaning.

An vnaduised  
assertion of  
T. C. tending  
to Papistrie.

What is sayd  
to be expresse  
in the Scrip-  
ture.

My conclusion touching Argumentes negative ab authoritate, (as I vnderstande it, and haue expounded it, in the wordes following) is very true, and muste of necessitie be so. You saye, that when the question is of the authoritie of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatiuely, nor negatiuely. Wherein you shewe your selfe not to be so skilfull in that, the

Argumentes  
ab authoritate  
negative.



An argument  
ab authoritate  
holdeth affir-  
matively.

ignorance whereof you do so often in your booke obiecte vnto me: for not in Aristotle onely, lib. 3. Top. and lib. 2. Rhet. ad Theod. but in euery halfe penie Logike, (as you terme them) the place *ab authoritate* is expessed, and the argumentes taken oute of the same, sayde to holde affirmatiuely, and not otherwyse: the rule whereof is thys,

1. Top. Cap. 8.

*Vnicuique in sua arte perito credendum est.* It is a good argument to saye, that it is true because Aristotle or Plato sayde it, if it be of any thing pertayning to that Arte, where in Aristotle or Plato were cunning and expert.

Whether all things pertayning to the outwarde forme of the Church be particularly expessed, or commaunded in the Scripture, or no, is the question that we haue nowe in controuersie: that God coulde do it, and therefore hath done it, is no good reason, no more than it is for the reall presence in the Sacrament.

Zuinglius in  
Elench.

Affirmatiuely the argument is alwayes good of the authoritie of the Scripture: as God hath there commaunded it to be done, therefore it muste be done. Or the Scripture affirmeth it to be so, *Ergo*, it is so. But negatiuely it holdeth not, excepte in matters of saluation and damnation, whiche is not my opinion onely, but the opinion of the best interpreters. Zuinglius in *Elencho contra Cathabaptist.* reproveth them for reasoning on this sorte, his wordes be these: You shall finde no way to escape, for fondly you reason *a factis & exemplis* negatiuely: yea *a non factis & non exemplis*: for what other reason vse you than this: we reade not that the Apostles baptized infants, *Ergo* they are not to be baptized.

The places  
which T. C.  
quoteth, proue  
not his pur-  
pose.

Iere. 7. ver. 31.

The examples that you vse in the 7. of Ierem. verse. 31. 32. and 30. of Esay. ver. 2. to proue that in externall and indifferent matters, we may reason negatiuely of the authoritie of the Scriptures, are farre fetched, and nothing to your purpose. For that whiche the Prophet Ieremie speaketh of, is a matter of great importance, euen moste horrible and cruell sacrifices, wherein they burnt their sonnes, and daughters. Whiche they were not only not commaunded to do, but expressely forbidden, as it appeareth in the 18. of Leuiti. verse. 21. and the 20. of Leuiti. verse. 3. and the 18. of Deutero. verse. 10. Nowe to reason thus, God hath commaunded that you shall not giue your children to be offered to Moloch, and he hath not giuen you any commaundement to the contrarie, therefore you oughte not to haue offered them: is affirmatiue, not negatiue: although in this case, being a matter of substance, and of saluation or damnation (for to kill and murder is of that nature) a negative argument is very strong. The Prophet Esay reproveth the Iewes for vsing their owne aduise, seeking helpe of the Egyptians, in the time of their aduersitie, and not of the Lorde. Whiche they dyd bothe contrarie to their owne promise, and also contrarie to the commaundement of God, Deutero. 17. verse. 16. But what is this to proue that we may reason negatiuely of the authoritie of the Scriptures, in matters of rites and ceremonies, and other indifferent things? You accuse me for not alleadging of Scriptures, better it were to alleadge none, than thus to alleage them to no purpose, or rather to abuse them.

Esa. 30. ver. 2.

Isa. 30. ver. 2.

Isa. 30. ver. 2.

Isa. 30. ver. 2.

Isa. 30. ver. 2.

## Chapter. 1. the. 2. Diuision.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 21. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

Wherein the  
scripture is  
sufficient.

It is most true, that nothing ought to be tollerated in the Church, as necessarie vnto saluation, or as an article of faythe, excepte it be expressely containied in the worde of God, or may manifestly thereof be gathered: and therefore we vtterly condemne and reiecte Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Masse, the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, worshipping of Images, &c.

And in this case an argumente taken *ab authoritate Scripturae* negatiue, is most strong: As for example. It is not to be founde in Scripture, that the Bishop of Rome oughte to be the head of the Church, and therefore



therfore it is not necessarie to saluation, to beleue that he ought to be the head of the Church. &c.

It is also true, that nothing in ceremonies, order, discipline, or gouernment in the Church is to be suffered, beyng against the worde of God: And therefore we reiecte all ceremonies, wherein there is any opinion to saluation, worshipping of God, or merite: As creeping to the crosse, holy bread, holy water, holy candle. &c.

T. C. Pag. 14. Lin. 3.

But you say, that in matters of faith and necessarie to saluation it holdeth, which things you oppose after, and set against matters of ceremonies, orders, discipline, & gouernment, (\*) as though matters of discipline and kinde of gouernment were not matters necessarie to saluation, and of faith. (a) The case which you put, whether the Bishop of Rome be head of the Church, is a matter that concerneth the gouernment, and the kinde of gouernment of the Church, and the same is a matter that toucheth faith, and that standeth vpon our saluation. Excommunication and other censures of the Church, which are forerunners vnto excommunication, are matters of discipline, and the same are also of faith, and of saluation. The sacramentes of the Lordes Supper, and of baptisme are ceremonies, and are matters of faith, and necessarie to saluation. And therefore you which distinguish betwene these, and say, that the former, that is matters of faith and necessary to saluation may not be tolerated in the Church, vntil they be expressly contained in the worde of God or manifestly gathered: But that this later which are, ceremonies, order, discipline, gouernment in the Church, may not be receyued against the worde of God, and consequently receyued if there be no worde against the, although there be none for them: you I say distinguishing or deuiding after this sorte, doe proue your selfe to be as euill a deuider, as you shewed your selfe before an expounder, for this is to breake in pieces, and not to deuide.

(\*) As though it were enough for you to say so, vpon such fillic proofes.

(a) arg. ex folis particularibus.

### Io. Whitgiste.

That matters of ceremonies, discipline, and kinde of gouernment be matters necessarie vnto saluation is a doctrine strange, and unheard of to me, wherof I will by and by speake moze at large, after I haue in a word or two answered your objections of the Bishop of Rome, and of the sacraments of Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper: for you say, The case which I put whether the Bishop of Rome be head of the Church, is a matter that concerneth the gouernment, and the kinde of gouernment of the Church, and the same is a matter that toucheth faith, and that standeth vpon saluation. Wherevpon bylike you would conclude, that matters of gouernment, and kinde of gouernment, are matters necessarie to saluation. Surely I put no such case: but I put such an example, to proue that we maye reason *ab autoritate scripturae negatiue*, for this is a good argument, we finde it not in Scripture that the Bishop of Rome ought to be the head of the Church: Ergo, it is not necessarie to saluation to beleue, that the Bishop of Rome is the head of the Church: the which thing notwithstanding the Papistes doe affirme: for they say thus, *Subesse Romano pontifici omni anima est de necessitate salutis*: to be subiecte to the Bishop of Rome is of necessitie of saluation to all men. Nowe sir, my reason is framed thus against them, whatsoever is necessarie to saluation is contained in the Scriptures, but that the Pope should be the head of the Church, is not conteyned in the Scriptures: Therefore it is not necessarie to saluation. But you reason cleane contrarie, for you conclude thus, whether the Pope be the head of the Church is a matter of gouernment and of the kinde of gouernment, but the Papistes say (for that I take to be your meaning) that it is a matter necessary vnto saluation, that the Pope should be the head of the Church: Ergo matters of gouernment and kinde of gouernment are necessarie vnto saluation. Thus you see howe popishly, with a popishe reason you make a verie popishe conclusion. Certainly no gouernment is to be brought into the Church that is directly against the word of God, as the Popes is, which doth not onely vsurpe the office and authoritie of kings and Princes, but of Christe also, and commaundeth things contrarie to faith, and to the manifest worde of God, wherefore his authoritie is wicked and damnable, but it doth not therefore followe to make this a generall rule, that the gouernment of the Church or kinde of gouernment is necessarie to saluation. Doe you not knowe of what force an argument is *ex folis particularibus*?



To proue that Ceremonies are necessarie to saluation you reason thus: The Sacraments of the Lordes Supper, and of baptisme, are ceremonies, and are matters of fapth, and necessarie to saluation: Ergo, &c.

Undoubtedly you are as euill a reasoner, as I am either an expounder or deuder, by cause the Supper of the Lord, and Baptisme be matters of saluation, therefore are all ceremonies matters of saluation: wyl you *ex solis particularibus* conclude an vniuersall proposition? furthermore you knowe that the Supper and Baptisme be not onely Ceremonies, but also Sacramentes, instituted and commaunded by Christ, hauiing promyses of saluation, anneted vnto them: and so haue not other ceremonies. And you speake too basely of them, when you cal them ceremonies, not shewing how or in what sorte they may be so called. It is the nette waye to byyng the Sacramentes into contempte, and it argueth that you haue not so reuerent an opinion of them, as you ought to haue. Therefore the reader muste vnderstande that there be two kyndes of Ceremonies, the one substantiall, the other accidentall: substantiall Ceremonies I call those which be *de substantia Religionis*, of the substance of Religion, and commaunded in the worde of God as necessarie, and haue promyses annered vnto them, as the Supper of the Lord, and Baptisme. Accidentall I call suche as maye be done or vndone as order requireth, and altered accordyng to tyme, place, person, and other circumstances, wythoute any opinion of Iustification, necessitie, or worship in the same, pertayning onely to externall comelynesse, order, decencie, &c. of the whiche kynde these be that the Apostle Saint Paule mentioneth. 1. Cor. 11. that, men shoulde praye bareheaded, and not women, and suche lyke, as I haue in my answere to the 1. Cor. 11. Admonition more particularly declared. Such Ceremonies I denie to be matters of saluation: and in suche I saye (as you also afterwarde confesse) the Church hath authoritie to appoynt from tyme to tyme, as shall be thoughte expedient, though the same Ceremonies be not expresse in the worde of God: so that my diuision holdeth, and is stronger than you shall be able to ouerthrowe wyth all the force you haue.

But now to your Paradox, you saye that matters of discipline and kynde of gouernement, are matters necessarie to saluation, and of fapth. And you adde that excommunication and other censures of the Church, which are forerunners vnto excommunication, are matters of discipline, and the same are also of fapth and of saluation. There are two kyndes of gouernment in the Church, the one inuisible, the other visibill, the one spirituall, the other externall. The inuisible and spirituall gouernment of the Church is, when God by hys spirite, gyftes, and Ministerie of hys worde dothe gouerne it, by ruling in the heartes and consciences of men, and directing them in all things necessarie to euerlasting lyfe: thys kynde of gouernement in deede is necessarie to saluation, and it is in the Church of the electe onely. The visibill and externall gouernment, is that whiche is executed by man, and consisteth of externall discipline, and visibill Ceremonies practised in that Church, and ouer that Church, that contayneth in it bothe god and euill, which is vsually called, the visibill Church of Christ, and compared by Christe to a fiede wherein bothe good seedes and tares were sown: and to a nette that gathered of all kynde of fyses. If you meane this kynde of gouernment, then muste I aske you thys question, whyther your meanning is, that to haue a gouernment is necessarie to saluation, Or to haue some one certayne forme, and kynde of gouernment, not to be altered in respecte of time, persons, or place? Lykewise woulde I knowe of you, what you meane by necessarie vnto saluation. Whyther you meane suche thyngs, wythoute the whiche we can not be saued: or suche thyngs onely as be necessarie or ordinarie helpes vnto saluation: for you knowe that this worde necessarie signifyeth eyther that wythout the which a thing can not be, or that, wythout the which it can not so well and conueniently be.

But for so muche as you afterwarde make mention of excommunication, and other censures of the Church, whiche are forerunners vnto excommunication, I take it that you meane the externall gouernment of the Church, and that kynde of gouernment.

And

Two kinds of ceremonies.

Substantiall ceremonies.

Accidental ceremonies.

1. Cor. 11.

Fol. 15. Sect. 5.

Matters of kynde of gouernment and discipline are not necessarie to saluation. Two kinds of gouernment of the church.

Math. 13.

Diuersification of the word necessarie.



And yet muste I aske you another question, that is, whyther you meane that this gouernement, and kynde of gouernement is necessarie at all tymes, or then when the Church is collected together, and in suche place where it maye haue gouernment. For you knowe that the Church is sometymes by persecution so dispersed, that it appeareth not, as we reade Apocal. 6. Nor hath anye certayne place to remaine in, so that it can not haue anye externall gouernment, or exercise of any discipline. But to be shorte, I confesse that in a Church collected together in one place, and at libertie, gouernment is necessarie in the seconde kinde of necessitie, but that any one kynde of gouernment is so necessarie that withoute it the Church can not be saued, or that it maye not be altered into some other kynde thought to be moze expedient, I vtterly denye, and the reasons that moue me so to doe be these.

In what respecte gouernment is necessarie.

The firste is, because I fynde no one certayne and perfitte kynde of gouernment prescribed or commaunded in the Scriptures to the Church of Christ, which no doubt shoulde haue bene done, if it had bene a matter necessarie vnto the saluation of the Church.

Reasons why the Church is not tied to any one certayne kinde of externall gouernment. Onely two essentiall notes of the church. Caluine aduer. Anabap.

Secondly because the essentiall notes of the Church be these onely: The true preaching of the worde of God, and the righte administration of the Sacramentes: for (as Maister Caluine sayth in his Booke agaynst the Anabaptistes) Thys honour is meete to be gyuen to the worde of God, and to his Sacramentes, that wheresoeuer we see the worde of God truly preached, and God accordyng to the same truly worshipped, and the Sacramentes wythoute superstition administred, there we maye wythoute all controuersie conclude the Church of God to be: and a little after, so muche we muste esteeme the worde of God, and hys Sacramentes, that wheresoeuer we fynde them to be, there we maye certaynely knowe the Church of God to be, although in the common life of men, manye faulces and errors be founde. The same is the opinion of other godly and learned writers, and the iudgement of the reformed Churches, as appeareth by their confessions. So that notwithstanding gouernment or some kynde of gouernment maye be a parte of the Church, touching the outwarde forme and perfection of it, yet is it not suche a parte of the essence and being: but that it maye be the Church of Christ without this or that kynde of gouernment, and therefore the kynde of gouernment of the Church is not necessarie vnto saluation.

Confess. Heluetica. cap. 17.

The Church of Corinth when Paule did write vnto it, was the Church of Christ, for so doth he call it. 1. Cor. 1. where also he doth giue vnto it, a singular commendation, and yet it had not at that time when he so commendeth it, that kynde of gouernment and discipline, that you meane of, that is, excommunication as appeareth. 1. Cor. 5.

The thirde reason is this. If excommunication (which is a kynde of gouernment) be necessarie to saluation, then any man may separate him selfe from euery Church wherein is no excommunication, but no man may separate himselfe from euery Church wherein is no excommunication, therfore excommunication (which is a kynde of gouernment) is not necessarie to saluation. The first proposition is euident, for no man is bounde to remaine in that Church where any thing is wanting, without the which he cannot be saued. As for the seconde proposition (that is to saye) that no man ought to separate him selfe from euery Church, where excommunication is not; because it is learnedly proued by suche as haue written agaynst the Anabaptistes, who both dyd teache and practise the contrarie, it shall be sufficient to referre you vnto them. Maister Caluine, in hys Booke agaynst the Anabaptistes sayth thus. Herein is the controuersie betwixte the Anabaptistes and vs, that they thinke there is no Church where this gouernment (meaning excommunication) is not appointed, or not vsed and exercised, as it ought to be, nor that a Christian ma there ought to receiue the Supper: and vnder that pretence they separate themselves from the Churches where the worde of God is truly preached. See M. Bullinger also in his first booke agaynst the Anabaptistes sayth. This the Anabaptistes do vrge, that there is no true Church acceptable vnto God, where there is no excommunication, the which they vse. To these therefore we answered, that the Church of Corinth was a true Church, and so acknowledged of Paule to be. 1. Cor. 1. before there was

want of excommunication is no iust cause of separation from any Church. Caluine aduer. Anabap.

Bul. lib. 6. aduer. Anabap.

any



Gualter in.  
1. Cor. 5.

Ibidem.

any vse of excommunication in it. &c. of the same iudgement is M. Gualter writing vpon the first to the Corinth. 5. VVhilest the Anabaptistes perswade themselves that there can be no discipline wythout excommunication, they trouble the Churches euery where. &c. In the same Chapter he sayth, that there is no one certaine kinde of gouernment or discipline prescribed to Churches, but that the same may be altered as the profit of the Churches shall require. His words among other be these, Let euery Church follow that maner of discipline, which doth most agree, with the people with whō it abideth, and which seemeth to be most fit, for the place and time. And let no man here rashely prescribe vnto others, neither let him binde all Churches to one and the same forme. But of this matter I shall haue occasion to speake moze hereafter, where it shall appeare howe farre this learned man M. Gualter is, from allowing that kinde of gouernment now in this state of the Church, the which T. C. would make vs to beleue to be so necessarie. This haue I briefly set downe, not to disallowe discipline or gouernment (for I thinke it very conuenient in the Church of Christ,) nor yet to reiect excommunication, which also hath a necessarie vse in the gouernment of the Church, but to declare that this assertion can not stande with the truth, & with learning, that the kinde of gouernment (meaning as I thinke some one certaine kinde of externall gouernment) is necessarie to saluation.

### Chap. 1. the thirde Diuision.

T. C. Page. 14. Sect. 1. & 2.

(\*) T. C. accounteth externall gouernment more precious than the doctrine of faith.

(\*) Note this assertion.

(a) He that dyeth in the opinion of free will, holdeth not this foundation

(b) Why then haue not you done it, speaking so dangerously?

And it is no small iniurie which you do vnto the word of God, to pinne it in so narrow roome, as that it should be able to direct vs, but in the principall poyntes of our Religion, or as though the substance of Religion, or some rude and unfashioned matter of building of the Church were vttered in them, and those things were leste out, that should pertaine to the forme and fashion of it: or as if there were in the Scriptures (\*) only to couer his nakednesse, & not also chaines and bracelets and rings, and other iewels to adorne him and set him out: or that to conclude, there were sufficient to quench his thirst, and kill his hunger, but not to minister vnto him a more liberall, and (as it were) a more delicious and daintie dyet. These things you seeme to say, when you say, that matters necessarie to saluation and of faith are contayned in the Scripture, especially when you oppose these things, to ceremonies, order, discipline, and gouernment.

And if you meane by matters of faith and necessarie to saluation, those without which a man can not be saved, then the (\*) doctrine that teacheth there is no free will, or prayer for the dead, is not within your compasse. For I doubt not, but diuers of the fathers of the Greeke Church, which were great patrons of free will, are saued, (a) holding the foundation of the faith which is Christ. The like might be sayde of a number of other, as necessarie doctrines as that, wherein men being misseled, haue notwithstanding bene saued. Therefore seeing that the point of the question lieth chiefly in this distinction, it had bene good, that you had spoken (b) more certainly and properly of these things.

Jo. Whitgiste.

Page. 17. Sect. 2.

When you say, That it is no small iniurie that I doe vnto the word of God to pinne it by in so narrow roome. &c. You doe but enlarge the volume of your booke with bare words that myght well be spared. I giue that perfection to the word of God, which the word it selfe requireth, and all goodly learned men consent vnto: and muche moze doe I attribute vnto it than you do, in saying that many things are both commaunded and forbydde of the which there is no expresse mention in the word, which are as necessary to be followed or auoyded, as those whereof expresse mention is made, which I take to derogate much from the perfection of the Scriptures, to be more Papisticall, and quite contrarie to that, that you doe pretende. I also confesse, that in all other things we muste so be directed by the Scriptures, that we doe nothing contrarie to the true sense and meaning of them, no not in externall and in the leaste matters: neyther doe I otherwise write, teache, or speake of the perfection and authoritie of the Scriptures, than all other learned

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ned men, and the reformed Churches, teache, wyte, and beleue: wherefore I passe ouer your words and come to your reasons.

If I meane, say you, by matters of fayth and necessarie to saluation, those without the which a man can not be saued. &c. I can not but muse what you meane willingly to pretende ignorance. Is this thinke you a sounde argument: Diuers of the fathers of the Greeke Church, which were greate patrons of free will, are saued, holding the foundation of the fayth which is Christ: Ergo The doctrine of free will is not a doctrine of saluation or damnation: you myght as well say, that many in the popishe Church which beleued that the Pope was supreme head of the Church, that the Masse was a sacrifice for the quicke & the dead, and such like poynts of papistlicall Religion be saued, Ergo these are no matters of saluation or damnation. Surely by the same reason al other kinde of sinnes (almost) might be without this compasse. But it may please you to vnderstand, that the mercie of God in his sonne Jesus Christ is infinite, and that he pardoneth at his good will and pleasure, not onely misbeliefe proceeding of ignorance, but wilfull errors, and sinnes also, though they be of themselves damnable: he also altereth the minde of man euen in a moment, and therefore as hys mercyes be infinite, so be his iudgements vnsearchable. Wherefore this your reason is vttered without due consideration. The doctrine of free will because it is an enime to the grace of God, must needs be of it selfe a damnable doctrine, yet both it not prejudice the mercie of God, nor finally shut oute repentance the gifte of God. And full well doe you knowe, that he can not hold y foundation of faith (that is Christ) perfectly, which is a mayntayner of free will. But leauing the weight of such kind of argumentes to the consideration of the Reader: I come to the purpose. When I saye that an argument holdeth negatively from the authoritie of the Scripture in matters of fayth and necessarie to saluation, my meaning is manifest: which is this, that the Scriptures doe containe all things necessarie to be beleued, and to saluation: and therefore whatsoever is taught vnto vs, as an article of fayth and necessarie to saluation, not contained in the scriptures, that same to be false and vnttrue, and therefore to be reiected. As for example, the doctrine of free will, of Purgatorie, of praying for the dead, of praying to Saints, of the sacrifice of the Masse, &c. are not containied in the Scriptures, and therefore they be not doctrines to be beleued, nor necessarie to saluation, but damnable doctrines of themselves, and repugnant to saluation. Surely I thinke in this poynte that you neither vnderstande me nor your selfe: my meaning is plaine, that nothing is necessarie to saluation, which is not plainely contained in the Scriptures.

### Chap. 1. the fourth Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 21. Sect. 4.

But, that no ceremonie, order, discipline, or kinde of gouernemente may be in the Church, except the same be expessed in the worde of God, is a great absurditie, and breedeth many inconueniences.

What things the Scripture hath not expessed, but left to the ordering of the Church.

T. C. Pag. 14. Sect. 3.

But to the ende it may appeare, that this speech of yours: doth some thing take vp and shrinke the armes of the Scripture, which otherwise are so long & large: I say that the word of God containeth the direction of all things pertaining to the Church, yea of whatsoever things can fall into any part of mans lyfe. For so Salomon saith in the seconde chapter of the Proverbs. Why some if thou receiue my words, and hide my preceptes in the, &c. then thou shalt vnderstande iustice and iudgement, and equitie, and euery good way. S. Paule sayth that whither we eate or drinke, or what soeuer we do, we must doe it to the glory of God. But no man can glorifie God in any thing but by obedience, and there is no obedience, but in respect of the commaundement and worde of God: therefore it followeth that the word of God directeth a man in all his actions: & that which S. Paule sayd of meates and drinckes, that they are sanctified vnto vs by the word of God, the same is to be vnderstande of all things else whatsoever we haue the vse of. But the place of S. Paule in the. 14. to the Rom. is of all other most cleare, where speaking of those things which are called indifferent, in the ende he concludeth, that whatsoever is not of faith is sinne: but faith is not but in respect of the word of God, therefore whatsoever is not done by the word of God, is sin. And

The Scripture wrested by T. C.

1. Cor. 10.

1. Tim. 4.



(a) Then haue  
you hereto  
strived in vaine  
(b) Holde you  
here.

if any will saye that S. Paule meaneth there, a full perswasion and *πλικοποιοειν* that that which he doth is well done, I graunt it. But from whence can that spring but from sayth, and how can we perswade and assure oure selues that we doe well, but whereas we haue the worde of God for our warrant? so that the Apostle by a metonymie, Subjecti pro adiuncto, doth giue to vnderstand from whence the assured perswasion doth spring, whereby it falleth out, that for as much as in all our actions euen ciuill and priuate, we ought to follow the direction of the word of God, in matters of the Church, & which concerne all, there may be nothing done but by the word of God. (a) Not that we say, as you charge vs in these wordes, when you say, that we say, that (b) no ceremonie, &c. may be in the Church, except the same be expresse in the word of God, but that in making orders & ceremonies of the Church, it is not lawfull to do what men list, but they are bound to follow the generall rules of the scripture, that are giuen to be the squire, whereby those should be squared out.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

How I scrip-  
ture containeth  
the direction  
of all things  
belonging to  
the life of man.  
Page. 15.

When I say that the scriptures containe all things necessary vnto saluation, I doe not meane that it containeth those things onely, neither doe I denie but that the worde of God, so containeth generally the direction of all things pertaining to the Church, or that can fall into any part of mans life, that nothing ought to be done in the Church, or in the life of man contrarie to the word of God, or not according to the true intent and meaning of the same. Yet doe I denie that the scriptures doe expresse particularly euerie thing that is to be done in the Church (which you your selfe after ward confesse) or that it doth set downe any one certaine forme and kynd of gouernment of the Church, to be perpetuall for all times, persons, and places, without alteration, as I shall hereafter more particularly declare.

Prover. 2.

The place you do alleage out of the 2. chap. of Salomons Proverbs, doth not proue your purpose, for Salomon there teacheth the fruites and commoditie of wisdom, and in the person of hir, declareth what vnderstanding he shall haue in righteousness, iudgement, equitie, and every good parte, that harkeneth vnto wisdom, obeyeth hir commaundements, and giueth his hart to knowledge. But what is this to proue, that the scripture hath expresse euerie particular ceremonie, or kynd of gouernment in the Church? how followeth this reason, if Princes and such as be in authoritie, receiue the words of wisdom, and hide hir commaundements within them. &c. they shall vnderstand righteousness, iudgement, and equitie, and euerie good parte. &c. therefore the scriptures do expresse euerie ceremonie, order, discipline or kynde of gouernment that is to be vsed in the Church: surely except you take heede you wil wander as farre out of the way in alleaging the scriptures, as the authoers of the Admonition did in quoting them. I graunt you that Princes muste giue them selues to the vnderstanding of wysedome, and especially of the wisdom of God contained in his word, for so shall they vnderstande righteousness, iudgement, and equitie, and euery good parte. &c. But what is this to our question? Magistrates must be directed by the worde of God: Ergo they must make no ciuill or ecclesiasticall lawe, or order, which is not expresse in the word of God: I deny this argument. Your other text is written in the 1. Cor. 10.

1. Cor. 10.

Whither therefore we eate or drinke, &c. Whereupon you frame this argument: whatsoeuer we do, we must do it to the glory of God: but no man can glorifie God in any thing but by obedience, and there is no obedience, but in respect of the commaundement and word of God. Therefore it followeth, that the word of God directeth a man in all his actions: (to omit the vndigested forme of this argument, wherein the conclusion agreeth not with the premises) this text is as farre from the purpose as is the other, for what sequele is this, we must do all to the glory of God, we must obey the commaundement & wordes of God: Ergo we must do nothing in our whole life, but that which is particularly expresse in the worde of God: & therefore the scripture expresseth euerie particular ceremonie, order, or kynd of gouernment to be vsed in the Church: You may as well by this place conclude, that euery ciuill actio, euery priuate actio, euery ciuill kynd of gouernment, is expresse in y word. For this rule of S. Paule is general, and pertaineth to all Christians, of what state, conditio or degree so euer they be. But the true meaning of S. Paule in y place is, that we seke y glory of God in all things, & do nothing that is against his word and commaundement. We glorifieth God in meate & drinke which acknowledgeth God to be the giuer of them, and then is thankfull for them, and bleth them moderately, &c. the like is to be said of all other actions.



That whiche Saincte Paule (you say) sayde of meates and drinckes, that they are sanctified vnto vs by the worde of God. &c. It is true, but to what purpose doe you alleadge that place? The worde of God pronounceth all Gods creatures to be good, and the vse of them to be lawfull (for al thyngs are cleane to those that bee cleane) the same are to be desyred by vs of hym, as the authoꝝ and giner of them, and when we haue them wee must be thankfull foꝝ them: But what is this to the pꝛoofe of any thing that wee haue nowe in controuersie?

But the place of Saincte Paule in the. 14. to the Romains (you saye) is of all other moſte cleare. &c. Wherevpon you frame this argumente, Paule speaking of things which are called indifferent, sayeth that whatſoeuer is not of ſayth, is ſynne, but ſaythe is not but in reſpecte of the worde of God: therefore what ſoeuer is not doone by the worde of God is ſynne: Still I omitt the euill framing of your argumentes: For I reſpecte not the defacing of your ſkill, but the groundes of youre pꝛoofes. That ſentence of Saincte Paule is alſo generall, and it is to be extended to all ciuill actions, as well as it is to Eccleſiaſticall, and therefore if it pꝛoue that all Ciuill and Politike actions and kyndes of gouernemente muſte be particularlye expreſſed in the Scriptures: it pꝛoueth the ſame in Eccleſiaſticall matters alſo: eſſe not. But the meaning of the Apoſtle is, that wee ſhoulde doe nothing agaynſte oure conſcience, nothing but that whyche wee doe beleue not to diſpleaſe God, not to be agaynſte his word, oꝝ commaundement. For not to be of ſayth, hath dyuers ſignifications. Fyꝛſt, it ſignifieth that, that is contrarie to the perſuaſion of the ſaythe and iudgement of the conſcience: Secondly it ſignifyeth, not to be taken as an article of faith. If it be taken in the ſyꝛſt ſignification: When it is not true that whatſoeuer can not be pꝛoued in the worde of God, is not of ſayth, foꝝ then to take by a ſtraue, to obſerue manie Ciuill orders, and to do a number of particular actions, were agaynſte ſaythe, and ſo deadly ſynne: bycauſe it is not founde in the worde of God, that wee ſhoulde doe them. The whyche doctrine muſte needes byꝛing a greate ſeruitude and bondage to the conſcience, reſtrayne oꝝ rather utterly ouerthrowe that parte of Chriſtian libertie, whiche conſiſteth in the free vſe of indifferent thynges, neyther commaunded noꝝ foꝝbidden in the worde of God, and thꝛowe men headlong into deſperation. For what man is able to ſhewe the worde of God foꝝ all thyngs he dothe? If it be taken in the ſeconde ſignification, then it is true, that that is not of ſaythe, whyche can not be pꝛoued by the word. For nothing is to be beleued as an article of faith, which cannot be pꝛoued by the worde of God. In this. 14. to the Romaines, not to be of ſaythe is taken in the ſyꝛſt ſignification, that is agaynſte the perſuaſion of the ſaythe and iudgemente of the conſcience: as though he ſhoulde ſaye, whatſoeuer a man dothe agaynſte his conſcience, that is ſynne. And thys to be the true meaning of thys place, the word. Rom. 14. verſ. 22. des goyng befoꝝe, doe declare, where the Apoſtle ſayeth, Blessed is he that condemneth not himſelfe in the thyng whiche he alloweth, that is, whoſe doyngs are not agaynſte his conſcience.

This rule (I ſaye) of Saincte Paule, extendeth as well to Ciuill actions, as it dothe to Ceremonies and orders of the Church, and therefore what you wil conclude of the one, that muſte you alſo conclude of the other: But I thinke you will not ſaye, that euery ciuill action muſte be expreſſed oꝝ commaunded in the worde of God: wherefoꝝe neyther can you pꝛoue by theſe wordes of S. Paule, that euery ceremonie, order, oꝝ kinde of gouernemente in the Church muſt be commaunded by the worde of God.

But what neede I labour ſo muche in a matter at the lengthe confeſſed, by youre ſelfe: foꝝ you denye that you ſaye, That no Ceremonie. &c. maye be in the Church, excepte the ſame be expreſſed in the worde of God, but that in making orders and ceremonies of the Church, it is not lawfull to doe what men liſte, &c. The matter in controuersie is by T.C. confeſſed.

Holde you here, and wee ſhall ſone agree. For neyther dothe that, that I haue hitherto ſpoken in thys matter, noꝝ that whyche I intende to ſpeake hereafter, diſagree from thys: the whyche you myghte haue ſene, yf it had



Page. 22. sect. 2. it had pleased you, page. 22. and. 28. of the Answer to the Admonition, and in my  
 Page. 28. sect. 2. whole discourse of that matter. Wherefore if you were constant, and not contrarie  
 unto your selfe, or at the least not desirous to haue shewed your selfe contrary to that  
 which I haue in this point written (though you here confesse it to be true) you might  
 haue both eased your selfe and me of this labour.

### Chap. 1. the fyfte Diuision.

T. C. Page. 15. lin. 8. & Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Which rules I will here sette downe, as those which I would haue as well all orders and ce-  
 remonies of the Church framed by, as by the which I will be content, that all those orders and  
 ceremonies which are now in question, whether they be good and conuenient or no, should be tri-  
 ed and examined by. And they are those rules, whiche Sainct Paule gaue in such cases, as are  
 not particularly mentioned of in the Scripture.

(a) You ad, espe-  
 cially, to the text

The fyfte, that they offend not any (a) especially the Church of God.

The seconde is, (that which you cite also out of Paule) that all be done in order  
 and comelynesse.

The thirde, that all be doone to edifying.

The last, that they be done to the glorie of God.

So that you see that those thyngs which you reckon by of the houre, and time, & day of prayer,  
 &c. albeit they be not specified in the Scripture, yet they are not left to any, to order at their plea-  
 sure, or so that they be not against the worde of God: but euen by and according to the worde  
 of God, they must be established, and those alone to be taken, which doe agree best & nearest with  
 these rules before recited. And so it is brought to passe (which you thinke a greates absurditie,) that  
 all things in the Church should be appointed, according to the worde of God: whereby it  
 appeareth, that we denye not but (b) certayne thyngs are left to the order of the Church,  
 because they are of that nature, which are varied by tymes, places, persons, and other circum-  
 stances, and so could not at once be set downe and established for euer: (c) and yet so left to the or-  
 der of the church, as that it doe nothing against the rules aforesayd. But howe both this fol-  
 lowe, that certayne things are left to the order of the Church, therfore to make a new ministe-  
 rie by making an Archbishopp, to alter the ministerie that is appoynted, by making a Bishoppe  
 or pastor without a Church or flocke, to make a Deacon, without appoynting him his Church  
 wherof he is deacon, and where he myght exercise his charge of prouiding for the poore, to abro-  
 gate cleane both name and office of the elder, with other more: how I say do these followe that  
 because the Church hath power to order certayne things, therfore it hath power to do so of these  
 whiche God hath ordeyned and established: of the which there is no tyme, nor place, nor person, nor  
 any other circumstance, whiche can cause any alteration or change: whiche thing shall better  
 appeare both in the Discourse of the whole booke: and especially there where you go about to shew  
 certayne reasons, why there shoulde be other government nowe, than was in the tyme of the  
 Apostles.

1. Cor. 10.

1. Cor. 14.

1. Cor. 14.

Rom. 14.

(b) Here in effect  
 T. C. confesseth  
 the matter in  
 question.  
 (c) What is affir-  
 med otherwise  
 in the answer to  
 the Admonitiō

### Jo. Whitgifte.

The first rule  
 of T. C. con-  
 cerning cere-  
 monies exa-  
 mined.

1. Co. 10. vs. 32.

The orders  
 of the Church  
 depend not  
 vpon enery  
 mans liking,  
 or mistaking.

Musculus.

You sette downe foure rules, whiche you would haue all orders and ceremonies of  
 the Church framed by. The first is, 1. Cor. 10. that they offend not any, especially the Church  
 of God, whiche rule I thinke you take out of these wordes of that Chapter, *Tales-  
 estote, ut nullum praebeat offendiculum, neque Iudeis. &c.* be such as you giue no offence nei-  
 ther to the Iewes, nor to the Grecians, nor to the Church of God. But truly they make  
 little or nothing for your purpose, neither yet any other thing conteyned in that chap-  
 ter. For the Apostle there sheweth how one priuate man should behaue himself to-  
 wardes an other, yea and towardes the Church in things that may be done, or not  
 be done: he prescribeth no generall rule for the Church to make orders and ap-  
 poynte Ceremonies by. For what reason were it that the orders of the Church  
 should so depende vpon one or two mennes liking or mistaking, that they should  
 be compelled to alter the same, so ofte as any should therewith be offended: Which  
 must of necessitie come to passe, if thys your rule were generall. For what Church  
 is voide of some contentious persons, & quarellers, who no order, no reason, no reso-  
 mation can please: It is true that Musculus sayth: There bee some who no church can  
 please, hauing alwayes some thing to reprove in other men, and nothing in themselves.

The Anabaptistes, the Libertines, the Papistes, and other vniquiet myndes, and  
 conten-



contentious persons are offended with such rites and Ceremonies as the reformed Churches vse: neither is there (as I suppose) any reformed Church boyde of some of these kinde of persons: shall they therfore by and by alter the forme and state? S. Paule in this place would haue no iuste offence giuen to any either faithfull or infidell. For Christians ought to be such, at whose examples, doctrine, and lyfe, no man mighte iustely take any offence. True it is, that in all orders and Ceremonies the Church must take heed that there be no iust offence giuen, but she hath not to depend vpon euery priuate mans iudgement.

Whereas you say, especially the Church of God, you adde to the wordes of the Apostle, for he sayth not especially: and if you marke his meaning well, you shall rather finde that he would haue especial care taken, that there be no offence giuen to such as are not yet come to the Church (whiche some vnderstand by the Iewes and Grecians) least they shoulde still be withdrawne from the Church, when as there is no suche feare to be had of those that be alreadye members of the same.

Your seconde rule. 1. Coz. 14. is a good and necessarie rule, not onely alledged by me, but allowed and embraced as moste conueniente: but who shall iudge what is moste comely and the best order? shall euery priuate man, or rather such as haue the chiefe care and gouernment of the Church? This is a rule prescribed by the Apostle to the Church, wherby she must direct hir orders and gouernment, not to euery priuate person to picke a quarell to disquiet the Church.

The third. 1. Coz. 14. that all be doone to edifying. This sentence can not be applyed generally to all things vsed in the Church, if we truly interprete the meaning of the Apostle, but to the gifte of tongues, to prayers, and to prophecies, whereof he hath made mention before. Neither can I perceiue that any learned Interpreter doth take it as a general rule for al rites and ceremonies, but only for the exercises of Praying, singing of Psalmes, interpreting, and Prophecyng. For of things vsed in the Church, some pertain to instruction, and some to order and comelinesse. For the firste he giueth this rule, Let all things be done to edifying. For both the first and the second he giueth this, *Omnia decenter.* Let all things be done decently and in order. Although those ceremonies and rites whiche are appointed by the Church for order and comelinesse, do edifie as Ceremonies, that is, not of themselves, but *per accidens*, accidentally, as I haue in another place declared. It is sufficient if the Gouernours of the Church, and suche as haue authoritie to ordeyne suche rites, doe thinke them to be profitable in the respect of the tyme, person, and place: neyther muste euery priuate mannes iudgement in this case be respected, as it is well sette downe by the Articles agreed vpon by the Dutche Church in London, allowed by M. Beza, and by diuers other reformed Churches. It is the thirde article: *Quid porro ad adificationem faciat.* Moreouer what is profytable to edifye, and what is not, is not to be determined by the iudgemente of the common people, nor of some on man, nor yet by the issue of mens actions. &c.

I can not vnderstande out of what parte of the 14. to the Romaines, youre lastte rule is taken, except it be the first, seuen, or eyght verses, out of the whiche I would gladly knowe howe you can deriue any rule to frame ceremonies by, rather than all other actions of man whatsoever.

These be your rules to square by, and truly we refuse them not, though some of them pertain nothing to your purpose. The Dutch Church and the other Churches in the 11. of those articles before mentioned, touching commaunding or forbidding indifferent things, determin thus. *Qui propter aliam rationem.* They whiche for any other cause either comand or forbid at their pleasure, the free vse of indifferent things, then for one of these three, that is neither for edifying, nor for policy, nor ecclesiastical order, & especially those which do rashly iudge other mans consciences in these matters, offered heynously against god, & against their neighbours. Wherby they seeme to allow any order take in indifferent things, if it tend either to edifying, or policie, or ecclesiastical order. But to return to your Reply: y which you speak of houre, time, & day of prayer. &c. iustifie my saying: for

V. y.

they

The C. addeth to the texte, to make it serue his turne.

The seconde rule of C. C. allowed. The iudgement of comelinesse and order, resteth not in euery priuate person. The thirde rule examined.

In the treatise of apparel tract. 7.

Theses Ecclesie Belgio-germanice. arti. 3.

The last rule pertaineth no more to ceremonies than to other actions.

Theses Ecclesie Belg. arti. 11.



T. C. is con-  
trarie to him-  
selfe and to the  
Admonition,  
and agreeth  
with the an-  
swere.

Tw. 19.

they be not expessed in the scripture, as you also now affirm; but left to the ordering (not of euery private man) but of the Church, or such as haue the chief care and gouernment of the same, to appoint as they shal thinke most conuenient and agreeable to the generall rules giuen in the scripture for that purpose. Neither is this contrarie to any thing that I haue written. But bothe in this and that also whiche immediatly foloweth, you are contrarie to your self, and directly *ad opposition* to the Admonition, As by conference may appeare: for these be your owne wordes, whereby it sheweth, that we denie not but certayne things are left to the order of the Church, because they are of that nature which are varied by tymes, places, persons, sother circumstances, and so could not at once be set downe and established for euer. And yet so left to the order of the Church, as that it doe nothing against the rules aforesayde. What dothe this differ from these wordes of myne: **It is also true that nothing in Ceremonies, order, discipline, or gouernmente of the Church is to be suffered against the word of God:** and to this end doe all those authorities and places tende, that I haue alledged for this matter. So that eyther you vnderstand not me, or not your selfe, or else your quarell is againste the person, not the cause. The admonition in this poynt you defende not: for it sayeth directly, that those things only are to be placed in Gods Church, whiche the Lord himselfe in his worde commaundeth. And although peraduenture you will shifte this off, by saying that they meane suche things only as bee commaunded eyther generally or specially, yet the whole discourse of their booke declareth, that their meaning is, that nothing ought to be placed in the Church which is not specially commaunded in the worde of God.

But seeing you and I agree in this, that the Church hath authoritie to ordeyn ceremonies and make Orders, whiche are not expessed in the worde of God, it remaineth to be considered wherein we differ: whiche is (as I thinke) in this, that I say, the Church of England hath lawfully vled her authoritie, in suche ceremonies & orders, as she hath appointed, & now retaineth, and you denie the same: so that your controuersie is against the Church of England, and the Ceremonies and orders vled therein. And therefore you adde and saye, but howe doth this follow, that certaine things are left to the order of the Church, therefore to make a newe ministerie, &c. Whereby you giue vs to vnderstande, that the things you mislike in this Church, are the office and name of an Archbishop, whiche you vntruly call a newe ministerie, (as it is by me declared in my answer to the Admonition) oure ministerie, the gouernment of our Church, and (as you say) other more, that is, all thinges at your pleasure. But how iustly and truly this is spoken, shall appeare in their proper places. In the meane tyme it is sufficient to tell you, that you are an vnworthy member of this Church, whiche so vnjustly report of it, so vnchristianly slander it, and so without groundes and sounde proofes condemne it. There is nothing by it, or in it altered, which God hath ordeined and established, not to be altered.

### Chap. 1. the sixt Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 21 Sect. 5.

6. & Pag. 22. Sect. 1. 2.

The Scripture hath not prescribed any place or time, wherein or when the Lordes Supper should be celebrated, neither yet in what manner. The Scripture hath not appoynted what tyme, or where the congregation shall meete for common Prayer, and for the hearing of the word of God, neither yet any discipline for the correcting of such as shall contemne the same.

The Scripture hath not appointed what day in the weeke, should be most meete for the Saboth day, whither Saterday, which is the Jewes Saboth, or the day now obserued, which was appointed by the Church.

The



The Scripture hath not determined what forme is to be vsed in matrimonie, what words, what prayers, what exhortations.

The Scripture speaketh not one worde of standing, sitting or kneeling at the Communion, of meeting in Churches, fieldes, or houses, to heare the word of God: of preaching in pulpets, chaires, or other wise: of Baptising in fontes, in basons, or riuers: openly or priuate ly, at home, or in the Church, every day in the werke, or on the Sabbath day only. And yet no man (as I suppose) is so simple to thinke that the Church hath no authoritie to take order in these matters.

T. C. Pag. 15. Sect. vlt. & Pag. 16. Sect. 1.

But whyle you goe about to seeme to say muche, and take by a great number of things, you haue made verie euill iudgements, and you haue put in one, things which are not paired nor matched. Because I will not drawe the Reader willingly into more questions than are already put by, I will not stande to dispute, whether the Lordes day (which we call Sunday) being the day of the Resurrection of our Saviour Christ, and so the day wherein the world was renewed: as the Jewes Sabbath was the day wherein the world was finished, and being in all the Churches in the Apostles tymes (as it seemeth) vsed for the day of the rest and seruing of God, ought or may be changed or no. This one thing I may say, that there was no (a) great iudgement to make it as arbitrarie and chaungeable, as the houre and the place of prayer. But where was your iudgement, when you wote that the Scripture hath appointed no discipline nor correction for such as shal contemne the common prayers, and hearing the word of God: what Church discipline would you haue other than admonitions reprehensions, and if these will not profit excommunication? and are they not appointed of our Saviour Christ (b) Math. 18: There are also euill punishments, and punishments of the body likewise appointed by the worde of God in diuers places (b) in the 22. of Exodus. He that sacrificeth to other gods, & not to the Lord alone, shal die the death. And in (b) 19. of Deuteronomie. Thou shalt turne out the euill out of the midst of thee, that the rest may feare and feare, and not dare do the lyke. The execution of this lawe appeareth in the (b) 15. of 2. Kings. by king Aza, who made a lawe that all those that did not seeke the Lord, should be killed. And thus you see the euill punishment of contemners of the worde and prayers.

There are other for suche as neglect the worde, which are according to the quantitie of the faulte: so that whether you meane euill or Ecclesiasticall correction, the Scripture (c) hath defined of them bothe.

(a) It is lesse true dealing for you to charge men with that which they haue not affirmed.

(b) Scriptures vnskilfully alleaged.

(c) Or else you are deceyued.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Out of all these things which I saye the Scripture hath not prescribed or appointed, you chole to carpe at first, The Lordes daye, which we call Sunday, and you saye, that you will not dispute whether it ought or may be changed or no: when as you should rather haue proued it, to be appointed by the scriptures (which no doubt you would haue done if you coulde) for that is it whych I denie. Where haue you hearde mee say, that it may or ought to be altered: if you will confute, confute that whyche I haue sette downe and affirme, not that which it pleaseth you to imagine.

In good sooth, this is no true dealing. So maruell it is that you haue not sette downe my booke, seeing you deale thus corruptely with it. I doe not thinke that that which the Church hath once determined, and by long continuance proued to be necessarie, ought to be altered, without great and especiall consideration. I saye with Sainct Augustin Epist. 118. ad Januar. If any thyng be vniuersallye obserued of the whole Church, not to obserue that, or to call it into question, is meere madness, therefore, seeing that it hath had suche time of continuance, that it was for so good and iuste causes appoynted, and is so generallye obserued of the Church, I doe not thinke it nowe arbitrarie, nor to be chaanged: muche lesse doe I make it as arbitrarie or chaungeable as the place and houre of prayer, which may be diuers in diuers churches, and it is among those rites and orders that be diuersly obserued in diuers places, wherof also August. maketh mention in that Epistle. Surely as there had bene little iudgement in me, if I had made it chaungeable, so is there small honestie in you to alter my wordes, and to falsifie my meaning.

The determination of the church ought not lightly to be altered.

Aug. ep. 118.

W. 11.

Second



Scriptures  
unfailfully al-  
leged by  
C.C.

Math. 18.

Calvin aduer.  
Anabap.

Secondly, you mislike that I should say, The scripture not to haue appointed discipline or correction, for such as shall contemne the common prayers, and hearing the worde of God. And you aske me where my iudgement was: but I haue more cause to behauid of you, where that learning and skill is which you so muche bragge of, seeing that you so unskillfully alledge the scriptures against their true meaning and sense? For where haue you learned that Christ in the 18. of Mathew dothe appointe any generall rule for publike offences, such as negligence, and contempt in frequenting publike prayers, and hearing of the word of God is? The very words of Christ, If thy brother trespass against thee &c. do teach that he meaneth not there of open and knowne, but of secrete and particular sinnes. The which thing also the note that is in the margent of the Bible printed at Geneva, myghte haue taught you, if you had bene as well disposed to haue followed the same in this place, as you seeme to haue done in other places. M. Caluine in his booke against the Anabap. reprouing them for using this place to the establishing of their kinde of discipline by excommunication, saythe on this sorte: They are againe deceived, in that they consider not that the Lorde speaketh in that place of secrete faulces: for as for those, which are manifest and giue vnto the people cause of offence, they are to be corrected by other meanes than by secrete admonitions. You muste therefore seeke for some other place than this, if you will proue that the scripture hath appointed any discipline and correction for such as shall contemne the Common prayers, and hearing of the worde.

To proue that there are also ciuill punishments, and punishments of the bodie for contemning common prayers, and hearing of the worde appointed by the worde of God, you cite 22. of Exodus. 19. of Deuteronomie &c. But before I come to the answering of these places, I pray you let me aske of you these questions.

First, whether you would haue both Ecclesiasticall & ciuill punishment for the selfe same faulte?

Secondly, whether you would haue negligence or contempt in frequenting of common prayers & hearing of the word punished with death or no: for that punishment is appointed in those places by you alleaged.

The bnap-  
ness of the  
proofes of  
C.C.

Last of all, whether you thinke the Iudiciall lawes to be perpetual, & to binde the ciuill Magistrate to the obseruing of them, & to restrain him from making any other, as shall be thought to him most conuenient: for except you wil haue two kinds of punishments for one and the self same offence: except you will punish with death such as be negligent in coming to publike prayers: to be shorte, except you will haue the ciuill Magistrate bound of necessitie to practise these iudicial lawes of Moses, (which in deede you affirme afterwarde in your booke) those places make nothing for your purpose. So that you are yet as farre to seeke for scripture, that appointeth any certaine kinde of discipline for these matters, as euer you were.

But that it may be vnderstode howe vnreasonably you toying & torest the scriptures, to make them serue your turne, I will in one worde or two declare the meaning of those places, and let open the might of your argumentes.

Exod. 22.

In the 22. of Exodus the place by you alleaged, the punishment of death is appointed for Idolaters, wherupon you would ground this argument. God in the 22. of Exodus appointeth death as a punishment for Idolaters, Ergo the word of God appointeth a certain kind of punishment for such as be negligent in frequenting publik prayers, and contemne the hearing of the worde. I say there is no sequele in this argument, vnlesse you wil make all those that be negligent in coming to publike prayers, and contemne to beare the word Idolaters, and this to be a perpetuall lawe.

Deut. 19.

In the 19. of Deuteronomie ther is nothing tending to any such purpose, only in the latter end of the chapter, there is a punishment appointed for him that beareth false witness, wherupon these wordes, so thou shalt take euill away from the midst of thee &c. by you here alleaged, do folow. Now if you will thus conclude, God in the 19. of Deuteronomie appointeth a punishment for a false witness: Ergo, the scripture hath appointed discipline for such as neglect to come to publike prayers, &c. then indeed you may



may proue any thing, & it is but in vaine to strine with you. But Lord what gybing & flouting would there be, if I shold happē to fall into so manifest & open absurdities.

In the. 2. Chro. 15, Aza made the same punishmente for Idolatrie, that is mentio-  
ned in the. 22. of Ero. and therefore the same answere serueth that place. Truly I  
thinke you take your selfe to haue free libertie to applie the scriptures at your plea-  
sure, else would you neuer thus abuse them without all iudgement or reason.

What I thinke of the necessitie or continuance of these lawes, I will declare in a  
more speciall place: In the meane time, you blow the triumph before the victorie: for  
as yet, you haue not proued that the scripture doth appoint any certaine kind eyther  
of ciuill punishment or Church discipline for such as contemne or neglect the coming to  
publike prayers, and hearing of the word of God.

You say that there are other punishments for such as neglect the word of God, &c. but you  
neither tell vs what they be, nor where to find them.

### Chapter. 1. the. 7. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 16. Sect. 1. line. 3.

I omit that there be examples of Pulpits in Esdras, of chaires in the. 23. of Math. wherby  
the chaire of Moses our sauoure Christ meaning the doctrine of Moses, doth also declare the  
manner which they vsed in teaching: of sitting at the Communion (whiche the Euangelist noteth  
to haue bin done of our sauoure Christ with his disciples) whiche examples are not to be lightly  
chainged, and bypon many occasions.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Examples of Pulpits you say, we find in Esdras. True it is that in the. 8. of Nehem.  
we reade Esdras stode vpon a Pulpit of wood, which he had made for the preaching,  
but the same was placed in the open streete, neyther did Esdras any thing but reade.  
The other persons with the Leuites mentioned vers. 7. of that Chap. did cause the  
people to vnderstand the law: that is, made them giue diligent eare to the reading of  
the law. And although there be wordes in the. 8. verse, which (as they be translated)  
seeme to insinuate some kinde of interpretation, yet the meaning is nothing so: for  
these be the wordes, *Et apposuerunt intellectum, & intellexerunt scripturam illam*, that is (as  
learned men do interpret it) *aduerterunt animum*, they were attentive to the reading, or  
as some translate it, *Et legerunt in libro legis Dei distincte & apposite ad intelligendum: &  
intellexerunt cum legeretur*, And they read in the booke of the law of God, distinctly and  
in such sort, as they might easily vnderstand. Hereof may I much better gather that rea-  
ding is preaching, than you can do that the scripture appointeth Pulpits. For though  
Esdras did so, is it therefore by and by a rule to be followed? You reade not of any of  
the Apostles that did in like manner, neither is there any mention made of Pulpits,  
from the beginning of the new testament to the end of the same. And this place ma-  
keth rather for Pulpits to reade in, than for Pulpits to preach in.

It is most certaine that by the chaire of Moses in that place, is ment the doctrine of  
Moses, whether it declare any place or no made for Moses to teach the people in,  
that is but coniecturall: neyther haue we any example expessed either in Moses  
himselfe, or in any other that may resolue that doubt. Howsoeuer it is, the matter is  
not great. For things vsed in the old Church do not prescribe any rule to the Church  
of Christe, unlesse it can be shewed Christe himselfe and his Apostles to haue vsed  
the same.

By meaning is that in the whole scripture, there is neither Pulpit nor chaire pre-  
scribed to be vsed in the Church of Christe, but that and such other like things left to  
the disposition of the Church, as shall be thought most conuenient from time to time.

What though Christ sat at his last supper, doth it therefore follow that of necessi-  
tie we must needs sit? why must we not then as well be bound to receine the same  
after supper? I say agayne that the scripture dothe no where prescribe, whither we  
shall sit, stand, or kneele, at the communion: if it do prescribe sitting why do some of  
kneeling



you use walking, other some standing, which both do more differ from sitting than kneeling both.

### Chap. 1. The eight Division.

T. C. Page. 16. Sect. 2. & 3.

(a) An vntueth, for there is no such thing said.  
(b) A place of scripture stragely applied.  
(c) These places proue that the word ought to be preached publicly, but not onely publicly.

But this I cannot omit, that you make it an indifferent thing to preach the worde of God in Churches or in houses, that is to say, privately or publicly. For what better interpretation can I haue than of your owne words, which say by and by after, of Baptisme, that it is (a) at the order of the Church, to make it private or publicke. For if it be in the power of the Church to order that Baptisme may be ministered at the house of euery private person, it is also in hir power to ordayne that the word be preached also privately. And then where is that which Salomon saith that (b) wisdome crieth openly and in the streates, and at the corners of the streates where many meete? and where be the examples of the old Church, which had besides the Temple at Jerusalem, erected by Synagogues in euery towne to heare the word of God, & minister the circumcision: (c) what is become of the commaundement of our sauoure Christ, which willed his disciples that they should preach openly, and vpon the house topps, that which they hard in the eare of him and secretly, and how do we obserue the example of our sauoure Christ, who to deliuer his doctrine from all suspicion of tumults and other disorders, sayd that he preached openly in the temple, and in the Synagogues, albeit the same were very dangerous vnto him? and the example of the Apostles that did the same: for as for the time of persecution, when the Church dare not, nor it is not meete, that it should shew it selfe to the ennemy, no not then is the word of God nor the sacramentes privately preached or ministered, nor ought to be.

(d) This is only said, but not proued.

For although they be done in the house of a private man, yet because they are and ought to be ministered in the presence of the congregation, there is neither private preaching, nor private baptism. For like as where soeuer the Queenes maiestie lyeth there is the Court, although it be in a gentleman his house, so where soeuer the Church meeteth, it is not to be holden private as touching the prayers, preachings, and sacraments, that shall be there ministered: so that I vnto you that the Church hath power to ordayne at hir pleasure, whether preaching or ministering of sacraments should be private or publicke, when they ought not to be, but where the Church is, and the Church (d) ought not to assemble (if it be not letted by persecution) but in open places: and when it is driven from them, those places where it gathereth itselfe together, although they be otherwise private, yet are they for the time that the Churches do there assemble, and for respect of the word and sacraments, that are there ministered in the presence of the Church, publicke places. And so you see those (whome you charge slanderously with conuenticles) are sayne to glasse by the windowes that you open to secret and private conuenticles.

### Jo. Whitgife.

Things indifferent to the nature of indifferencie when they are commaunded.

Theses eccles. Belgio. art. 6.

But this you cannot omitte, that I make it an indifferent thing to preach the worde of God in Churches or in houses, &c. it is an argument that you lacke good matter, when you make such excursions from the purpose. My words be, that the scriptures speake not one worde of meeting in Churches, fieldes, or houses too heare the word of God, of baptising in founts, in basons, or riuers, openly or privately, at home or in the Church, &c. If I haue said vntuly, comince me with scripture, and shew me those places, where these things be determined. Where do I say that these things be now indifferent: to haue the word preached is not indifferent but necessarie, to haue it preached in this place or in that place, in Churches, in fieldes, or in houses, is indifferent, vntill suche time as the Church hath otherwise determined. So is it likewise in baptism, the sacrament is necessary, the circumstances of time and place, &c. be committed to the disposition of the Church, and remayne so long indifferent, vntill the Church hath taken order in them: which being done, then they be no more indifferente. Do you not know that, whereunto so many Churches reformed, and learned men haue of late subscribed: it is the 6. assertion. *Res aliqui per se media, mutant quodammodo naturam.* &c. Things otherwise indifferente of themselves, after a sorte change their nature, when by some lawfull commaundemente, they are either commaunded, or forbidden, because neyther then



can be omitted contrary to the commaundement, if they are once commaunded, neyther done contrary to prohibition if they be prohibited, as it appeareth in the ceremoniall law. The place is not of the substance either of the word or of the sacraments: but yet to contemne or willingly to breake the order appointed by the Church in such matters, is sinne.

You say that I affirme it to be at the order of the Church, to make baptisme private or publike. Surely you do me greates iniurie, and win your selfe small credite by this kind of dealing. Is it all one to say, that the scripture hath not determined whether baptisme should be ministred openly or privately, at home or in the Church, and to say, that the Church may make baptisme private or publike: For hereby you would giue your readers to vnderstand, that I thinke it in the power of the Church to appoint that there should be no publike baptisme, wherein (as I said) you do me greates iniurie. My words therefore and meaning tend to this end, that the scripture hath not any where expessed when baptisme should be celebrated publikely, when privately: but hath left that to the determination of the Church, to do therein according to the circumstances of time, person, &c. Neither do I call baptisme private in any other respect than of the place: and therefore my meaning is, that the scripture hath not determined where, or when we should baptise, at home in private families, or in publike and open places, as fields, Churches, &c. For we haue examples in scripture both of baptising in houses, and of baptising in fields. Act. 8. 9. 10. & 26. Therefore touching the place, the scripture hath not determined any thing, and in the respect of the place I call it publike or private: although I see nothing in the scripture to the contrary, but vpon necessarie occasion, and other circumstances it may be private in the respect of persons, that be presente at the celebrating of baptisme: for the number of standers by or of such as are to be baptised, is not of the substance of the sacramente, therefore in that also the Church may take order and hath therein to deale.

And as I thinke, that in such respects baptisme may be privately administred, so I thinke I also that in the like respects the word may be privately preached. Neyther did the Apostles only preache in the Synagogues, and in open places, but in private families and houses also, as it is manifest. Act. 5. Where it is said that the Apostles did not cease daily to teach and to preach Iesus Christ in the temple, and house by house. Act. 10. Peter preached in Cornelius his house. & Act. 16. Paule preached in prison. And not only was the word preached privately in respect of the place, but sometimes also in the respect of the persons, as Christe preached to the woman of Samaria alone. Jo. 4. And Philip in the chariot to the Eunuch. Act. 8.

Your scriptures brought in to proue that there may be no private preaching, are very farre fetched, and some of them very straungely applied. That which Salomon saith Proverb. 8. proueth that God calleth all men by his word and by his works, to follow that which is good, and flye from that which is euill. And I thinke that the meaning of Salomon in that place is that God dothe offer his worde to all persons, in all places, so that there can be no ignorance pretended. But I pray you, how doth this argument follow, the worde of God is offered to all, and openly proclaimed: Ergo it may not be also privately taught: all your p[ro]ofes and examples that follow, be of like effect: they proue that the word of God ought publikely to be preached, but they do not take away private exhortations and preachings. It is true that both Christe and his Apostles taught in Synagogues, so it is true also that they taught in private families, as I haue declared: but yet I say, the scripture hath not appointed any certaine place of preaching. For Moses read the law in the streates, Nehem. 8. wisdom crieth in the toppes of the high places by the way side in the pathes, in the gates before the Citie. Pro. 8. Christe preached in the Mountaine Math. 5. in the Synagogue, Math. 4. the Apostles in the temple, and in private families: do not you therefore see, that there is no determination of any place: wherefore the aptnesse of the place, and the conueniencie of it: likewise when the word is to be preached publikely, when privately, is left to the iudgement and ordering of the Church. And therefore it is true that I haue set downe, that the

T. C. peruer-  
teth y<sup>e</sup> words  
of the Answer

Baptisme is  
called private  
in respect of  
the place.

The worde  
may be pre-  
ached privately  
both in respect  
of the place  
and persons.

Act. 5.  
Act. 10.  
Act. 16.  
Jo. 4.  
Act. 8.

Nehem. 8.  
Pro. 8.  
Math. 5.  
Math. 4.  
Act. 5.



the scripture hath not dermined any thing of meeting in Churches, fieldes or houses to heare the worde of God: or of preaching in Pulpits, chaires, or otherwise.

There are and may be occasions, euen in the time of prosperitie, when bothe the word may be preached, and the Sacraments administred in priuate families, so that they be done according to the order of the Church, and not in the contempt of common and publike assemblies. And I thinke that suche noble men and gentlemen as vpon occasion either of infirmitie of body, or of distance of place, or some other vrgēt cause, haue the word of God preached in their priuate families, and the Sacraments ministred according to the order of the Church, are greatly to be commended. Neyther doth this open any window, to secrete and schismaticall conuenticles, (suche I meane as secke corners) because they wil not keep the orders & lawes of the Church, but contemne the same, and conspire in some new and erroneous opinions. In the which number those be, whome I haue truly charged with conuenticles, for they despising the order of the Church, haue wickedly separated themselves from the same, whose opinions notwithstanding you mainteine, although you would seeme to condemn their conuenticles. But it may be that you count this time to be a time of persecution, and so excuse their doings.

To be short, when I speake either of priuate preaching or of priuate ministring the sacraments, I meane it especially in respecte of the place, and not in the respect of any schismaticall separation: so that hitherto you haue said nothing, that impugneth any thing that I haue written. Neyther haue I spoken any otherwise in all these things, than other learned and godly men haue done, as it is to be seene by all theyr seuerall authorities, which I haue in their places set downe.

### Chapter. 1. the. 9. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Page. 22. Sect. 2.

I pray you what ment Saint Paule in .1. Co. 14. after he had prescribed certaine orders vnto them to be obserued in the Church, thus generally to conclude, *Omnia decenter & ordine fiant*. Let all things be done decently and in order. Doth he not there giue vnto them authoritie to make orders in the Church, so that all things be done in order and decently? The best interpreters doe vnderstande this as a generall rule giuen vnto the Church to examine hir traditions and constitutions by: And therefore without all doubt their iudgement is, that the Church hath authoritie in externall things, to make orders, and appoint lawes not expessed in the worde of God, so that this rule of the Apostle be obserued.

*Io. Whitgife.*

The ground  
of the asserti-  
on by answer-  
ed by, T. C.

Here haue you not answered one word to that which I haue alleadged out of the .1. Co. 14. for the iustifying of my generall assertion in this point, nor to the interpretation of it: that therefore being graunted, the rest must needs stande in full force, that is, that the scripture hath left many thinges to the discretion of the Church.

The



The opinion of auncient fathers and Councelles of things indifferent.

Chap. 2. the first Diuision.

Answereto the Admonition. Pag. 22. Sect. 3. 4.

**N**ow if either godly counsels, or auncient fathers were any thing at all regarded of these men (as they be not, suche is their arrogancie) this controuerſie might ſoone be decided.

Auncient fathers of things indifferent.

For the most auncient fathers and best learned, as Iustinus Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and other, do expressely declare that euen from the Apostles time, the Church hath alwayes had authoritie in such matters, and hath obserued diuers orders and ceremonies, not once mentioned in the word of God.

T. C. Page. 16. Sect. 3. 8. Page. 17. Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4.

Here are brought in Iustin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Councells as (a) dumbe persons in the stage only to make a shew, and so they go out of the stage without saying any thing. And if they had had any thing to say in this cause for these matters in controuerſie, there is no doubt but Mr. Doctor would haue made them speake. For when he placeth the greatest strength of his cause in antiquitie, he would not haue passed by Iustin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, being so auncient, and taken Augustine which was a great time after them. And if the godly counsels could haue helped here, it is small wisdom to take Augustine, and leaue them. For I thinke he might haue learned that amongst the authorities of men, the credite of many be better than of one: and that this is a generall rule, that as the iudgement of some notable personage is looked vnto in a matter that is debated, more than theirs of the common sort, so the iudgement of a counsell, where many learned men be gathered together carrieth more likehoode of truth with it, than the iudgement of one man, although it be but a prouinciall counsell, much more than if it be generall, & therefore you do your cause greates iniurie, if you could alleadge them, and do not. This is once to bee obserued of the reader throughout your whole booke, that you haue well provided that you should not be taken in the trip, for misaledding the scriptures, for that vnlesse it be in (b) one or two points we heare continually (in stead of Clay, and Jeremy, S. Paule, and S. Peter, and the rest of the Prophets and Apostles, S. Augustine, and S. Ambrose, S. Basil, S. Chrysostome, S. Hierome, S. Dionysius Areopagita, Clement, &c. And therefore I cannot tell with what face we can call the Papistes from their antiquitie, counsels and fathers to the triall of the scriptures, which in the controuerſies which rise amongst ourselues, lie so far from them, that it wanteth not much, that they are not banished of your part, from the deciding of all these controuerſies.

(a) Willfull ignorance, for you know very well that euery one of them greatly fauoureth this cause.

(b) More scriptures than you, and something better applied.

(c) A better prooffe, than to say, I say so, as you commonly vse to do.

(d) Petitio principij.

And if this be a sufficient prooffe of things to say (c) such a doctor said so, suche a counsell decreede so, there is almost nothing so true but I can impugne, nothing so false, but I can make true: And well assured I am, that by their means, the principall groundes of our faythe maye be shaken.

And therefore because you haue (d) no prooffe in the word of God, we comfort ourselues assured, that for so much as the foundations of the Archbyshop, and Lordship of Bishops and of other things, whiche are in question be not in heaven, that they will fall and come to the ground, from whence they were taken. Now it is knowne they are from beneath and of the earth, and that they are of men and not of God.

## Io. Whitgife.

Here are many words which might well haue bin spared, but that you are desirous to haue your modest speeches knowne to the world. In the 25. page I haue told you where some of these dumbe persons speake their partes, but you are blinde when you should see, and deafe when you should heare that which you would not gladly see or here. I told you there, that Iustinus Martyr speakeeth of this matter in his second Apologie, and in his booke of questions, and that Tertullian speakeeth of the same in his booke *de corona militis*. It hath pleased you in that whiche followeth to reprove me for translating into my booke other mens opinions, and authorities, and here though I haue quoted the places where you may find them, yet is it also your pleasure to spende your gibing and iesting eloquence vpon me for not translating them.

Sect. 1.

Neither dumbe nor speaking persons can please T. C.

And as we say in our tonge, nettles among roses.



*Iustin. Apo. 2.*

*Ibidem.*

*Iustin. lib. qua.*

*Irenaeus.*

*Tertul.*  
*Idem.*

*Idem.*

them. Well I will deceyne your expectation, and make them speake. Iustinus Martyr in his second Apology sayth that they vsed in baptising to call vpon the name of God for suche as were baptised, and after baptisme to carrie hym that was baptised to the place, where the brethren be gathered togyther, to praye bothe for themselves, and for hym also that is baptised, and in the ende of their prayers that they salure one another with a kisse. Likewise he there saythe, that when they celebrated the Lordes supper, there was vsed certaine prayers, and thankesgyuing to the whiche the people sayde Amen. Also that the Deacons did gyue to the people the bread and the cuppe, and carrie them lykewise to suche as were absent. In his booke of questions, he sheweth howe that singing was vsed in the Church, and commendeth it, and that they vsed not to kneele at prayers on the Sunday, in token of the resurrection. Dyuers other suche ceremonies and orders dothe he recite, vsed in hys tyme, not prescribed by the worde of God, but appoynted by the Church, whereof some now be abrogated, because they be not so fitte for this time, as they were for that time.

Irenaeus speaketh very playnely in that Epistle whiche he writte to Victor Bishoppe of Rome, whereof also Eusebius maketh mention lib. 5. cap. 25. & 26. In that Epistle he declareth the diuersitie of diuers Churches for the daye of Easter, the tyme of fasting, and such like: whiche plainely argueth that the scripture hath not determined all things, but left muche to the disposition of the Church.

Tertullian in his booke *aduersus Praxean.* saythe that the Church then vsed *ternationem in baptismo*, thirte dipping in baptisme. And in his booke *de corona militis*, although he recite some thinges whiche in tyme grew to be superstitious, yet dothe he there playnely declare, what his opinion is in this matter, he reciteth diuers customs of the Church then vsed, whereof there is no mention in the scriptures: he declareth that those whiche were to be baptised, must firste professe that they renounced the Dewill, his pomp, and his Angels, and that then they were thrice dipt in the water, *amplius aliquid respondentes quam dominus in Euangelio determinauit*: answering somewhat more than the Lorde hath determined in the gospell. Likewise he sheweth, that the sacrament of the supper, which the Lord celebrated at supper, and commaunded to all, was then celebrated in the morning, and ministered only by those that be the chiefe. And in the end he sayth *barum & aliarum huiusmodi disciplinarum si legem apostolus scripturarum, nullam inuenies &c.* of these and such like orders, if thou shouldest require a law out of the scriptures, thou shalt finde none, and a litle after he addeth, *Annon putas omni fidei licere concipere & constituere duntaxat quod Deo congruat, quod discipline conducat, quod Salutis proficiat, dicente domino? Cur autem non & a vobis ipsis quod iustum est indicatis?* doest thou not thinke that it is lawfull for euery faithfull man, to conceiue and appoynte at the least that which agreeth to God, whiche is conuenient for discipline, whiche is profitable vnto saluation, seeing the Lord sayth, why do you not of your selues iudge that that is right? And in his booke *De virginibus Veland.* he hath these manifest words, *Regula quidem fidei vna omnino est, sola immobilis & irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in Deum, vnicum omnipotentem &c.* *Hac lege fidei manente, cetera iam discipline & conuersationis admittunt nouitatem correctionis, operante scilicet & proficiente vsque in finem gratia Dei.* There is only one rule of faith, which alone is immouable, and not to be altered, to witte, to beleeue in one God the omnipotent creator of the worlde and in his sonne Iesus Christe borne of the Virgine Mary, crucified vnder Pontius Pilate, risen the thirde day from the dead, receyued into Heauen, sitting nowe at the righte hande of the father, and shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, by resurrection of the fleshe: this lawe of faith remayning, the other thynges of discipline, and trade of lyfe, do admitte alteration of amendmente, the grace of GOD woorking and profiting too the ende.

Cyprian



Cyprian *Lib. 10. Epist. 12.* mentioneth certaine rites about Baptisme, no where spoken of in the Scriptures: and *Lib. 4. Epist. 6.* he sheweth it to haue bene the manner of the Church then, to receiue the Communion euery day, which the Scripture doth not commaunde.

Thus you see that these Doctors be not dumbe, but can speake sufficiently in that matter for the which they are alleaged. And leaste you shoulde canill because I saye that others also be of the same Iudgement, recyting onely Saynte Augustyne, I haue caused Ambrose, Ierome, and Basill to beare wytnesse in the same matter. The wordes of Ambrose be these, After that Churches were appoynted in euery place, and offices ordayned, the matter beganne otherwyse to be ordered. &c. And after that he had declared the difference betwixte the Apostolicall Church, and the Church in hys tyme touchyng Ceremonyes and gouernemente he concludeth thus. Therefore doe not the writyngs of the Apostles in all respectes agree, wyth the order which is now in the Church, bycause these were written in the firste beginnings. Ierome writing ad *Lucinium*, and answering hys questions touchyng fastyng on the Sabbath daye, and dayly receyuing the Communion, sayth on this sorte, *sed ego illud te breuiter admonendum puto, traditiones ecclesiasticas (presertim que fidei non officiant) ita obseruandas, ut a maioribus tradita sunt. Nec aliorum consuetudinem, aliorum contrario modo subueriti.* But this thyng I thinke meete-briefely to admonishe thee of, that the Ecclesiasticall traditions (namely suche as doe not hynder saythe) are so to be obserued as they are deliuered of oure elders, neyther is the custome of one to be ouerthrowne with the contrarie custome of others.

Basill in hys 63. Epistle written to the Ministers of *Neocesaria*, recytleth the manners and Customes aboute publike prayers and singing of Psalmes then vsed in the Church, and there playnely declareth what hys iudgemente is touchyng this question. I omit that whyche he speaketh of this matter in his booke *de sancto spiritu*, where althoughe he gyueth too muche authoritie to vnkritten traditions, yet dothe it there appeare, that many thyngs were then vsed in the Church of Christ, whyche were not expessed in the worde of God. I myghte here alleage Socrates, who in his fiftie Booke and 22. Chapter of hys ecclesiasticall historie handleth this matter at large: and speakyng of Easter he saythe, The Apostle and the Gospell doe in no place laye a bonde of seruitude vpon them, whyche come to the preaching, But men them selue, haue euery one, according as they thoughte meete, in theyr countreyes celebrated of custome the feast of Easter, and other feastes for the resting from laboure, and the remembrance of the healthfull passion. &c. and in the same Chapter: No Religion obserueth the same rites, althoughe it embrace the same doctrine of them, for they doe differ among themselves in rites, whiche are of the same sayth. And so he proceedeth in declaring the varietie of Ceremonyes and other obseruances and rites in the Churches, whereby it is manifest that (by hys Iudgement) many thyngs are committed to the disposition of the Church, whyche are not expessed in the worde of God. And that the Church hath vsed this libertie from tyme to tyme, to the same effecte speaketh Sozome. *Lib. 7. Cap. 19.* They (he meaneth Policarpus and Victor) thought it follye, (and not wythoute cause) to be separated one from another for Ceremonyes or Customes, whyche dyd agree in the principall poyntes of Religion, for you can not fynde the same rites, and altogether lyke in all Churches, no thoughe they doe agree together. I myghte pester this Booke (and that you knowe well enoughe) wyth the iudgement of all the auncient Fathers, that haue any occasion to speake of this matter, but these maye suffice to declare that I haue not vaine-ly vsed their names, for mutes on the stage.

Touчыng Councels, I maruaile you wyll make any doubte of them, wherunto tende the mooste of theyr Canons, in matters of Ceremonyes, and gouernemente of the Church, but to teache that the Scriptures haue not expessed all thyngs concernyng the same, but leste them to the order and appoyntment of the Church: I praye you where shall you fynde in the Scripture the .13. Canon

Cyprian.

Idem.

Ambrose in 4.  
Epbe.

Ierome.

Basill.

Idem.

Socrates.

Sozome.

Councels of  
things indiffe-  
rent.

Ancyran



Ancyranum.

Neocas.

Nicaenum.

Gangrense.

Arelatens.

Scriptures of  
things indiffe-  
rent.

1. Cor. 14.

1. Cor. 11. 2.

Caluine.

1. Cor. 11. 34.

Caluine.

Caluin aduers  
sus Anabap.  
Why the An-  
abaptists al-  
wayes preten-  
ded the worde  
of God.

Ancyranum: Conci. de vicarijs Episcoporum & eorum potestate? or the 15. non debere presbyteros ecclesiasticam a vendere: and diuerse others in the same Councell? or the 11. Canon Con-  
cil. Neocæsari. of the certayne age of hym that ought to be minister? or the 1. Canon Con-  
cil Nicaeni: of Eunuchs: the fourth of ordering Bishoppes: the sixte of Metropoli-  
tans: the seuenth of the Bishop of Jerusalem: the twentieth of standing in the tyme  
of Prayer? or the 7. Canon Conci. Gangren. or the 18. 21. 20. or 22. 11. 15. 18. 19. 22. Conci. Arelatens.  
But what shoulde I trouble the reader wyth suche particular rehearsals, of so  
manye Councels, whiche haue made suche a number of Canons concernyng suche  
matters, as muste be ordered in the Church, whereof the Scripture hath parti-  
cularly determyned nothyng? is it not therefore manifest that Councels both gene-  
rall and prouinciall, by their actes declare, that touchyng Ceremonies, discipline, and  
gouernment of the Church, many things are lefte to the discretion of the Church,  
whiche be not expessed in the Scriptures?

And whereas you charge me for not alleaging of Scriptures, if I woulde  
wythoute discretion cyte places, nothyng pertayning to the purpose, as you hy-  
therto haue done, I coulde vse a number: but I had rather haue one terte to my  
purpose, than a hundred wrong and wrested as yours be. Holwebeit, there is no  
cause why you shoulde as yet complayne, for hitherto I haue alleaged moe than you  
haue answered. To the 1. Cor. 14. (as yet vnanswered) I maye ioyne that which the  
Apostle sayth. 1. Cor. 11. *Quemadmodum tradidi vobis instituta tenetis.* You keepe the or-  
dinances as I deliuered them to you. The whych wordes Maister Caluine expounding  
sayth on thys sorte, I doe not denye but that there were some traditions of the Apostles  
not written, but I doe not graunt them to haue beene taken as partes of doctrine, or  
necessarie vnto saluation. VVhat then? euen suche as dyd pertayne to order and pollicie.

For we knowe that euerie Church hath libertie to ordayne and appoint  
suche a forme of gouernment, as is apte and profitable for it, bycause the  
Lorde therein hath prescribed no certainerie. So Paule the firste founder of the  
Church of Corinthe, dyd also frame it, wyth honest and godly institutions, that all  
things might there be done decently and in order. And that also which is in the end of the  
Chapter: Other things wyll I set in order when I come. Whereupon the same Mai-  
ster Caluine sayth, But let suche toyes passe, seying that it is certaine that Paule speaketh  
but of externall comelynesse, the vvhiche as it is put in the libertie of the  
Church, so it is to be appoynted accordyng to the tyme, places, and  
persons.

Indede I glory not in wordes so muche of the Scriptures as you doe, but I  
truste that I haue as sure grounde there for anye thyng that I haue affirmed, as you  
haue, and muche more, else woulde I be sope. It is not beailing of the Scriptures  
in wordes, and falsely applyng of them, that can cary away the matter with those  
that be learned and wyse, you knowe what Maister Caluine sayth of the Anabaptists  
in hys Booke written against them, *Quia vero nulla specie illustriore seduci possunt miseri  
Christiani.* &c. But bicause the wofull Christians, whiche with a zeale doe followe God,  
can not by any other more notable shewe be seduced, than when the worde of God is pre-  
tended: the Anabaptistes (agaynst whome we write) haue that euermore in their mouthe,  
and alwayes talke of it. And yet in lawfull matters, not expessed in the Scriptures,  
I knowe not to whome we shoulde resorte to knowe the vse and antiquitie of them,  
but to the Councels, stories, and doctors.

The  
The



The opinion of S. Augustine of things indifferent.

Chap. 3. the first Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 23. Sect. 1.

That notable learned Father Augustine hath diuerse sayings touchyng thys matter worthy to be noted. In his Epistle ad Casus Lanum. 86. he sayth thus, *In his rebus de quibus nihil certi statuit scriptura divina, mos populi Dei, vel instituta maiorum, pro lege tenenda sunt*, in those thyngs vvherein the holy Scripture hath determined no certaintie, the custome of the people of God, & the traditions or decrees of our forefathers, are to be holden for a lawe. Whereby it is manifest, that those things maye be retained in the Church whych are not expessed in the Scripture. In the same Epistle he reporteth the answer that Ambrose made vnto hym, beyng demaunded whether it were lawfull to faste on the Sabboth daye, or not to faste, sayng that among the Churches there was some diuersitie in thys point. *Quando hic sum, sayth he, non ieiuno Sabbato, quando Roma sum, ieiuno Sabbato, & ad quamcunque ecclesiam veneris, eius morem seruate, si pati scandalum non vultis aut facere.* VVhen I am here, I faste not on the Sabboth, vvhether I am at Rome, I doe faste on the Sabboth, and to what Church so euer you come, keepe the custome thereof, if you vwill neither suffer offence nor gyue offence. The whole Epistle is worthy of reading.

Augustine.

Idem.

T.C. Page. 17. Sect. 3. 4. 5. 6.

The Answerer goeth aboute to proue, that they came yet out of good earthe, and from good men, whych if he had obtayned, yet he maye well knowe, that it is no good argumente to proue that they are good. For (+) as the beste earthe byngeth forth weedes, so doe the beste men bring forth lyes and errors. But let vs heare what is broughte, that if this vilsarde and shewe of truth be taken awaye, all men may perceiue, howe good occasion we haue to complaine, and howe iust cause there is of reformation. In the first place of Saint Augustine there is nothing against any thing which we holde, for that, that the Church may haue things not expessed in the scripture, is not (+) against, that it ought to haue nothing but that may be warranted by the scripture. For they may be according to the scripture, and by the scripture, which are not by plaine termes expessed in the scripture. But against you it maketh much, and ouerturneth all your buylding in this booke. For if in those things which are not expessed in the scripture, they are to be obserued of the Church, which are the customes of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers, then how can these things be varied according to time, place, and persons, (which you say should be) when as that is to be retained, which the people of God hath vied, and the decrees of the forefathers haue ordayned. And then also howe can we doe safer, than to followe the Apostles customes and the Churches in theyr tyme, whych we are sure are our forefathers, and the people of God.

(\*) A true saying, but not truly applied.

(a) But it is against that, that nothing should be placed in the Church whyche God in his worde hath not commaunded: and therefore you do here but shifte of the controuersie.

Besides that, how can we retaine the customes and constitutions of the Papists in such things, which were neither the people of God nor our forefathers.

I will not enter now to discusse, whether it were well done to fast in all places, according to the custome of the place. You (+) oppose Ambrose and Augustine: I coulde oppose Ignatius & Tertullian wherof the one sayth, it is (+) a detestable thing to fast vpon the Lordes day, the other that it is to kill the Lord, and this is the inconuenience that commeth of suche vblearned kinde of reasoning. Ambrose saith so and therefore it is true.

(b) Vntruth, proceeding of ignorance.

And although Ambrose & Augustine, being strangers and private men at Rome, would haue so done, yet it followeth not that if they hadde bene Citizens & ministers there, that they would haue done it, & if they had done so to, yet it followeth not but & they would haue spokē against that appointment of dayes & vniuersality of fasting, wherof Eusebius saith that Montanus was the first author. I speake of & which they ought to haue done, for otherwise I know they both thought corruptly of

Tertul. de cor. milit. Ignat. ad phi. epist. 5.



of fasting (when as the one sayth) it was remedie or rewarde to fast other dayes, but in Lent, not to faste, was synne. And the other asketh, what saluation we can obtayne if we blot not our synnes by fasting, saying that the Scripture sayth, that fasting and almes doth deliuer from synne, and therefore calleth them new teachers, that shut out the merite of fasting, which I therefore recyte because you would seeme by Augustine and Ambrose iudgements to allowe of the weake and commaunded fastes.

August. de  
temp. ser. 4.  
Amb. 10. 4.  
epist.

Jo. Whitgiste.

Augustine de-  
liuered from  
vntrue sur-  
mises.

I haue sufficiently proued that the Scripture hath not expresse all things that may be vsed in the Church touching ceremonies, order, and such matters, for that is the question we haue nowe in handling, and for further proue and confirmation of the same, I doe not disdaine the authoritie of any man, especially of Augustine, a man (for his excellent learning and sound iudgement in most poynts of Religion) esteemed of all that haue any shewe of learning, or sparkle of modestie: his opinion of the sufficiencie of the Scripture in matters of saluation, of the authoritie of it in iudging matters of controuersie is perfecte, and sounde, as may be seene Lib. 2. aduersus Cresco. gramma Lib. 3. contra Maximian. Lib. de unitate ecclesie. Lib. 2. de doct. Christi. Chap. 16. 17. 20. Euang. Iohannis. Epist. 112. and in a number of places else: he speaketh also of Ceremonies and traditions, as moderately, as diuinely and as warely as any man dothe, as it appeareth evidently in these places that I haue in my answere alleaged. And therefore he is not wyth suche contempte to be reiected, nor yet defaced wyth vntrue surmises.

That which cometh from so good and learned a man is the rather to be beleued, so long as it is not repugnant to the worde of God. And althoughe the best earth bringeth forth some weeds, yet the good fruite muste not for the weeds sake be refused. This is a very meane reason: good men sometimes erre and be deceiued, therefore they must neuer in any thing be beleued.

But to come to the purpose: you say, that this fyist place of Saint Augustine is nothing agaynst any thing that you holde. &c. Surely and it maketh wholly for that which I holde: for it proueth directly that there be some things wherein the Scripture hath not determynd any certaintie, but lefte them to the disposition of others: for he sayth *In his rebus de quibus nihil certi statuit scriptura diuina &c.* and that these things be not suche as be repugnant or agaynst the worde of God, but accordyng to the rule of Saint Paule. 1. Cor. 14. (if you were not of purpose disposed agaynst your owne conscience and knowledge to abuse the reader) you myghte easily vnderstande by my expresse words, vttered in this portion of my answere, and in all other places where I haue occasion to speake of the like matters.

The subtle  
dealing of  
C. C. in alter-  
ring & state of  
the controuer-  
sie.

I woulde wishe you to deale sincerely: the question that we haue nowe in hande is, VVhether the Scripture hath expresse all externall things touching the orders, Ceremonies and gouernment of the Church. I proue it hath not, both by the Scripture it selfe, and by manyfess examples, and by the iudgement of the best learned: you not being able to answere, and yet desyrous to seeme to saye some what, to shifte of these examples and authorities, dallie at the matter, and woulde make your Reader beleue that I woulde haue thyngs vsed in the Church contrarye, or not accordyng to the Scriptures: from the whych opinion I am as farre of as you, and a greates waye farther, excepte you reuoke some poyntes of your Booke. You shoulde therefore nowe haue kepte you to the improuyng of this generall proposition: and if hereafter in speaking of particular matters I had approued any thing agaynst the word of God, you might haue spent your wit and eloquence in confuting of that.

You



You saye that this place of Saynte Augustyne maketh muche agaynst me. &c. but you are greatly deceyued, for Saint Augustyne in that place doth not geue a certayne rule to the whole Church, but to particular men, for it is his aunswere to Casulanus demaunding of hym *Vtrum liceat sabbato ieiunare*. A priuate man maye not take vpon hym to violate the particular orders of anye particular Church, much lesse suche orders as be obserued of the whole Church, excepte they be agaynst the Scriptures, for bothe in this and suche other rules of Augustyne that is generally to be obserued whyche the same Augustyne, dothe adde in his .118. Epistle *ad Ianuarium: quod neque contra fidem neque bonos mores iniungitur*. &c. And that this rule *In his rebus de quibus nihil certi*. &c. is geuen to particular men to dyue them from schismes and contentions in the Church, it is euident by that whyche the same Augustyne wytteth, in the ende of that Epistle *ad Casulanum*, VWherefore if you wyll wyllyngly content your selfe wyth my counsell (namely which haue in this cause, being by you required and constraigned spoken peraduenture more than enough) doe not resiste your Byshoppe herein, and followe that whyche he dothe, wythout any scruple or doubte. VWherefore when Saint Augustyne sayth *Mos populi Dei*, &c. his meanyng is that they are to be obserued as rules to keepe priuate and particular men in order, and in quiet obedience to the Church. Althoughe in some of the Church it selfe maye not wythoute iuste cause, chaunge suche thyngs as haue bene generally obserued, not beyng *contra fidem & bonos mores*, agaynst faythe and good manners, as the Lordes daye, the daye of the Resurrection, Ascension, and suche lyke. And there maye be iuste causes, why thyngs once determyned by the Church, shoulde not be chaunged afterwarde, thoughte before the same thyngs were arbitrarie, and myghte haue bene otherwyse, and in some other manner decreed as the Church had thoughte moste conuenient: If no suche causes be, it maye alter anye vse, Ceremonie, or order, whiche it hath before determyned, as Saynt Augustyne hym selfe declareth *Epist. 118. ad Ianuarium*. *Hic enim causis, id est, propter fidem, aut propter mores, vel emendari oportet quod perperam fiebat, vel institui quod non fiebat. Ipsa quippe mutatio consuetudinis etiam que adiuncta utilitate, nouitate perturbat*. For these causes, that is to saye, for faythe and good manners, eyther that muste be amended whiche was euill done, or appoynted which was not done, for euen that chaunge of Custome, which helpeth through profite, doth trouble through noueltie.

So we holue true this collection of yours is Augustyne prescribeth this rule to Casulanus, that in those thyngs wherein the Scripture hath determyned no certaynetie, he shoulde followe the Custome of the people of God, and the decrees of pure forefathers, that is, that he shoulde vse hymselfe in those thyngs, that be not agaynst faythe and good manners accordyng to the order of the Churches where he commeth, therefore these Customes vpon iuste cause maye not be altered by the Church, let the learned Reader iudge. A priuate man (as I saye) maye not breake the lawfull and good orders of the Church, thoughte they be not expressed in the worde of God, yet maye suche as God hath geuen that authoritie vnto in his Church, alter and chaunge them as shall be thoughte expedient, euen accordyng to this rule of Augustyne *Idem enim causis, id est, aut propter fidem, aut propter mores, vel emendari oportet quod perperam fiebat, vel institui quod non fiebat*. &c. before by me recyted.

We must followee suche customes of the Apostles and examples, as they haue used what example and done for vs to followe, but suche customes or doyngs of the Apostles as were petye and customes of the Church, or conuenient onely for such times as they were, we are not compelled to followe. For as in the Scriptures, there be some petye and customes generall, some onely personall, so are there in the same of examples and orders, some that for euer are to be obserued, and some for a tyme only, that there were suche customes, and orders among them, that be declared in generall places, as occasion is ministered.



Whether we haue receyued, or maye retayne customes, &c. of the Papistes, or no, is partly to be discusse where I speake of apparell, and partly in other places, where moze particular occasion is offered to speake of the same: and therefore I will passe it ouer untill I come to those places. whyther it were well done to fast in all places according to the custome of the place or no, is not the question.

I looke to Augustynes meanyng and purpose, not to euerie one of hys examples: howbeit I thinke that there is a greate difference, betwixte the manner of fastyng vled then in the Church, and the manner of fasting vled now in some Churches. I thinke that in Augustynes tyme a man myghte haue obserued this rule of fastyng wythout anye offence to God. But I doe not thinke that he may doe so in lyke manner now, bycause it is certayne that in the Church of Rome, there are manye wicked opinions, bothe of differences of meates, tymes, &c. and also of merite ioyned to theyr fastyng, and therefore are *contra fidem & bonos mores*, and so not wythin the compasse of thys rule, of S. Augustine.

The Replyer  
settech the fa-  
thers together  
by the eares  
without cause

Ibidem.

I perceyue no repugnancie at all betwixte Ambrose, Augustyne, Ignatius and Tertullian, for the Sabbath daye mentioned by Ambrose and Augustyne, is not the Lordes daye, whych we call the Sundaye, and whereof both Ignatius and Tertullian speake: but it is the Saturday whych is called *Sabbatum*. And that this is true, you myghte haue read in the same Epistle of Augustyne to Casulanus, where he saith thus: VWhereas you aske of me, whyther it be lawfull to faste on the Sabbath daye: I aunswere, if it were by no meanes lawfull, truly neyther Moyse, nor Helias, nor oure Lorde him selfe woulde haue fasted fortie dayes together. But by thys reason it is concluded, that the faste on the Lordes daye is lawfull also: notwithstandyng, whosoever doth thinke that thys daye oughte to be dedicated vnto fastyng, as some doe obserue the Sabbath fasting, he shall gyue no small offence to the Church. And after in the same Epistle: And truly of the Sabbath day the case is more easie, bycause the Church of Rome dothe faste, and some other also, althoughe but fewe eyther of those that be nexte, or farre from it. But to faste on the Lordes daye is a greate offence, especially since that detestable heresye of the Manicheis, which is muche repugnant to the Catholike fayth, and moste manifestly contrarye to the Scriptures of God, hath bene openly knowen: whych doe appoynte vnto their hearers thys daye as lawfull to be fasted, whereby it is come to passe, that the faste on the Lordes daye is accompted more horryble. You see therefore howe you maye be deceyued for all the great reabing you woulde seme to be of: for these fathers agree among them selues, and you haue faulted in opposyng them to Augustyne and Ambrose: so that for anye thing that is yet proued agaynst them, a man may well vse theyr authoritie in such matters wythout that inconuenience that you suppose: for I knowe howe farre they them selues woulde be beloued, and wherevnto theyr authoritie extendeth.

It is lyke that bothe Ambrose and Augustyne woulde haue done that them selues, which they moued other men to do, and much moze beyng Citizens, than beyng strangers: it is also lyke that if they had bene agaynst there, they woulde haue in tyme and place reposed suche things as were amysse, for it had bene their due tie so to doe: yet doe I lyke wise thinke that they woulde haue had great respect to that aduertisement, that Augustyne gaue to Casulanus in that Epistle in these wordes, *ut in causa dei ne tempestas contentiois, serenitas charitatis obnubilatur*. Verily we muste take heede leake in the storme of contention, the fairenesse of loue be darkened.

Ibidem.

The errors which Ambrose and Augustine had, muste not preiudice their authoritie in speaking truly. This is but a very simple kinde of answering, to denie the author where he speaketh truly, bycause in some other place he hath erred, and bene deceyued. I neither charge Ambrose nor Augustine, to allowe by dilatory weake and comman- ded fautes, but to proue the matter that I haue in hand, which is, that the scripture hath not expressed all things vled in the Church. Howbeit, I know nothing in this place affirmed either by Ambrose or Augustine touching fasting, which may not be obserued without iust offence.



Chapter. 3. the. 2. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 23. Sect. 2.

That whiche he writeth in his Epistle ad Ianuarium. 118. is a most playne Declaration of his iudgement in this matter: *Illa autem que non scripta sed tradita custodimus, que quidem toto terrarum orbe obseruantur, dantur intelligi, vel ab ipsis Apostolis, vel plenarijs concilijs, quorum est in Ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas commendata atq; statuta retineri, sicuti quod domini passio, & resurrectio, & ascensio in celum, & aduentus de celo spiritus sancti anniuersaria solemnitate celebrantur, & si quid aliud tale occurrerit, quod seruatur ab vniuersa quacumq; se diffundit ecclesia.* Those things vyhiche be not vvritten, but kept by tradition, vvwhich are obserued through the vvhole vvorld, are to be vnderstanded, either to be deliuered vnto vs, from the Apostles them selues, or else decreed by generall Councils, vvwhose authoritie is greate in the Church, as that vve yerely vvith solemnitie celebrate the passion of the Lorde, and his resurrection, his ascension into heauen, and the comming of the holy Ghost, and if there be any other thing that is obserued of the vvhole Church.

Aug. Ep. 118.

T. C. Pag. 18. Lin. 1. & Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4.

What you meane to cite this place ad Ianuarium. 118. I can not tell. You charge the authors of the Admonition to be conspired with the Papistes: I will not charge you so, but will thinke better of you, vntill the contrarie do more appeare.

But I appeale to the iudgement of all men, if this be not \* to bring in poperie agayne, to allowe of S. Augustines saying, wherein he sayth, that the celebrating of the day of the passion, &c. is either of some generall Council, or of the Apostles commanded and decreed: wherby a gate is open vnto the Papistes, to bring in, vnder the colour of traditions, all their beggerie Whatsoever. For you playnely confirme, that there is some thing necessarie to be obserued, whiche is not contayned any wayes in the Scripture. For to keepe those holypayes, is not contayned in the Scripture, neither can be concluded of any parte thereof, and yet they are necessarie to be kept, if they be commanded of the Apostles. Therefore in your opinion, some thing is necessarie to be kept, whiche is not contayned in the Scriptures, nor can not be concluded of them. And if you say, that S. Augustine leaue it in doubt, whether it were the Apostles tradition and statute, or a generall Councils, then you bring vs yet to a worle poynce, that we can not be assured of that whiche is necessarie for vs to knowe, that is, whether the Apostles did ordayne that these dayes should be kepte, as holypayes, or the Councils. And that it is S. Augustines meaning to saye, suche like things of Apostles, it may appeare by that which he writeth, saying: There are many things whiche the whole Church holdeth, and therefore are well believed to be commanded of the Apostles, although they be not founde written. \* If this iudgement of S. Augustine be a good iudgement, and a sounde, then there be some things commanded of God, whiche are not in the scriptures, and therefore there is no sufficient doctrine contayned in the scriptures, wherby we may be saved. (a) For all the commandements of God, and of the Apostles, are needefull for our saluation.

\* Nor one whit, but the contrarie shall be proued.

\* A pretie and sound collection.

(a) A great vntuthe and absurditie.

(b) Nay, marke how your affections moue you to speake vntuely.

And (b) marke I pray you, whither your affections carie you: before you sayde, that the Lordes day, whiche was vnto the day of rest in the Apostles tyme, may be changed, as the place and houre of prayer, and the day of the passion and resurrection, &c. you either thrust vpon vs as the decree of the Apostles, or at least put vpon vs a necessity of keeping of them, least haply in breaking of them, we might breake the Apostles decree, for you make it to lye betwene the Councils and the Apostles, whiche of them decreed this.

And do you not perceiue howe you kill reason agaynst your selfe? For the Church haue had so great regarde to that whiche the Apostles did in these times, that they kepte those things whiche are not written, and therefore are doubtfull whether euer they bled them or no, howe much they should be holde our selues to these things whiche are written that they did, and of the whiche we are assured.

As touching the obseruation of these holypayes, I will referre the Reader vnto another place, where occasion is giuen agayne to speake of them.

To Whittgiste.

By meaning therein I haue set downe in my answer. It is to let you vnderstande S. Augustines iudgement in the matter we haue in hande. The rule is true and good, and so farre from establishing any parts of Poperie, that it rather quite overthroweth the same.

The rule of S. Augustine both not establisheth, but overthroweth poperie.

Why it we may proue the suprenacie whiche the Bishop of Rome claymeth ouer

Sermo. 7. de baptis. cont. Donatist. lib. 5. ca. 23.



Zuingl. de  
baptis. of the  
rule of Aug.

all Churches, neither to be written in the worde, nor yet to be appoynted by the Apostles, nor yet determined by auncient generall Councils: for neither hath he bin alwayes, nor in all places taken to be the head of the Church. And it is manifest that Phocas the traytor and murderer, gaue first vnto him and his Church that prerogative, and therfore not leste vnto him by the Apostles, nor giuen him by the generall Councils. The like may be sayde of all other thinges vsed in the Church against the worde of God. For it is certayne, that they haue not bene generally obserued in all places, and at all times: and if some of them haue bene so obserued, yet not in that maner and forme, that the Church of Rome dothe nowe obserue them. So that you finde fault with this rule, before you haue cause. Master Zuinglius (who woulde haue bene lothe one whit to strengthen the Papistes) speaking of the lyke place of Augustine, in his booke de baptismo, sayth thus: But leauing those thinges, let vs returne to the wordes of Augustine, who among other thinges addeth this: *Quamquam quod vniuersa tenet ecclesia nec concilij institutionem, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum rectissime creditur.* &c. Let these wordes (sayth he) preuaile with other men as they may, yet no man can denie, but that there lieth great waight of authoritie in them. For if there be nothing in Councils concluded of the baptising of Infants: and yet the same was vniuersally of the whole Church obserued in Augustines time, what other thing can be gathered, but that it hath alwayes bene vsed without contradiction. Master Caluine also Lib. Insti. Cap. 13. Sect. 21. vseth this rule of Augustine to the same purpose, where he speaking of Popes traditions, for the whiche they abuse the authoritie of Augustine, sayth thus: *Ego vero non aliunde quam ex ipsius Augustini verbis solutionem afferam. Quae toto inquit terrarum orbe seruantur, vel ab ipsis Apostolis, vel concilijs generalibus, quorum est in ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas, statuta esse intelligere licet.* Vea rily I will fetch a solution from no other place, than from the very wordes of Augustine. Those thinges (sayth he) which are obserued throughout the whole world, are vnderstode to haue bin instituted, either of the Apostles themselves, or of generall Councils. &c. As it is in the answer to the Admonition.

I knowe no reason why the Apostles maye not be sayde to be the authors of celebrating the day of the Passion, &c. Neither yet doe I vnderstande anye cause why the Church maye not still obserue the same: sure I am, that they were not the authors of the superstitions and errors vsed in them by the Papistes, neither dothe Augustine saye so: for this is no good argument to saye, the Apostles appoynted these dayes to be celebrated: Ergo, they appoynted the manner of celebrating vsed by the Papistes. The dayes maye be with more godlynesse, and profite to the Church obserued (beinge cleansed from superstition and erroneous doctrine) than abrogated. Neither is this to open a gate to Papistical traditions, but to shutte it close vp, as I haue sayde before. For let the Papistes (if they can) name anye wicked thing vsed in their Church, whiche either hath bene generally obserued, or wherof I am not able to shewe the first author and inventor. Neither Aug. in this place, nor I in any place haue sayde, of ceremonies any thing not contained in the Scripture, to bee so necessarie to be obserued, that (upon this consideration) it maye not be altered by suche as haue authoritie. And therefore all that you doe say, haue sayd, or shall say to that effect, is forged, and untrue, besides only by you as a whitt to flye vnto, when other wise you are to keepe for answere.

As these your wordes, they are necessarie to be kept, if they be commanded by the Apostles (meaninge suche thinges as Augustine speaketh of) I answer with master Caluine, who as I tolde you before, writinge vpon these wordes. 1. Cor. 11. *Quemadmodum tradidi vobis, &c.* dothe graunt that there were some traditions of the Apostles not written, but he denieth them to be taken as partes of doctrine, or necessarie to saluation, saying, that they be onely suche as pertaine to order and pollicie.

The rest of this section of yours is nothing but *Perit Principium* for neither doe I moue any such doubt in Augustines wordes, neither is it materiall whether I doe or no: neither yet is it true that there is any thing commaunded of Gods or of the Apostles as necessarie to saluation, whiche is not contained in the wordes of Gods: neither are



are these and suche like traditions partes of doctrine, and of saluation (as St. Calvin truly sayth) but of order and pollicie.

Who woulde thinke that any man (excepte he had hardened his face, without blushing to affirme vntruthes) would haue fallen into suche grosse absurdities, and uttered suche strange assertions voyde of all truthe. Haue you euer read in Scripture, or in the writings of any learned man, or can you by reason proue this Paradox, that all the commaundements of God and of the Apostles are needefull for our saluation?

What is to lay an intollerable yoke and burthen vpon the neckes of men, if this be not? or whereby could you moze directly bring vs into the bondage of the lawe, from the whiche we are made free, than by this assertion? for if all the commaundements of God, &c. are needefull for our saluation, then must we be bounde vpon necessitie of saluation, to obserue the whole Ceremoniall law, which was the commaundement of God. What? was the commaundement vnto Abraham, to offer his sonne Isaac: vnto the Israelites to robbe the Egyptians: vnto Moses to put off his shoes: vnto Saule to kill Amalech, and infinite other, needefull for our saluation? is the commaundement of the Apostles to abstayne from bloud, and that which is strangled: or of Paule vnto Timothy, to drinke wine, &c. needefull for our saluation? What a torment is this doctrine able to bring vnto a weakie conscience, which hathe not obserued any one of these? You muste therefore vnderstande, that there are diuers kindes of commaundementes of God, and of the Apostles, some generall, and giuen to all: other personall, and pertayne onely to one singular person, or to one nation and kinde of people, &c. Agayn there are some which are perpetual, & not to be omitted or altered: other which are temporall, and may be omitted or altered, as the circumstance of time, place, & persons doth require. Wherby it may appeare, howe grossely you haue erred, in affirming, that all the commaundements of God, and of the Apostles, are needefull for our saluation. I might in moze ample maner prosecute this matter, but this that hathe bin spoken may suffice.

What I haue sayde of chaunging the Lordes day, and howe you haue satisfied my wordes, is declared before: and so is the answer made likewise vnto this your feeble conclusion, grounded vpon a false principle.

Which of vs two is caried furthest by his affections, let the indifferēt reader iudge, by these and suche other like dealings of yours.

I haue tolde you before howe muche this and the other places of St. Augustine maketh for my purpose, which you can not but vnderstande, if you soughte not corners to creepe into, for the anoyding of suche reasons and authorities as be mozt apte for my purpose.

Things which the Apostles haue done, for vs to followe, without any exception may not be violated, but the question is, whether these things which they haue done and written, be sufficient for the ordering and gouernment of all Churches, in all times and states, or no. And whether in all things that they haue done, we may or oughte to follow them, both which you haue hitherto very slenderly touched.

### Chap. 3. the. 3. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 24. Sect. 1. 2. 3. & Pag. 25. Sect. 1.

And agayne, *Quod neq. contra fidem, neq. contra bonos mores iniungitur, indifferēt habendum, & pro eorum inter quos viuuntur societate seruandum est*, That vvhich is enioyned, being neither agaynst sayth, nor good maners, is to be counted indifferēt, and to be obserued, as the societie of those vvith vvhome we lyue requirerh.

In the same Epistle answering this question (whether vpon the Church

A grosse error of C. C.

Gal. 5.

Genes. 22.

Exod. 11.

Exod. 3.

1 Sam. 15.

Act. 15.

1 Tim. 5.

Diuers kinds of commaundements,



Thursday before Easter, the Lordes supper shoulde be celebrated in the morning, or at night, because Christe dyd institute this Sacrament, and deliuer the same to hys Disciples after supper, he gyveth these three rules worthy to be noted, the first is this: If the holy Scripture prescribe any thing to be done, there is no doubt but that muste be obserued, as it is there prescribed. The seconde is this: That if any thing be vniuersally obserued of the vvhole Church (not repugnant to the Scriptures) (for so he meaneth) not to keepe that, or to reason of that is madnesse. The thirde: If it be not vniuersally obserued, but diuersly in diuers Churches: *Faciāt quisq; quod in ea ecclesia in quā venit inuenerit*: Let euery man do as he findeth in that Church into the vvhiche he cometh, *moddnon sit contra fidem aut contra mores*, So that it be not agaynst faythe or good maners, for so he addeth.

In the same Epistle agayne he sayth, that the Lorde hath not in Scripture declared in what order and maner his Supper shoulde be celebrated, but lefte that to his Disciples. And in his hundreth and nintenth *ad Ianuar.* In those things (sayth he) that be diuersly obserued in diuers places, this rule as moste profitable is to be kepte, that those things vvhich be not agaynst faythe, neither good maners, and make something to exhorte vnto a better life, vvhersoeuer they are instituted, vve ought not onely not to disallowe them, but to prayse them, and to followv them. By all these places of this learned father it is euident, that it hath bene receyued from time to time as a certayne truthe, that the Church of Christ hath authoritie to ordayne and constitute, as shall be necessarie, in those things before of me rehearsed.

For a further prooffe heerof, I coulde alleage that auncient and learned father Iustinus Martyr, in his seconde Apologie *pro Christianis*, and in his booke of questions. Tertullian in his booke *De coronamilitis*. Basil also in his 63. Epistle writtē to the ministers of *Neocesaria*. Eusebius *Lib. 5. Ecclesiast. histor. Cap. 25. & 26.* and diuers other, but I omit them for breuitie sake, neither doe I alleage those learned fathers, because I thinke their authoritie any thing at all preuaileth with the authoꝝ of the Libell, but for the wyse, discrete, humble, and learned, whose humilitie and wysdome wyll not suffer them to despise the iudgements of so learned and godly fathers.

Iustinus Mart.  
tyr.  
Tertul.  
Basil.  
Euseb.

T.C. Pag. 18. Sect. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. & Pag. 19. Sect. 1.

As for that rule that he giueth when he sayth, what so ever is not, &c. and for the last of the three rules, I receiue them with his owne interpretation, whiche he hath afterwarde in 119. Epist. ad Ianuarium, whiche is, that it be also profitable.

And as for those three rules, whiche you say, are worthy to be noted, I can see nothing, that they helpe your cause one whitte, for I knowe no man that euer denied, but that the Church may in suche things as are not specified and precisely determined, make orders, so they be grounded on those generall rules whiche I haue before alleaged out of S. Paule.

And as for the seconde of the three rules, I can not at any hande allowe it, for when all Christianitie was ouerrunne with poperie, things were vniuersally obserued, whiche to keepe were more wickednesse, and this strengtheneth the Popishes vniuersalitie.

Concerning your Glose (if it be not repugnant to the Scripture) besides that it is not true, because it muste be grounded by the Scripture, and that it is wicked to giue suche authoritie to any decree of men, that a man shoulde not enquire of it, or reason of it, I haue shewed that he mente nothing lesse. For affirming that suche things are the Apostles commandementes, his meaning was, that they shoulde be without all exception receyued, and absolutely. How muche



much better is it that wee take heede to the words of the Apostle, than epyther to S. Augustines or yours, whiche sayth, that if he, or an Angell from heauen, shoulde preache any other (1) Gospel, than that whiche he had preached, that they shoulde holde him accursed: he saythe not any contrarie or repugnant doctrine, but any other Gospel.

But tell me, why (2) passed you by that in Augustine which he writeth to Ianuarie likewise, that those thinges whiche are not contayned in the Scripture, nor decreed of Councels, nor confirmed by generall customes, but are varied by the maners of Regions, and of men, vpon occasion offered, oughte to be curte off, althoughe they seeme not to be agaynst saythe, because they presse with seruite burdens, the religion whiche Christus woulde haue free. This sentence helpe was to hotte for you, you could not carie it. The rest whose names you recite (whiche you say you leaue off for breuitie sake) I leaue to the iudgement of the Reader to consider, wherefore they bee lefte out, seeing that Augustine, in whome you put so great trust, answereth so little to your expectation. This is certayne, that breuitie (whiche you pretende) was in small commendations wyth you, (3) whiche make so often repetitions, stiffe in diuers sentences of doctours and wyters, to proue thinges that no man demeth, translate whole leaues to so small purpose. (4) vpon so light occasions make so often digressions, sometymes agaynst the vnlarnednesse, sometymes agaynst the malice, sometymes agaynst the intemperancie of speeche of the authors of the Admonition, and euery hande whyle pulling oute the sworde vpon them, and throughout the whole booke sporing your selfe with the quotations in the margent: so that if all these were taken oute of your booke, as winde out of a bladder, we shoulde haue had it in a narrowe room, whiche is thus swelled into suche a volume, and in steade of a booke of two shillings, we shoulde haue had a pamphlet of two pence.

And whereas you say, that you haue not alleaged these learned fathers for the authors of the Libell, but for the wyse, discrete, humble, and learned: to them also I leaue it to consider, vpon that whiche is alleaged by me. First, howe lyke a diuine it is, to seeke for rules in the Doctours, to measure the making of ceremonies by, whiche you mighte haue had in the Scriptures: there at the rivers, heere at the fountayne: vncertayne there, whiche heere are certayne, there in parte false, whiche are heere altogether true: then to howe little purpose they serue you, and lasse of all, howe they make agaynst you.

### To Whitgifte.

I take that whiche you graunte: bothe the first rule, whiche is, *Quod neq. contra fidem. &c.* and the lasse of the three, with what interpretation soeuer you admittethem, serue my turne very well, and fully proue my present purpose. Wherefore in graunting of them, you haue graunted as much to me as hitherto I haue desired. Of the rules out of S. Paule, I haue spoken before: so haue I likewise of the endes whiche the Church must haue a respect vnto in hir decrees of orders, ceremonies, and gouernment, wherof also I shall haue occasion to speake hereafter.

The seconde of the three rules you can not at any hande allowe, but there is no cause why you should mislike it. For Augustine did giue it as a rule made for his tyme, not for all tymes, althoughe it may serue also for all times, if his meaning be ioyned wyth it, that is, If that which is vniuersally obserued of the whole Church, be not repugnant to the worde of God, and so it strengtheneth not one whit the Papistes pretended vniuersalitie.

In matters of order, ceremonies, and gouernment, it is sufficient if they be not repugnant to the scripture. Neither do I thinke any great difference to be betwixt not repugnant to the worde of God, and according to the worde.

That whiche is generally obserued, and of that kinde that the rule meaneth, is Decrees that not onely mans tradition and decree, but Gods also. M. Calvin teacheth you in his Institutions, Cap. 12. Sect. 31. that suche kinde of decrees, as pertaine to order and comeliness, are not onely humane, but diuine. And he bringeth in for an example kneeling only humane. at publike prayers.

S. Augustines meaning is, that he would haue no factions or contentions in the Church, or any man to trouble the peace thereof, by setting him selfe agaynst lawfull orders and customes of the same: otherwise I thinke that he neither forbiddeth to enquire, or reason of any such matter. But you thinke that Augustine was so adicted to such decrees of the Apostles, that his meaning was to haue them receiued without all exception. Surely I thinke that he was so perswaded in deede of such decrees, as he meaneth and speaketh of in that place. But for as much as in suche rules he hath sundrie times made suche exceptions, *Quod neq. contra fidem. &c.* therfore this rule also is to be receiued of vs, according to his meaning in all suche like rules.



God forbid that I should not take heede to those words of the Apostle, & hold him accursed which shall preache any other Gospell, than that which he had preached. For I take him that preacheth any other Gospell, to preache contrarie and repugnant doctrine to the Apostle: and undoubtedly he that teacheth any thing to be necessary to saluation, which is not comprehended in the scripture, teacheth a false doctrine, and cleane contrarie to the doctrine of the scripture. But you do not vse this place (I am sure) agaynst any thing that is here sayde. Our question is not of matters pertayning to saluation, but of ceremonies, of externall orders, and discipline. Whereof S. Paule speaketh nothing in that place. I make them not matters of saluation, neither are they.

I will tell you why I passed by that which S. Augustine writeth to Iuanary. Epist. 119. and is now recited by you, because it nothing pertayneth to my purpose, and yet it is rather with me, than agaynst me.

S. Augustine  
mangled and  
vntreuly re-  
ported by  
C.C.

But let me nowe aske you an other question, why do you not truly report S. Augustines words, but mayne them both before, behinde, and in the midst, for Augustine in the wordes that immediatly go before, sayth: That he was muche greeued, because that many things which were more profitably commaunded in the worde of God were neglected, by reason of so many presumptuous obseruations of outwarde ceremonies: the omitting whereof was more greuously punished, than the breaking of Gods commaundements. And vpon this occasion he concludeth thus: *Omnia itaq; talia que mōs sanctorum. &c.* All suche ceremonies (scilicet, as be impediments to the obseruing of the commaundement of God, and are preferred before Gods commaundementes) beeing neither containd in the holy Scriptures, nor founde decreed in the Councils of Bishops, nor confirmed by the custome of the whole Church, but are varied innumera- bly by the diuers maners of diuers Regions: so that scarcely, or neuer the causes can be found out, whiche men followed in appoynting of them: when occasion is offered I thinke they ought to be cut off without any doubt. *Hitherto Augustine.*

Therefore in reciting the wordes of S. Augustine in this place, first you haue omitted the wordes going before, that expresse his mynde, and declare that he meaneth suche ceremonies as be impediments to the obseruing of Gods commaundementes: for hauing spoken of suche before in manifest wordes, he concludeth (as I haue sayde) on this sort, *Omnia itaq; talia. &c.* All suche ceremonies. &c. whiche wordes you haue fraudulently kept backe.

Secondly, where S. Augustine speaketh of the unreasonable multitude of ceremonies, vsing these wordes: *innumerabiliter variantur*, are varied innumera- bly, you haue likewise leste out this word, innumera- bly, which also expresseth Augustines meaning.

Laste of all you haue concealed a sentence in the midst, whiche is very materiall to the declaring of Augustine his mynde. The sentence is this: *Ita ut vix aut omnino nunquam inueniri possint cause, quas in eis instituendu homines secuti sunt:* So that scarcely or neuer the causes can be founde oute, whiche men followed in appoynting of them. Whereby it is playne, that he also meaneth suche ceremonies as be appoynted without reason or cause. And yet in the latter ende he addeth: But the Church of God beeing placed betwixte muche chaffe and darnell, dothe tolerate many things. &c. But I am so farre from defending the multitude, or burdensomnesse of ceremonies, that I consent in all poyntes with that saying of Augustine, wherefore this sentence is nothing to hurt for me, but pleaseth me righte well: And it had bin moze for your commendation if you had not medled withall.

They whose names I heere recite (though I haue not written their wordes) yet in the places whiche I haue quoted doe affirme as muche as I recite them for, whiche you might haue founde, if you had taken paynes to searche for the same, as I thinke verily you haue done, and founde little for your purpose, and therefore are content to passe them ouer in silence.

If I make so ofte repetitions, I doe but as I am occasioned by them whome I answer, and as you do your selfe in this Replie, though it pleaseth you not to be ac- knowne



knowne of it. The sentences of Doctors and writers that I stuffer in, argue that I haue red them, and that I am not ashamed to lay them open, to the ende my playne dealing may be seene, in alledging of them. But what? did you before sende faulte with my Dumb doctores, and can you not now abide them speaking: surely I intend not to be directed by so vnconstant a guyde.

If I proue things that no man denieth, you hadde the lesse labour in replying: If I translate whole leaues to so small purpose, they be the sooner answered: if vpon so light occasions, I haue made so often digressions, you will take heede (I am well assured) that you offende not in the lyke: which truly you haue forgotten in this place, for here is a digression without all reason. But I will let your reuerende and modeste speeches passe, and not recompence them with the lyke: for it neither saoureth the spirite of God, neither yet any modest and good nature, but a stomack swelling rather against the person, than against the cause.

My purpose is not in this place to seke for rules to measure Ceremonies by, but to proue that in Ceremonies and other externall things, muche is lefte to the discretion of the Church, whiche is not to be founde in Scriptures: and yet I know none of these rules vnmixed for a diuine to search for, or to vnderstand, vnesse it be suche a one, as condemneth all other mens learning but his owne. But how happeneth it that you haue answered nothing to the last place that I haue alleaged out of Augustine. Why say you nothing to my conclusion, whiche is, that by all those places of this learned father, it is euident, &c.

In all this your replie you haue greatly faulted in *ignorantia Elenchi*, for you haue not reasoned, nor answered *ad idem*, but spoken altogether from the purpose.

C. C faulted  
in ignorantia  
Elenchi.

## ¶ The opinion of M. Caluin of things

indifferent. Chap. 4.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 25. Sect. 2. 3. & Pag. 26.

27. 28. & Pag. 29. Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4.

But I trust M. Caluines iudgement will weigh something with them, who in his Institutions Cap. 13. Sect. 31. & 32. speaking of traditions, sayth in this sort.

Bicause the Lorde hath both faithfully and plainly comprehended, and declared in the holie scriptures, the whole summe of true righteousnesse, & all the parts of the true worshipping of him, and what so euer is necessarie vnto saluation, therefore in those things he is only to be heard, as a maister, or teacher: But bicause in externall discipline & ceremonies he would not particularly prescribe, vwhat we ought to folow, bicause he foresaw that this depended vpon the state and condition of the time, neyther did iudge one form or maner to be agreable to all ages, here we must haue a respect to those general rules which he gaue, that according to the might be examined such things, as the necessitie of the Church requireth to be comanded for order & decencie. Finally, bicause in these things he hath expressed nothing (for that they are neither necessarie to saluation, and may be diuersly applied to the edifying of the Church, according to the maner and custome of euery countrey and age) Therefore as the comoditie of the Church requireth, & as shal be thought conuenient, both the old may be abrogated & newe appointed. I graunt that we must not rashely nor often, nor for euery light cause make innouations. But vwhat hurteth, and vwhat edifieth charitie will best iudge, which if vve vvil suffer to be the moderatrix, al shal be safe & wel. Now it is the office of Christian people vwith a free conscience, vwithout superstition,

K.



superstition, with a godlie minde and readie and willing to obey, to obserue those things whiche are appointed according to this rule, not to contemne them, nor negligently to omit them, so farre off ought they to be from breaking them openly thorough disdaine and contumacie.

But thou wilt say, vvhath libertie of conscience can there be in so precise and straight obseruing of them? truly the libertie of conscience may well stand vvith it, if we shall consider that these lawes and decrees to the which we are bounde, be not perpetuall, or suche as are not to be abrogated: but only externall rudiments of mans infirmities: wherof notwithstanding we all stande not in neede, yet vvee all vse them, bicause one of vs is mutually bound to an other, to nourishe loue and charitie among our selues.

This we may lerne in the examples vsed before. VVhat? doth religion consist in a womans vaile, that by no meanes she may goe abrode bare headed? or is the comaundement touching hir silence suche, as it may not be broken without wickednesse? or is there any mysterie in kneeling, or in burying the dead, that may not be omitted without great offence? No truly: for if such hast be required of a vvoman to help hir neighbour, that she can haue no ley sure to couer hir head, she doth not offende, though she runne out bare headed. And there is a tyme & place when and vvhere it is as mete for hir to speak, as it is elsewhere to hold hir peace. Him also to pray standing, which being letted vvith some disease, can not kneele, there is nothing forbiddeth. To be short, it is better in tyme to burie the dead, than to tarie for a winding sheete, or some to carie him, vntil he stinke aboue the ground. But there is somewhat euen in those things, vvich the custome of Religion, lawes, and decrees, humanitie it self, and the rule of modestie willeth vs to do, & to take heed of, wherein if we shal through ignorace & forgetfulnes offed, ther is no sin committed: But if through cōtempt or contumacie, it is to be reprobued. In like maner it skilleth not what days be appointed, what houres, what maner of places touching the building, what Psalms are to be song this day or that day: And yet there must certain dayes be appointed, & certain houres, and a place mete to receiue al, if we haue any respect to keepe vnitie & peace. For what cōfusion were it, & of how great cōtentions & braulings the seed, and cause, if euery man as he listeth, might alter and chaunge those things which pertain to the cōmon state: Seing that it would neuer be brought to passe, that one thing could please all men, if such matters were left indifferent, and committed to euery mans arbitrement? Now if any man repine or grudge, & vvill here seme wiser than it behoueth him, let him cōsider by what reason he can excuse his waywardnesse in the Lorde. Notvvithstanding that saying of S. Paule must iustifie vs: we haue no custome to contend, neither the Churches of God. Thus farre Caluine.

1. Cor. 11.

Collections  
out of Cal-  
uine.

**In vvich words we haue these things to consider: Firste that God hath in the Scripture fully and plainly comprehended all those things that be necessarie to saluation.**

**Secondly, that in Ceremonies and externall discipline, he hath not in Scripture particularly Determined any thing, but lefte the same to his Church, to make or abrogate, to alter, or continue, to adde, or take away, as shall bee thoughte from tyme to tyme, mooste conueniente, for the presente state of the Church, so that nothyng be doone, agaynst that generall rule of Saint Paule. 1. Corin. 14.**

Let



Let all things be done decently and in order.

Thirdly, that it is the dutie of a Christian man without superstition willingly to obey such constitutions, not to contemne them, not to neglect them, muche lesse stubboznelly and arrogantly to breake them.

Fourthly, that the obseruing of them taketh not libertie from the conscience, because they be not made to be perpetual and inuiolable, but to be altered, as tyme, occasion and necessitie requirerh.

Fifthly, that all ought to obey suche ordinaunces, for charitie sake, though all stande not in neede of them.

Sixthly, that if a man doe violate them by ignorance or forgetfulness, he doth not offende, if by contempt or stubboznesse he doth greatly offende.

Seuenthly, that confusion (whiche is to suffer euery man to doe what he list) is the seede of contention and brawling.

Last of all, that the true ministers of God be not contentious, neither yet the Churches of God.

These things among other I thought good to note oute of M. Caluines wordes, whiche if they were diligently considered, suche contentions might soone be ended.

T.C. Pag. 19. Sect. 2. 3. 4. 5. & Pag. 20. Sect. 1.

Why should you trust that M. Caluins iudgement will weigh with them, if they be Anabaptists (as you accuse them) if they be Donatistes, if Catharists, if conspired with the Papistes, how can you thinke they will so easily rest in M. Caluins iudgement, which hated and confuted all Anabaptisme, Donatisme, Catharisme, & Papisme: but it is true which the proverbe sayth, memorie &c. he that will speake an vntruth, had neede haue a good memorie: & this is the force of the truth, in the conscience of man, that although he suppresseth it, & pretend the contrary, yet at vnawares it stealeth out. For what greater testimonie could you haue giuen of them, that they hate all those heresies, whiche you lay to their charge, than to say, & you trust M. Caluins iudgement will weigh with the? How in deed that you be not deceived, we receive M. Caluin, & weigh of him, as of the notablest instrument & the Lord hath stirred up, for purging of his Churches, & of the restoring of the plaine & sincere interpretation of the scriptures, which hath ben since the Apostles times. And yet we do not so read his wordes, & we beleue any thing to be true, because he saith it, but so far as we can esteeme, that which he saith, doth agree with the canonick scriptures. But what gather you out of M. Caluine?

First that all necessarie things to saluation, are contained in the scripture: who denyeth it? In the second collection, where you would giue to vnderstand, & ceremonies & externall discipline are not prescribed particularly by the word of God, & therefore left to the order of the Church: you must vnderstand, that all externall discipline is not left to the order of the Church, being particularly prescribed in the scriptures, no more than (a) all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, as the sacraments of Baptisme, & the supper of the Lord: whereas, vpon the indefinite speaking of M. Caluine, saying Ceremonies & externall discipline, without adding all, or some, you go about (b) subtilly to make me beleue, & Caluin had placed the whole externall discipline in the power & arbitrement of the Church. For if all externall discipline were arbitrarie, & in the choise of the Church, excommunication also (which is a part of it) might be cast away, which I thinke you will not say. But if M. Caluine were alive to heare his sentences (c) racked and writhen, to establish those things, which he stroue so mightily to overthrow, and to overthrow those things that he laboured so sore to establish, what might he say? & the iniurie whiche is done to him is nothing lesse because he is dead.

Concerning all the rest of your collections, I haue not lightly knowne a man, whiche taketh so much paine & so small gain, & which soweth his seed in the sea, wherofther will neuer rise increase. For I know none that euer desired those things, vnlesse peraduenture you would make the reader beleue, & at those be contentions, which moue any controuersie of things which they iudge to be amisse: that is is answered before, & now I answer further, that they that moue to reformation of things, are no more to be blamed as authors of contention, than the Physitian, which giueth a purgation is to be blamed for the rumbling & stirre in the belly, & other disquietnesse of the body, which should not haue beene if the humors & naughty disposition of it, had not caused or procured this purgation. Whereas you conclude, that these contentions would be soon ended, if M. Caluins wordes were noted here we will ioyne with you, & will not refuse (d) iudgement of M. Caluin in any matter that we haue in controuersie with you, which I speake notwithstanding, because I would call the decision of controuersies to men and theys wordes (which pertaine only to God and to his word) but because I know his iudgement in these things to be cleane against you, and especially for that you would heare men in hand, that M. Caluin is on your side, and against vs.

(a) You say after that there are but these two.

(b) Vntruth, for I haue reported his wordes to no other ende than he hath written them.

(c) You should haue shewed wherein his wordes are racked and wryth.

(d) In any place that maketh with you, but not otherwise.



Jo. Whitgiste.

Zuinglius ad-  
uers. Anab.

Fol. 5. sect. ult.  
Fo. 14. lin. 5.  
Fol. 6. sect. 4.

If you your selfe will of necessitie inforce these qualities and conditions of Ana-  
baptistes (whiche I in the beginning reherſed) vpon the authoꝝ of the admonition,  
who can let you? The moſte that I haue ſayde, is that I ſuſpecte them, bycauſe  
they ſo agree with them in certaine qualities and practiſes. But if they  
were bent that waye, yet doth it not ſolow that they woulde by and by ſeeme to con-  
temne M. Caluines oꝝ any other famous and learned mannes iudgemente. For you  
knowe that the chiefe captaines of the Anabaptiſtes, did not ſoꝝthwith utter eyther  
al their contempt of learned men, oꝝ all their peſtiferous opinions at the fyrſt, but  
vſed therin ſome policie, ſuche as might moſt pzenayle to winne credite vnto theyꝝ  
faction. You remember that Zuinglius in his booke called *Eccleſiaſt.* ſayth of the Ana-  
baptiſts, that though they proteſted, and by othe denyed that they ment to take any au-  
thoritie from the magiſtrate, yet ſhortly after it would appeare, that they would haue bin  
diſobedient to all lawes of Magiſtrates. &c. as I haue befoꝝe reherſed: the practiſe wher-  
of is to be ſeene in Sleidan and other ſtoꝝies.

And although in the beginning it was pretended that the contention was but in  
matters of no great importance, as cap, ſurpleſſe, tippet. &c. yet in the additions to the  
firſt admonition fol. 9. it is proteſted, that the ſtriſe is foꝝ greater matters, as foꝝ a  
true miniſterie, and gouernemente of the Church, and nowe you ſay, that certain matters  
whiche be in controuerſie, are matters of lyfe and death, of ſaluation and damnation. fol. 5. &  
14. Beſides all thys the additions that you make to the proteſtation of your obediẽce  
to the ciuile Magiſtrate fol. 6. &c. is verie ſuſpicious, ſo is your doctrine touching the  
authoritie of the ciuill magiſtrate alſo, as I haue in an other place declared. Wher-  
foꝝe how farre both they and you will as yet procede, is not certainly knowne. In  
the meane tyme, if by allowing ſuche as M. Caluine is, ſome credite were not main-  
tained, wiſe and learned men would the ſoner eſpie their doings.

When I ſay, that I truſt M. Caluines iudgemente will weigh ſome  
thing with them. I ſpeake it but in compariſon, to the authoritie of ſuche as I  
haue befoꝝe alleaged. For I know they make ſmall accompt of any authoꝝ that wri-  
teth againſt them, but leaſt of all of the olde auncient fathers, whom ſome of them  
are not aſhamed to call pillorie Doctours. They may therfoꝝe beare a countenance to  
ſuche as hate and confute Anabaptiſme, Baptiſme. &c. and yet both ioyne with the Bap-  
tiſts and the Anabaptiſts &c. in diſturbinge the Church.

As the wordes of M. Caluine be directly to my purpoſe, and my collections truly  
gathered out of them, ſo is your anſwere thervnto verie weake, and in deed nothing.

The wordes of M. Caluine wher vpon my ſeconde collection is gathered, be theſe:

But becauſe in externall diſcipline and ceremonies he woulde not particularly preſcribe  
what we ought to followe, bycauſe he foreſaw that this depended vpon the ſtate and con-  
dition of the tyme, neyther did iudge one forme or maner to be agreeable to all ages: Here  
we muſt haue reſpect. &c. Conſerre theſe wordes with my collection, and you ſhall  
ſee them agree in all poyntes. And ſurely M. Caluine ſayeth that fully and plainly  
in this place, whiche I haue taken in hande to proue. M. Caluine neyther addeth al,  
noꝝ ſome and therfoꝝe neyther haue I added them, leaſt I mighte ſeeme to be a corrup-  
ter of his wordes.

Your obiection of the Supper of the Lorde, and of Baptiſme, is altogether friuolous:  
foꝝ they be ſubſtantiall Ceremonies: and not ceremonies onely, but Sacramentes  
alſo, and therfoꝝe muſt haue of neceſſitie an expreſſe commaundement in the wordes  
of God.

Touching excommunication. I ſhal ſpeake hereafter, it is the matter that the Anaba-  
ptiſts ſo greatly vꝝged, and foꝝ the not vſing of the whiche, they ſeparated themſelues  
from the Churches, where the Goſpell was preached, as appeareth in the bookes  
bothe of Caluine, Bullinger, and others, againſt them. I knowe that touchyng  
Excommunication, whether the vſe of it bee at all tymes ſo neceſſarye oꝝ no,  
that



that it maye not bee altered, learned men doe varie in iudgements, whose opinions in that matter I will deferre, untill I come where I haue farther occasion to speake of it.

If M. Caluine were alyue, and vnderstode the state of our Church and controuersie truly, I verily beleue that he would vtterly condemne your doings: and I am the rather induced to thinke so, because I vnderstande him to haue allowed many things in the Englishe Church being at *Geneua*, which you altogether mislike, as funeral sermons, &c. And therfore he would not thinke his wordes racked one whit, to establishe any thing that he would haue had ouerthrowne.

The rest of my collections are most agreeable to M. Caluines wordes, moste necessary for this present time, and moste apte for my purpose: and youre passing them ouer so slightly, doth argue your lacke of abilitie to answer them. In dede they flatly determine this controuersie, and in effect ouerthrowne your whole booke.

Those that make contention in the Church for suche matters as you doe, and in suche sorte and manner, can not auoyde the iuste accusations of being contentious persons: and if the Physicion giue a purgation where there is no neede, or a more vehement purgation than is conuenient for the disease, or minister it out of time, or giue one purgation for another, &c. what rumbling and stirre soeuer follow in the bodie, he may be iustly sayde to be the authoꝝ and cause of them. Do you not knowe what Zuinglius sayeth in his *Ecclesiast*. speaking of Anabaptistes: If they were sente of God, and endued with the spirite of loue, they would haue construed in the beste parte, those externall things. &c. And againe, Christe neuer made any contention for externall thinges, and in his booke *de Baptismo*, They go aboute innouations of their owne priuate authoritie. &c.

*Zuinglius in  
Ecclesiast.  
Idem de bap-  
tismo.*

I vse M. Caluines iudgement, as I vse the iudgement of other learned men, neyther will I refuse any learned mans opinion in these controuersies, that truly and wholly vnderstandeth the state of this Church, and the grounde of all thinges bled in it. But I doubt how you will hereafter stand to this offer.

## ¶ The opinion of Bucer of things in-

different. Chap. 5.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag 29. Sect. 5. & 6.

Of the same iudgement in this matter is M. Bucer, as it appeareth in his *Epistle* to M. Alasco, these be his wordes: If you vwill not admit such libertie, and vse of vesture to this pure and holie Church, because they haue no commaundement of the Lord, nor example of it: I doo not see how you can graunt to any Church, that it may celebrate the Lorde Supper in the morning, and in an open Church, especially consecrated to the Lorde: that the Sacrament may be distributed to men kneeling or standing, yea to women as well as to men. For wee haue receiued of these things neither commaundement of the Lorde, nor any example, yea rather the Lorde gaue a contrarie example. For in the euening, and in a priuate house he did make his Supper, and distributed the Sacramentes, and that to men only, and sitting at the table. *Hac Bucerus.*

*Bucer of  
things indif-  
ferent.*

But to ende this matter, is it not as lawfull for a godlie Prince, with the aduise and consent of godlie and lerne'd Bishops, and other of the wissest, to make orders in the Church, and lawes Ecclesiasticall, as it is for euery priuate man, to vse what maner and forme of seruice he list, and other order and discipline in his own parish, which these men seeke and strue to doe.



T.C. Page. 20. Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. &amp; Pag. 21. Sect. 1.

You do learned  
me great injury,  
in accusing the  
of contrarie.

And as for Peter Martyr and Bucer, and Musculus, and Buringer, Gualter, and Hemingus, and the rest of the late writers, by citing of whome, you would give to understande, that they are against us in these matters, there is set downe in the latter ende of this booke, their severall iudgements, of the moste of these things which are in controuersie: whereby it maye appeare, that if they haue spoken one woorde against us, they haue spoken two for us. And whereas they haue written (as it is said) and alleadged in their private letters to their friends, against some of these causes, it maye appeare, that they haue in their works published to the whole world, that they confirme the same causes. So that if they wrote any such things, they shall be found not so much to haue dissented from us, as from themselves: and therefore we appeale from themselves, unto themselves: and from their private notes and letters to their publicke writings, as more authenticall. You labour still in the fire that is unprofitable, to bring M. Bucer his Epistle to prove, that the Church may order things, whereof there is no particular and expresse commaundement, for there is none denieth it, neyther is this saying, that all things are to be done in the Church according to the rule of the word of God, any thing repugnant unto this, that the Church may ordeyne certayne things, according to the word of God.

(1) You cannot  
but understand  
that they are  
printed.

But if this Epistle, and others of M. Bucers with his notes upon the booke of common prayer, which are so often cited, and certayne Epistles of M. Peter Martyr were neuer printed (as (1) I cannot understand they were) then besides that you do us injury, which go about to prejudice our cause by the testimonies of them, which we can neyther heare nor see, being kepte close in your study: you also do your cause much more injury, whilst you betray the pouertie and nakednesse of it, being faine to ransacke, and ruffle by every darke corner, to find something to cover it with.

Therefore it were good before you tooke any benefite of them, to let them come forth, and speake their owne testimonies, in their owne language and full out. For now you give men occasion to thinke, that there are some other things in their Epistles which you would be loth the world should know, for feare of fall of that, which you would gladly keepe.

(2) What say you  
than to the 14.  
reason of the  
Admonition,  
then ministers  
were not so tied  
to any forme of  
prayers. &c.

There is (2) no man that sayth that it ought to be permitted to every person in the Church where he is minister, to haue such order or discipline, or to vse such service, as he listeth, no man seeth for it. But to haue the order which God hath left in those things which the word precisely appoynteth, and in other things to vse that, which shall be according to the rules of S. Paule before recited, agreed by the Church, and confirmed by the prince.

(3) An vntruth,  
for I give it not  
to the Bishops  
only, but to a  
godly Prince  
with the aduice  
and consent of  
godly and lear-  
ned Bishops,  
and other of the  
wisest.

And whereas you haue euer hitherto given the ordering of these things to the Church, how come you now to (3) ascribe it to the Bishops: you meane I am sure the Bishops, as we call Bishops here in England, whereby you fall into the opinion of the Papists vnawares, which when they haue spoken many things of the Church magnifically, at the last they bring it now to the doctors of the Church, now to Bishops.

As for me, although I doubt not but there be many good men of the Bishops, and very learned also, and therefore very meete to be admitted into that consultation, wherein it shall be considered, what things are good in the Church: yet in respect of that office and calling of a Bishop, which they now exercise, I thinke that every godly learned minister and pastour of the Church, hath more interest and righte, in respect of his office, to be at that consultation: then any Bishop or Archbishop in the Realme, for as much as he hath an ordinarie calling of God, and function appoynted in the scriptures which he exerciseth, and the other hath not.

But how this authoritie pertainyng to the whole Church, of making of such orders, may and ought to be called to a certayne number, that confusion may be auoyded, and with the consent also of the Churches to auoyde tyrannie, it shall appeare in a more proper place where we shall haue occasion to speake of the eldership or gouernment in every Church, and of the communion and society or participation, & intercommuning of the Churches together, by councils, and assemblies prouinciall or nationall.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The occasion  
of mens writings  
must be  
considered.

Diuers of those learned men here named, being rightly enformed of the state of this controuersie, with all the circumstances pertainyng thereunto, haue set downe their opinions in writing, and therefore if it should so come to passe, (which as yet is not proved, neyther as I thinke will be) that in their publicke writings, they should seeme to affirme any thing contrary to their private letters, it is bycause they speaking generally of all, and hauing respect to the time and place, wherein and when such things were abused, haue generally spoken of them otherwise then they do, as they be now vsed in this Church of England. And surely in my opinion these their epistles, wherein of purpose (being required) they give their sentence of suche matters, ought to be more credited, than their generall writings, wherein they maye seeme otherwise to speake vpon other occasions. But I thinke that in the ende it will fall out, that they haue written nothing publicly againste any thing that is written by them privately: and of some of them I am sure that their publicke and private writings of these matters doe fully agree. But where haue



haue you learned to answere on this sorte to the authoritie of learned men: to accuse them of contrarietie before you haue manifestly proued it, is to doe vnto them great iniurie.

The place of M. Bucer maketh directly for my purpose, and therefore in giuing place vnto it, you graunte as muche as I hitherto haue required. For M. Bucer vsed the example of apparell whiche is one thing in controuersie betwixte vs, and sayeth playnly, that the Church hath authoritie to appoint such things, as haue neyther commandement nor example in the Scripture.

These Epistles of M. Bucer, and of M. Martyr, with the Epistles of other learned men be printed and published wholly and fully, and it can not bee that the same should be vnknown vnto you, the booke being so comon: your pleading of ignorance in this thing is but a colour.

When every Minister must be chiefe of the seigniozie, and haue with some other of the parishe the whole authoritie Ecclesiasticall: when they must not bee so tyed to any forme of prayers, but as the spirite moueth them, so to poure out supplications: when the Prince is secluded from authoritie in appoynting of ceremonies, and orders of discipline, that is, when in Ecclesiasticall matters you giue to the Ciuill magistrate no more than the Papistes do, to wit *potestatem facti*, and not *potestatem iuris*, as will afterwarde more plainly appeare: what is it else but for every minister to be Pope in his owne parishe, and to vse suche order, discipline, and seruice as he himselfe listeth.

If you had bin disposed to speake the truthe, and to report my wordes as they be written, you woulde haue eased your booke of these lynes whiche followe. For where doe I giue this authoritie to the Bishops: or in what wordes do I restrayne the Church to them: my wordes be these: It is not as lawfull for a godly Prince, with the aduise and consente of godlie and learned Bishops, and other of the wifest, to make orders in the Church. &c. You see that I ioine the Prince, the Bishops, and other of the wifest together in making of orders. &c. and whensoeuer I meane the Church in suche a case, I meane not the confused multitude of the Church, but suche as God hath called to gouerne his Church in the externall gouernment: whome I take to be in this Church, the Prince, the Bishops, the Councell, and suche other, as by the order of this Church, haue to do in suche like matters.

Your falsifying hurteth not me, but discrediteth your selfe, and your cause.

The Bishops haue muche to thanke you, that it would please you to admitte them into that consultation of yours, if they woulde giue ouer that office and calling. But (thanks be vnto God) you haue as yet no suche authoritie committed vnto you. Wherefore this and suche lyke kynde of speeches, doe but declare howe magnifically you thynke of your selfe. &c.

If it pertayne to the whole Church, that is (as I thinke you vnderstande it) to the whole multitude of the Church, to make suche orders, howe can you restraine it to a certaine number: or why not as well to some one, if the multitude thynke it so conuenient, but of this matter, when you come to youre seigniozie and kinde of gouernment.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 30. Sect. 1.

An examination of the places. &c.

To proue that nothing in this mortall lyfe is more diligently to be sought for, and carefully to be looked vnto than the restitution of true Religion, and reformation of Gods Church, there is noted. 2. Reg. 23. 2. Chro. 17. 2. Chro. 29. 30. 31. Psalm. 132. Math 21. Ioh. 2.

In the first place it is declared howe Iosiah after he had founde the

B. iiii.

booke



booke of the lawe, reformed the Church. In the seconde place Iehosaphat tooke away the high places and groues out of Iuda. &c. In the 29. 30. 31. of the 2. Chron. is described the doings of Ezechias, in repairing the temple and reforming religion. &c. In the 132. Psalm it is declared with what care Dauid went about to build the temple of God, after that he was once established in his kingdome. In the 12. of Math. Jesus went into the temple, and cast out all them that bought and sold in the temple. &c. The like he did in the seconde of Iohn. All this is confessed to be true and no man denieth it. And I pray God make vs thankfull for the Queenes maiestie, who hath not bin slacke in this point, but hath like a vertuous, religious, and godly prince, in the very entring into hir raigne, notwithstanding the multitude of hir aduersaries, bothe at home and abroad, abolished all superstition, and restored the simplicitie of the Gospell. But these men alleadge these places to the discredite of this reformation, and of the whole gouernmente of this Church. How aptly and how truly, let godly, wise, and learned men iudge.

### *To Whitgife.*

All this is passed ouer with silence, and nothing said vnto it, good or bad.

The exposition of the places. Deu. 4. & 12. quoted by the Admonition.  
Cap. 6. The first Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 30. Sect. 2.

The places in  
the 4. and 12  
of Deutero.  
expounded.

**T**O proue that these things only are to be placed in gods Church, whiche God himselfe in his word commaundeth, is noted the fourth and the twelfth of Deut. Ye shall put nothing to the word that I commaund you, neither shall you take any thing therefrom. &c. And in the other place: VVhatsoeuer I commaund you take heed you do it, thou shalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought therefrom. God in the old lawe to his people, prescribed perfect and absolute lawes, not only morall and iudiciall, but ceremoniall also: neither was there the least thing to be done in the Church omitted in the law. And therefore for them at that time, and during that state, it was not lawfull to adde any thing, nor to take any thing away no not in ceremonies and other ciuill lawes: now in the time of the Gospell God hath left vnto his Church expressed in his word a perfect rule of faith and manners, and sufficient to saluation, and cursed is he that shal adde any thing to it, or take any thing from it in that behalfe, for therein it is perfecte and absolute. But as he hath left the iudiciall lawe to the discretion of the magistrate, to adde therevnto or take therefrom, or alter and change the same, so that no law be made against the rule of faith and good manners expressed in the word of God. &c.

T. C. Page. 21. Sect. 2.

Vnto the places of Deuteronomie, which proue that nothing ought to be done in the Church, but that which God commaundeth, and that nothing should be added or diminished. First you answer that that was a precepte giuen to the Jewes for that time, whiche had all thinges even the least



least prescribed vnto them. I see it is true which is said, that one absurditie graunted, a hundred follow. For to (a) make good, that things ought to be done besides the scripture and word of God, you are driuen to runne into part of the error of the Manichees, which say, that the old testament pertaineth not vnto vs, nor bindeth not vs. For what is it else, than to say that these two places serued for the Jewes time, and vnder the law: for surely if these two places agree not vnto vs in time of the Gospell, I knowe none in all the old testament, which do agree. And I praye you what is here saide which S. Iohn in the Apocalipse saith not, where he shutteth vp the new testament on this sort: I protest vnto euery man which heareth the prophetic of this booke, that whosoever addeth any thing to it, the Lord shall adde vnto him the plagues which are written in it: And whosoever taketh away any thing from it, the Lord shall take away his portion out of the booke of life, and out of the things that are written in it: which admonition if you say pertaineth to that booke of the Apocalipse only, yet you must remember that the same may be as truly said of any other booke of the scripture.

Apoca. 22.

pounded.  
(a) A wilful per-  
uerting of ma-  
nifest and playne  
words.

### Io. Whitgiste.

My first answer to that place of Deuteronomie is true, neyther can you disproue it by any sound reason or good authoritie: for if you will haue this precept now to be vnderstanded of all the selfesame ordinances, and lawes, of the which, and for the which, it was at that time giuen, then must we of necessitie keepe the ceremoniall and iudiciall precepts of the Law being at that time in force. The which thing as I suppose, no learned man will once imagine, but yet as this precept was then giuen to them, that they should adde nothing to the lawes of God then in force, or take any thing from them, so is it perpetuall for vs also, that we should adde nothing to the law of faith and manners, which is likewise perfectly prescribed vnto vs in the booke of God.

The first an-  
swer iustified

And thus you see how farre I am from the erreure of the Manichees, and from thin- king that the old testament doth not appertaine vnto vs: and yet I am not so Jewish, to thinke that we are bound either to the ceremoniall or iudiciall law: and therefore I say that that precept applyed vnto vs, dothe not extende any further, than to suche thinges as God hath commaunded or forbidden vs that he Christians to do in his word. How vniustly therefore you charge me to say, that these two places agree not vnto vs vnder the Gospell, when as I haue plainly declared how they agree to them vnder the law, and to vs vnder the Gospell, let any man iudge.

How farre  
that precept  
in Deut. is  
extended.

The words in the last of the Apocal. although they be properly and namely spoken of that booke, yet I am fully perswaded that they may also be affirmed of the whole testament. And I am so farre from allowing either addition or detraction, to, or from the word of God, that I utterly condemne as false that which you haue set down before in your booke fol. 13. That many things are both commaunded and forbidden, of which there is no expresse mention in the word, which are as necessarily to be followed or auoyded, as those whereof expresse mention is made.

Fol. 13. Sect. 2.

### Chap. 6. the second Diuision.

T.C. Page. 21. Sect. 3.

Then you are driuen to say, that the Jewes vnder the law, had a more certaine direction, and consequently a readier way, than we haue in the time of the Gospell, of the which time the Prophet saith, that then a man should not reach his neighbour, they shall be so taught of God: as if he should say, that they that liue vnder the Gospell, should be all, in comparison of that which were vnder the lawe doctors. And Esay saith, that in the days of the Gospell, the people shall not stand in the outward courts, but he shall bring them into the sanctuary, that is to say, that they should be all, for their knowledge as learned as the Leuites and priests, which only had entrance into it.

Ier. 31. b. 34

Iay. 56.

### Io. Whitgiste.

In matters of ceremonies and iudicials they had more particular rules prescribed vnto them, and a more certaine direction. For we haue very little in these matters particularly written in the new testament: but the morall lawe we haue as perfect as they had, and in the law of faith, which is the law of the Gospell and the rule of saluati- on, we do farre exceede them. Other meaning than this there cannot (with all the violence that you haue) be wrong out of my words.

Wherein the  
Jewes had a  
more certaine  
direction than  
we.

Your



pounded.

Jerem. 3.

Esay. 56.

Four places alleadged out of the Prophete Jeremy and Esay impzone nothing that I haue spoken, for the Prophet Jeremy speaketh of the elect of God, whome he doth teach and illuminate not only with the outward preaching of his word, but by the maruellous operation of his spirit also. The words of the Prophet Esay (if you meane the 7. ver. of the. 56. Chap. for else ther is no such words there) do signify that God will gather the Gentiles and straungers into his Church, and make no distinction betwixt them and the Jewes in the time of the Gospell: but how you shoulde gather of that place that the people should be as learned as the Priests and Leuites, I cannot coniecture. Neither truly do I know to what purpose this texte is alleadged, except it be a litle by the way, to flatter the people and to claw them.

## Chap. 6. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 21. Sect. 4. 5.

Now if the Jewes had precepts of every the least action, which told them precisely how they should walke: how is not their case in that point better than ours, which because we haue in many things but generall rules, are to seeke often times, what is the will of God which we should follow? But let vs examine their lawes, and compare them with ours in the matters pertainyng to the Church: for whereas the question is of the government of the Church, it is very impertinent, that you speake of the iudicialls, as though you had not yet learned, to distinguish betwene the Church and common wealth.

To the ordering and governing of the Church, they had only the morall, and ceremoniall lawes: we haue the same morall that they had: what speciall direction therefore they inoy by the beneyte of that, we haue.

## Io. Whitgifte.

Why the  
Jewes had  
their ceremo-  
nies particu-  
larly prescribed

Cal. in barmo.  
in pentateuc.

Aug. epist. 118

Galat. 5.

Cal. adue. ma.

The Jewes as it is confessed by learned men, had their lawes more particularly prescribed vnto them, and especially touching Ceremonies, not onely because they were prone to Idolatrie, but also oftentimes in subiection to Idolatrous princes, where they had occasion offered vnto them to worship their false Gods. Therefore a learned interpreter saith, *Factor in multis ceremonijs diuinitus mandatis fuisse occupatos, ne alius appetere.* I confesse that they were occupied in many ceremonies commaunded of God, least they should desire other. This then was one, though not the only cause of their ceremoniall lawes: and in this respect their case was not better, but indeede much more seruile and worse than ours, who are deliuered from that yoke of ceremonies, and bound only to two, as Aug. Epist. 118. ad Ianuar. saith the most easily to be obserued, and most excellent in signification, that is, the supper of the Lord and Baptisme. So that you are much deceiued if you thinke vs to be in worse case, than they were, because we haue not so many particular rules for ceremonies, as they had: for we are deliuered from the bondage of Ceremonies, as the Apostle declareth to the Galat. 5. and therefore M. Caluine in his booke against the Anabap. answering this reason of theirs (There is more perfection required in the Church of Christ, than there was among the Jewes, and therefore Christians may not vse the sword or be magistrates) saith on this sort. *Hoc quidem verum est, quod ad Ceremonias attinet.* This is true as touching ceremonies, meaning that we are not now bound to so many lawes of ceremonies, but haue freedom and libertie therein. I speake of accidentall ceremonies as well as of Sacramentes.

You say that whereas the question is of the government of the Church, &c. wherein *antiquum obtinet*. For our present question is whether all things to be vsed in the Church are prescribed in the scripture: And that which I speake of the iudiciall lawe I speake it by occasion of the interpretation of these places of Deuteronomie. Doubtless I see no such distance betwixt the Church and the common wealth, but the lawes of the one doth and oughte to pertaine to the other, excepte you will do as the Papistes did, that is, seclude the ciuill magistrate altogether from meddling in any ecclesiasticall



call matter. And I am well assured that not onely the ceremoniall and morall lawe but the iudiciall also perteyned to the gouernmente of the Church of the Israelites, and that these preceptes of not adding too or taking from, perteyned to that lawe also. M. Musculus in his common places. *Cap. delegibus, de* uideth the iudiciall lawe into two partes, into ecclesiasticall and ciuill: his wordes be these. VVherefore these preceptes may not vnfitly (he meaneth, iudiciall) be detti- *Muscul.* ded into two kyndes, whereof some are ecclesiasticall and other ciuill. M. Beza in lyke *Beza.* manner in his booke *de hereticis a magist: puniend.* saith, that the iudiciall law doth partly consist in the externall manner of worshipping God, partly in the ciuill affaires of this lyfe. And M. Caluine in his *Haruo: vpon the fyue bookes of Moses, expounding this* verse in the. 23. of Exod. Thou shalt vterly ouerthrow them and breake in peeces their images. Calleth it a politike lawe, and yet notwithstanding an appendix to the firste precepte, and added to confirme that which he had spoken befoze against Idolatrie. *Caluine.* Wherefoze to the ordering and gouerning of the Church, the Iewes had not only the morall and ceremoniall, but the iudiciall law also.

### Chap. 6. the fourth Diuision.

T. C. Page. 21. Sect. vlt.

We haue no ceremonies but two, the ceremonies or sacramentes of Baptisme, and of the Lords supper, and we haue as certayne a direction, to celebrate them, as they had to celebrate their ceremonies, and fewer and lesse difficulties can rise of ours, than of theirs: and we haue more playne and expresse doctrine to decide our controuersies than they had for theirs. What houre had they for their ordinarie and dayly sacrifices: was it not left to the order of the Church: what places were appoynted in their seuerall dwellings to heare the worde of God preached continually, when they came not to Ierusalem: the word was commaunded to be preached, but no mention made, what manner of place they should haue: where was pulpits commaunded or chaires: and yet they had both. Where any forme of buriall in the law: and yet it is a thing perteyning to the Church, that the dead be after a comely sort buried: where, any order or forme of marriage: and yet it is knowne, they had. It was (which is more) in the discretion of that Church, vpon occasion of dearth, or warre, plagues, or any other common calamitie, to proclayme a fast.

### Io. Whitgiste.

We haue no ceremonies which be sacraments, but two, and in them, and for al things *How we haue* perteyning to their substance, we haue as certeyne direction as they had for any of they, *but two Ce-* sacraments. But yet is not euery circumstance to be vsed about the celebrating of *remories.* them, so particularly, nor so certainly prescribed vnto vs, as was to them in they, ceremonies, sacramentes, and sacrifices: for they had euery particular circumstance to be vsed about their sacrifices, sacramentes and ceremonies set downe vnto them, as it is euident Exod. 12. 25. 26. &c. and in Leviticus. We are not bound to any suche prescript forme of outward ceremonies and circumstances, but haue free libertie, not only to appoynte, but also to alter and chaunge the same, as shall be thought most conuenient: so that nothing be done against the word of God, and that the generall rule be obserued. 1. Cor. 14. that all things be done decently and in order. All thys *1. Cor. 14.* therefore that you speake of houre, place, and of the forme of buriall, and of marriage. &c. in firmeth nothing that I haue sayd, for these be circumstances not vsed in the seruice of God, but in other actions: and I speake of suche ceremonies and circumstances, as are vsed in the Church, about the seruice and worshipping of God, whiche were to the Iewes particularly prescribed (as appeareth in the places befoze alleadged) but be not so to vs.

### Chapter. 6. the. 5. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 22. Sect. 1. 2.

I will not be long, whereas you say, that they had nothing but was determined by the law: and we haue



pounded.

A large offer but  
not so soon per-  
formed.(a) Marke these  
words.

We haue many things vndermined and left to the order of the Church. I will offer for one that you shall bring that we haue left to the order of the Church, to shewe you that they had twentie, which were vndermined of, by the expresse word of God. For as their ceremonies and Sacraments are multiplied about ours, so grew the number of those cases, which were not determined by any expresse word, and therefore I will conclude (a) that for so much as we haue the same lawes to direct vs in the seruice of God, which they had, besides that, a noble addition of the new testament, to make things more manifest, and to bring greater light vnto the old testament, we haue also precise direction of our religion as they had, and therefore those places of Deut. stande in as greate force now touching the gouernement of the Church, as they did then.

And as for the iudiciall law, for as muche as there are some of them made in regard of the region where they were giuen, and of the people to whome they were giuen, the Prince and Magistrate keeping the substance and equitie of them (as it were the marrow) may chaunge the circumstances of them, as the times and places, and manners of the people shall require. But to say that any magistrate can saue the life of blasphemers, contemptuous and stubborne Idolaters, murderers, adulterers, incestuous persons, and such like, which God by his iudiciall law hath commaunded to be put to death, I do utterly denie, and am ready to proue, if that perteyned to this question. And therefore although the iudiciall lawes are permitted to the discretion of the Prince and Magistrate, yet not so generally, as you seeme to affirme, and as I haue often times said, that not only it must not be done, against the word, but according to the word, and by it.

*Io. Whitgife.**Musc. loc. com.  
tit. de legib.*

Surely if you can shew me twenty things to be done of them, in the seruice of God or discipline of the Church, left to the order of the Church, and vndermined in the law, for one that I can shew left to the order of our Church, you can do more than any man that I know, hath either spoken or written. Musculus *Lo. co.* after that he hath made a particular recitall of the ceremoniall lawes, saith that God did therefore appoint vnto the such a number of Ceremonies, because they should not inuie any other, seeing they had Ceremonies inow wherby they might be exercised, and as it were by a certain kind of schooling might be instructed in the spirituall sense. To our discretion is left as I haue said, the most of the circumstances perteyning to both the sacraments, most of all externall rites, ceremonies, and other things that perteyne to comeliness and order yea and the disposition of many things also which apperteyne to the eternall discipline, and gouernement of the Church: which are to be varied according to time, persons, and place, as shall hereafter be proued. If you be able to shewe that the same libertie was left vnto them, in so many thinges you shall do more than I can conceyue.

*The assertion  
of T. C. di-  
rectly iustify-  
eth the An-  
swere.*

But admitt all this to be true, that you say, there can be nothing spoken more directly for the iustifying of my cause. For if the Israelites notwithstanding these places of Deutero. had libertie to order things in the Church not commaunded or prescribed vnto them in the word of God, then do the Authours of the Admonition vnaptly vse these places of Deuteronomie: to proue that those things only are to be vsed and placed in the Church, which God himselfe in his word hath commaunded. For if the Jewes (notwithstanding these precepts) did lawfully vse those things that were not in the word commaunded, withoute adding to the word, or taking from it, surely we may do so in like manner. And thus haue you taken muche paynes in iustifying that cause, which you would so gladly overthrow.

*The assertion  
of T. C. ten-  
deth to Ju-  
daisme.*

Whether you say, that we haue the same lawes to direct vs in the seruice of God, that they had, if you meane the same morall lawes you say truly, but nothing to the purpose: if you meane the same ceremoniall lawes (which properly are said to be lawes directing them in the seruice of God) then do you Iudaize and play the Iew. And certainly I marvell what you meane by this saying, saying that you knowe our externall manner and kind of worshipping of God to be farre distant from theirs: and our sacramentes (though spirituallly the same) yet both in number, forme, matter, obseruation, and kind of signification, much differing from them, and especially seeing that their ceremoniall law is utterly abolished. Neyther do I well vnderstand what your meaning is when you adde, Besides that a noble addition of the newe testamente, to make things more manifest, and to bring a greater light vnto the old testament. For if you meane that the newe testamente is added to the ceremoniall lawe, that cannot be so, for it is the ende of the



the Ceremoniall lawe, and dothe vtterly abrogate it. *Nam finis legis Christus.* &c. Christe is the ende of the lawe. For as well the figures as the promises conteyned in the lawe and the Prophetes, are fulfilled in the newe Testament by the comming of Christe, as he him selfe saythe, Luke. 24. If you meane that it is added to the morall lawe, that is also vnttrue, for it onely explaneth it, it addeth nothing vnto it. In deede it bringeth a great lighte to the olde Testament, bicause all thinges are there fulfilled whiche were propheted of, and prefigured in the olde Testament. M. Calvin *Institu. Cap. 3. Sect. 9.* saythe, that to thinke Christ to haue added any thing to the law is moſte pernicious.

Rom. 10.

Luke. 24.

Caluin. inst.

I muste craue pardon of the Reader, for makinge suche excursions out of the way, for I am compelled to followe you, whiche interlace your booke with suche by-matters, and those so suspicious and dangerous, that I can not safely passe them ouer with silence. And euen nowe agayne do you enter into a straunge and dangerous opinion in my iudgement: for you would haue the ciuill Magistrate bounde to obserue all the Iudiciall lawes of Moses, excepte suche as were made in respect of the religion where they were giuen, and of the people to whome they were giuen. Of the whiche lawes the Magistrate you say, may onely chaunge the circumstances, as the times, and places, and manners of the people shall require. But you vtterly denie, and are ready to proue, if that pertaineth to this question, that any Magistrate can saue the lyfe of blasphemers, contemptuous and stubborne Idolaters, murderers, adulterous persons, and suche like, whiche God by his Iudiciall lawe hath commanded to be put to death.

whether the  
Magistrate  
be bounde to  
obserue the  
Iudiciall lawe  
of Moses.

Howsoever you passe this matter ouer as impertinent to this question, yet for as muche as you haue here set it doونه (and I am fully perswaded that it is vnttrue) I minde to touche it something, and to vtter the reasons of my perswasions. I leaue it to the consideration of those that knowe the lawes, and state of the Realme, and especially suche as haue the chiefe gouernment and care of the same, what lieth hidde vnder this your opinion. First, all the lawes of this land, that be contrarie to these Iudiciall lawes of Moses, must be abrogated: The Prince must be abridged of that prerogative which he hath in pardoninge suche as by the lawe be condemned to dye: the punishments of death for felonie must be mitigated according to Moses law, whiche doth by other meanes punish the same, Exod. 22. To be short, all things must be transformed: Lawyers must cast away their huge volumes, and multitude of cases, and content them selues with the bookes of Moses: we of the Cleargie would be the best Judges, and they must require the lawe at our handes. Deuter. 17. verse. 8. And so while we make them beleue that we seeke for equalitie among our selues, we seeke in deede regall dominion ouer them. Like Deuter. 17. verse. 12. But to omit all these considerations, whiche I leaue to those to whom they do especially pertain, I will shew as briefly as I can, how farre this opinion is from true diuinitie.

The inconueniencies  
concerned  
with the asser  
tion of T. C.

Exod. 22.

Deut. 17.

First, besides all those places of Scripture, whiche make generally for the abrogation of the whole lawe: we haue especiall places for the Iudiciall lawe, and namely those where Christ maketh lawes of denouement for adultrie. Math. 5. and. 19. which were altogether needlesse, if he that is take in adultrie should of necessitie be stoned to death, according to the lawe of Moses. Aug. ad Pollentiu de adult. coniug. li. 2. cap. 6. 7. 8. & 14. proueth by that whiche is written of Christ. John. 8. touching the woman deprehended in adultrie, and brought vnto him by the Scribes & Pharisees: that the wife taken in adultrie ought not to be punished with death, but suffred to liue that she mighte be reconciled to hir husbände, or at the least repent. Cyril also vpon the. 11. of Leuit. saith, that though the punishment of death was according to the lawe of Moses appoynted for adultrie, and certayne other crimes, yet among Christians there is no suche commandement in force. Musculus in his common places, *tit. de legib.* speaking of the law, sayth thus: They aske the question whether the whole lawe be abrogated: we answer, if whole Moses gaue place to Christ, then hath his whole lawe giuen place to the lawe of Christe. And a little after: The commandementes of the lawe are Morall, Iudiciall, Ceremoniall. That the Ceremoniall commandementes haue ceased it is euident, forsomuche as the Priesthoode of the lawe, to the which the ceremonies were annexed is abrogated by the Priesthoode of Christ, according to the order of Melchizedech: and that the Iudiciall also are

The Iudiciall  
all lawe abro  
gated.

Mat. 5. & 19.

Augustine.

Iohn. 8.

Cyrril.

Muscul.



ceased it dothe herein appeare, for that the whole order of gouernment of Israell, which was requisite vnto the inhabiting of the lande of promise, hath from that time ceased, whē as they beeing expelled, began to dwell amongst the Gentiles without a king, without gouernours, without a Priest, and without a lawe.

Hemingius.

Hemingius in his *Encheriridion* is of the same iudgement: his words be these. There is also the Iudiciall law, which expired with the common wealth of Moses: so that it dothe not binde any man of necessitie, but so farre onely, as some portion of it dothe pertaine to the law of nature (as the law agaynst incestuous mariages. *Leuit. 18.*) and so much of it likewise, as the ciuill Magistrate shall admit for policie.

Caluin.

I omit that place of M. Caluin, which is written in his *Harmonie vpo the .5. booke of Moses*, where he speaking of these lawes. *Exod. 23. Deut. 12. Num. 33.* which were giuen for the breaking of Images, destroying of places where idolatrie was committed &c. saith, that they were but temporall exercises, to keepe the people in obedience. &c.

Deut. 7.

And in the same booke, speaking of the .7. of Deut. The graue Images of their Gods shall ye burne with fire, and couet not the siluer and golde that is on them, &c. saith, Although this was a politike lawe, and giuen onely to the auncient people for a time, yet hereby we may gather how detestable Idolatrie is. &c. But of all other places that is moste euident which he hathe in his *Institu. Cap. 20. Sect. 13. 14. 15* and therefore I wil recheare it more at large. *Sunt qui recte compositam rempub. negent. &c.* There are certaine which denie that

Caluinus.

common welth to be well ordered, which omitting the politike lawes of Moses, is ruled by the common lawes of the Gentiles. The which opinion how dangerous and seditious it is,

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let other men consider, it is inough for me to haue declared, that it is both false & foolish.

But that vsuall diuision is to be obserued, which deuideth the whole law of God deliuered by Moses, into maners, ceremonies, & iudgements, and euery part therof is diligently to be considered, that we may vnderstande what pertaineth vnto vs thereof, and what dothe not. In the meane time, let no man be troubled with this, that both the Iudicials & ceremonies did appertaine vnto maners: for the ancient fathers, the inuentors of this diuision, although they were not ignorant, that these two latter parts were occupied about maners, yet (because they might be altered and abrogated without any preiudice vnto maners) they called them not morall. They called that first part properly by that name moral, without the which the true holynesse of maners, and the immutable rule of liuing could not well consist. And agayne, The law of God forbiddeth to steale: what punishment was appoynted for theste

Exod. 22.

in the policie of the Iewes, appeareth in *Exod.* The moste auncient lawes of other nations punished theft with double: they which followed afterwarde made a difference betwixte open theft, and that which was secret: others condemned the theeues with exile & banishment: others adiudged them to be whipped: and last of all, others, to be put to death. False witnessse amongst the Iewes was punished with equal payne in respect of the hurt: in other places onely with infamie: in other places with hanging. &c. All lawes ioyntly do reuenge murder with blood, but yet with diuers kindes of death. In some places there are greuouser paynes appoynted for adulterers, in other places those which are more easie: yet we see how they al by this diuersitie of punishment, tende to one ende, for they al with one consent, do giue sentence of punishment agaynst those offences, which are condemned by the eternall law of God: to wit, murder, theft, adultrie, false witnessse, but they agree not all in the maner

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of the punishment. Neyther truly is it necessarie or expedient that they shoulde agree herein. There is a countrey which should out of hande be destroyed with theeues and slaughter, if it did not with horrible example deale very sharply with murderers. There is also some time which requireth the augmentation of the sharpnesse of punishment, and some people very prone vnto some certayne sinne, except they be with great rigour kepte in awe. He is then very euill affected, and enuieth the publike commoditie, that is offended with this diuersitie, which is most meete to reteyne the obseruation of the law of God. For that which some men obiekt, that by this meanes iniurie is done to the lawe of God, whiles it beeing abrogated, other lawes are preferred before it, is most vaine. For other lawes are not preferred before it, but allowed, not by any simple comparison in respect of Gods law, but according to the condition of time, place, and nation: neither can that be sayde to be abrogated, which was neuer prescribed vnto vs, for God deliuered it by the handes of Moses, not for

all



all natiōs, but particularly for the Iewes. &c. M. Beza likewise in his booke *de her à Magist. puniend.* of this matter writeth thus: VVe acknowledge those politike lawes to be prescribed, onely to the countrey of the Iewes; neither are we so vnskilfull that we woulde haue Moses common wealth or gouernment called backe agayne, as though it were not lawfull for euery Magistrate within his owne dominion to make lawes in ciuill matters. And a little after. The Iudiciall lawes were framed only for one nation. Therefore seeing they were neuer written for vs, they can not be sayd to be abrogated. And agayne. Onely the Israelites were bound to the Iudiciall lawes, that is, those that dwell in Iurie, because they were made fit for that common wealth onely. And after that he hath shewed by an example of the lawe for theft, that that maner & kinde of punishment, did onely binde the Israelites, & that other Magistrates in their countreys for good causes maye appoynt a sharper kinde of punishment for the same, he cōcludeth thus: *Lex enim illa Mo-* Idem.  
*sis quatenus pœna modū præscribit, alijs gentibus neq̃ vnquā fuit posita, neq̃ nūc est propriè abro-*  
*gata.* That lawe of Moses in so muche as it prescribeth the maner of punishment, was neyther at any time giuen to other nations, neither is it now properly abrogated. So that now they that be disposed may perceyue, howe this doctrine of yours not onely tendeth to the ouerthrowing of states of cōmon wealthes, but is contrarie also to the truth, and opinion of learned men, and those especially of whome you your selfe make greatest accompt. Therefore it is true that I haue sayde in my answer to the Admonition, that is, The Iudiciall lawe to be left to the discretion of the Magistrate to adde to it, or to take from it, or to alter and chaunge it, as shall be thought most fit for the time, manner of the countrey, and condition of the people, as M. Calvin also very aptly noteth in the very ende of that. 15. section before rehearsed.

### Chap. 6. the 5. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 31. Lin. 21.

So hath he left authoritie vnto his Church to make lawes, and appoynt orders & ceremonies, as shall from time to time be thought most expedient and profitable for the same, so that nothing be done contrarie to his worde, or repugnant to the same. And this authoritie hath the Church blessed, euen from the Apostles time, as it is manifest, both by the scriptures. Act. 6. Act. 15. 1. Cor. 11. & other ecclesiasticall storied and auncient fathers, as is before by me proued.

John. Whitgiste.

To this nothing is answered.

### Chap. 6. the 6. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 31. Sect. 1.

But to come to the wordes of Deuteronomie them selues, what is it to adde to the worde of God, or to take from it? Truly to thinke otherwise, or teache otherwise of God than he hath in his worde reuealed: Those take from the worde, that beleue lesse than in the worde is expessed: those adde to the worde, fyfthe, whiche teache or decree any thing eyther in matters of faythe or ceremonies, contrarie to the worde. Secondly, those that make any thing necessarie vnto saluation, not conteyned in the worde. Thirdly, such as make any religion, or opiniō of merite in any thing that they themselves haue inuented besides the worde of God. Last of all they adde to the word, which forbid that for a thing of it selfe



vnlawfull, which Gods worde doth not forbid, and make that sinne which Gods word doth not make sinne. But such as truly & sincerely imbrace the worde of God, and admit nothing contrarie vnto it, if in gouernment & ceremonies without any wicked & superstitious opinion they appoynt or retayne such as they know not to be agaynst the worde of God, and profitable for the present state of the Church, can not truly be sayd to adde any thing to the worde of God, or take any thing from it, though the same be not expressed in the worde.

T. C. Pag. 22. Sect. 3.

\* There is no great dexteritie required to performe this.

After you define what it is to take from, and put to the word of God, wherein not to speake of your wonderfull \* dexteritie in defining, which can define two thinges, and those contrarie (putting to, and taking fro) with one difference, which Zeno him self could neuer do, you leaue out that which Moses especially ment to comprehend, which is, not to do more, nor to do lesse than he hath commanded. And as for your diuision, it hath as euill successe here, as in other places, for when it is a great fault in diuiding to haue either too muche or too little, you fault in bothe, for where as you say, they adde, which teache or decree, &c. Besides that you leaue out, whiche Moses mente, you forget also that, whiche your selfe had sayde, whiche had placed adding too, not onely in teaching and decreeing, but in thinking or beleeuing.

\* All this is spoken in contempt of the person, not in defense of the cause.

And whereas you make foure parts of your diuision, the three last are found to be all vnder the first member, which is to make things of faith and ceremonies, contrarie to the worde, and so your diuision is not onely faultie, but no diuision at all. \* The which thing I could haue easily forgiven you, and passed by as a thing not very commendable to trauell to shew the pouertie of those things, which do sufficiently of themselves (as it were) proclayme their owne shame: but that it grieved me to see a booke lengthened with first, seconde, thurde, last, as though euery one of them conteyned some notable newe matter, which needed an Oyes before it, to stirre by the attention of the reader, when there is nothing but a many of words without matter, as it were a sort of saye empty apothecaries boxes, without any stufte in them. And for that you are so harde with other men for their Logike, I will desire the reader to pardon me, if I pursue these things more narrowlier than some peradventure will like of, or I my selfe delight in. And so for any definition or diuision that I can perceiue, it standeth fast, that nothing is to be done in the Church of God, but by his comendement and word directing the same. It is true in deede, if they be not agaynst the worde of God, and profitable for the Church, they are to be receyued, as those things which God by the Church dothe commaunde, and as grounded of the worde of God. But there is the question, and therefore you taking this as a thing graunted alwayes, do alwayes fall into that whiche you charge other with, of the fallacion of *Petitio principij*.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Two contraries may be defined with one difference.

There is neither definition nor diuision here that can please you: but what remedy? When your testes be vttered, and you a little sported your selfe, & the matter cometh to trial, there appeareth very sliuer corrections: I haue after my rude & simple maner declared what it is to adde to the word of God, or to take from it, and haue not sought for any exacte definition. But yet (by your leaue) two contraries may be defined by one generall difference, when we talke of those things which be common to them bothe, and do not seeke to separate them from among them selues, but from all other thinges, that be not of the same kinde. So is vertue and vyce, by this difference *sensum acquiri, & sensum amitti*, separated from al other that be not *sub habitu*: As *Homo* and *brutum* by this difference *sensibile*, be separated from all other creatures that be not vnder *Animal*. It is a common rule, that the definition of that whiche is called *genus*, doth agree to euery part & member vnder it, which we call *species*, be they contrarie, repugnant, or otherwise disagreeing the one from the other, howsoeuer. Therefore declaring generally what it is to adde to the worde, or to take from the worde, I say it is to thinke otherwise, or to teache otherwise of God, than he hath in his worde reuealed. Whiche in *genere* dothe aptly expounde them bothe. For as well he that addeth to the worde, as he that taketh from the worde, doth thinke or teach of God otherwise than he hath in his worde reuealed. So you see that a man of small dexteritie, in defining may do that, whiche you thought Zeno him selfe could not performe.

But what needed all this pastime of yours: do I not immediatly after seuerally declare both what it is to adde to the worde, & what also to take from it: are you able to proue that the expositions whiche I set downe be not true? can you better theme?



them? Will you still more and more declare your quarell to be rather agaynst the person, than the cause? You saye I leaue oute that whiche Moses especially mente to comprehend, which is, not to doe more, nor to doe lesse than hee hath commanded. Surely if you were disposed to deale modestly and sincerely as it becometh you in so weightie a matter, you woulde not thus wittingly and willingly seeke occasion of quarrelling: whether that whiche you saye is lesse oute, muste not of necessitie be included in those words that I haue spoken of adding to the worde, and taking from it, or no, I leaue to the indifferent reader to consider.

Touching my diuision, I say as I did of the definition, I am not curious in diuiding, but I playnely and after my rude manner tell holwe many wayes a man may adde to the worde of God. Neyther dothe he alwayes diuide, that sheweth holwe many wayes a thing maye be done, and yet is there nothing lesse oute necessarie to be expelled. For this that you speake of thinking and beleauing is included in the thirde kinde of adding to the worde. The three laste kyndes are not founde to be vnder the first: for it is not all one to teache or decree any thing contrarie to the worde: to make anye thyng necessarie to saluation not contayned in the worde: to put any religion or opinion of merite in any thing that men them selues haue inuented besides the worde: and to forbyd that as vnlawfull which God doth not forbid.

In the firste kinde is invocation of Sainctes, worshipping of Images. &c. whiche be directly contrarie to the expresse worde of God. In the seconde is that decree of Pope Boniface, whiche maketh it necessarie to saluation to be subiecte to the Bishop of Rome, and suche lyke, whereof there is no mention in the Scriptures. In the thirde kinde are all outwarde Ceremonies inuented by man, wherein any opinion of worshipping or merite is put: as holy breade, holy water, and other Ceremonies of that sorte. In the laste parte is the decree of Pope Nicholas, Dist. 22. omnes, where it is decreed, that he whiche infringeth the priuiledges of the Church of Rome, is an heretike. And in this sorte doe those adde also to the worde, which condemne the vse of things indifferent as vnlawfull, for in so doing they make that sinne, which the word of God dothe not make sinne.

Agayne that there is a great difference in the partes of my diuision, and that they are not confounded, you might haue perceyued if it hadde pleased you with better aduise to haue weighed them: for things may be decreed contrarie to the worde, and yet not made necessarie vnto saluation. Things may be made as necessarie to saluation, which of them selues are not contrarie to the word, and yet not conteyned in the worde: Men may haue an opinion of Religion and merite in suche thinges as they thinke not to be of necessitie to saluation. To be shorte, men may make that sinne, which the worde of God maketh not sinne, as all those doe whiche forbid the vse of indifferent things, and make the same vnlawfull as I haue sayde befoze. You see nowe that there is no one parte of this diuision (as you call it) which dothe not include something not conteyned in the other partes: and therfore all those vnseemely and immodest tauntes and words mighte haue bin forborne.

I aske no forgiveness of you for any thing that I haue wrytten: But I beseeche God forgyue you your outrageous contemptes, and vnchristian floutes and iestes, wherewith your booke is more pestered, than any of Hardinges is, where he theweth him selfe moste scurrilous. But I will omit them all, and onely desire the Reader to consider of what spirite they come, and in bothe our wrytings to respecte the matter, not the person.

Touching the exposition of the places of Deut. let the learned Reader compare it with the expositions of the learned Interpreters, and then iudge of my vnskilfull diuinding and defining.

Here now I wold gladly know what T. C. hath proued agaynst the thing y I haue here writte, or how he hath iustified y proposition of y Admonition which I haue referred: for the sume of al is this, The authours of the Admonitiō say, that those things onely

The Replier  
hath spēt ma-  
ny wordes in  
confuting that  
which he him  
selfe cōfesseth.



vriters  
of things  
indifferēt.

Pag. 15. Sect. 5.

are to be placed in the Church, which God him selfe in his worde commaundeth. This I confesse to be true in matters of saluation and damnation. But I saye it is vnto true in matters of ceremonies, rites, orders, discipline, and kinde of gouernemente: which being externall matters, and alterable, are to be altered and changed, appoynted and abrogated, according to time, place, and person, so that nothing be done agaynst the worde of God. And L. C. confesseth page. 15. that certayne things are left to the order of the Church, because they are of that nature, which are varied by tymes, places, persons, and other circumstances, and so could not at once be set downe and established for euer, and yet so left to the order of the Church, as that it doe nothing agaynst the rules aforesayde. The same dothe he affirme in effecte in this place. Nowe I pray you tell me, what difference is there in our wordes? he saythe: that certayne things are left to the order of the Church. &c. so that nothing bee done agaynst the rules aforesayde: And I saye, that the Church hath authoritie to appoynt orders, rites, ceremonies, &c. so that nothing be done agaynst the worde of God.

Pag. 15. Sect. 2.

In dede he goeth muche further in this matter than I doe, for where I saye, The Scripture expresseth all things necessarie to saluation, he affirmeth, that many things are bothe commaunded and forbidden, &c. as I haue before noted, and is to be seene page. 13. of his booke.

But to ende this matter, I haue iustified my assertion by the scriptures. 1. Cor. 14. Act. 6. and. 15. 1. Cor. 11. Also by the testimonies of Iustinus Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Basil, Augustine, &c. Likewise by the practises of Councils, the reporte of Historiographers, as Socrates and Sozomenus. Finally by the iudgement of late writers, M. Calvin and Bucer. Nowe will I also adde a fewe wordes for the further confirmation of the same, and so ende this question.

### ¶ The opinion of other late wryters of things indifferent. The. 7. Chapter.

Zuinglius.

Zuinglius in his booke *de baptis.* after that he had declared howe the Scripture containeth all thinges necessarie vnto saluation, he sheweth, That in externall things and matters of ceremonies, many things are to be vsed in the Church, whiche be not contained in the Scriptures. And speaking of this place. Philip. 3. (If any think otherwise, God will also reueale the same vnto you: neuerthelesse, in that wherevnto we are come, let vs proceede by one rule, or agree among our selues) saythe, That the Apostle there speaketh of nothing else, than of externall ceremonies and rites, the vse and administration whereof, the same Apostle in that place affirmeth, to be in our vwill and pover, so that vve doe nothing repugnant to the commaundement of God. Neyther trouble the publyke peace (whereof we oughte to haue especiall regarde) for externall thinges. These be the very wordes of Zuinglius, in the which there is first to be noted, the interpretation of the wordes of the Apostle, Philip. 3. Secondly, that he useth this exception, So that we doe nothing repugnant to the commaundement of God, which L. C. so muche misliketh. The same Zuinglius in the same booke, verifieth in playne wordes that whiche I before haue, touching a negative argument from the authoritie of the Scriptures.

Collections  
out of Zuinglius.

P. Martyr.

Peter Martyr vpon the. 1. Corinth. 1. wryteth, That there be three kindes of traditions, one expressed in the Scriptures: an other playne repugnant to the worde of God: The thirde neither contrarie to the worde of God, nor yet necessarily ioyned to the same: in the vvhich vve muste obey the Church, These three cautions beeing obserued: First, that they be not obtruded as worship of God, or peculiar holynesse, but as pertayning to order, and the ciuill commoditie of the Church, and to comelynesse in diuine actions: for all thinges be sufficiently contained in Scriptures that pertayne to the worshipping of God, and holynesse. Secondly, that they be not counted so necessarie, but that they may be altered, if time require. Let the Church keepe hir interest and autho-



authoritie in these indifferent things, to appoynt vvhath shall be thoughte most necessarie and meete to edifying. Last of all, that the people of God be not burdened with to great a multitude of them. Thus farre Martyr.

Gualter in his pzeface to the first Epistle to the Corinth. after that he hath declared the diuersitie of rites vsed in diuerse Churches, concludeth on this sort. VVherefore S. Augustine writing to Ianuarius, after that he had layde forth diuerse ceremonyes of Churches obserued in his time, dyd very well thinke that this shoulde be the most safe rule vnto Christian men, if they did frame them selues, vnto those Churches, wherevnto they should come, in those things which might be done without any preiudice vnto sayth and godlynesse, his wordes are these: There is in these things (meaning customes and rytes) no better rule or instruction for a graue and wise Christian, than that he do after that manner the which he seeth vsed of the Church vnto the which he shall peradventure come. &c. The which moderation if all men woulde vse at this day, there woulde be lesse contention in the Church, neither shoulde Christian libertie be abridged by the superstitious traditions of men. But why doe they condemne whole Churches, for indifferent things, whiche if they woulde obey S. Paule, ought to apply them selues to the weakenesse of euery one.

Beza in an Epistle of his, prefixed before the confession of the Churches in Heluetia sayth, That all rytes and ceremonyes are not to be receiued without exception, which the Apostolike Church it selfe hath vsed, eyther as profitable or necessarie for their tymes: and in his booke called *confessio Christi fidei sap. 5.* he writeth That one cause of Councils and Synodes was, to make rules of ecclesiasticall discipline, and to appoint the gouernment of the Church, according to the diuersitie of time, place and persons: For it is necessarie that in the house of the Lorde all things shoulde be done in order: of the vvhich order there is one generall reason in the vvorde of God 1. Cor. 14. But not one and the same forme, agreeing to all circumstances. And againe in the same Chapter he sayth, The rules or canons (of rytes and orders in the Church) haue respect to comelynesse in externall things, and therefore they be neither generall for the most parte, nor perpetuall: for that which is profitable in some place, in other some places woulde rather hurt: and moreouer the diuerse respectes of the time are such, that the same thing which for good considerations was ordained, must of necessitie sometime be abrogated: whereof it comes to passe, that there is not onely so great varietie in the olde canons, but contrarietie also. Againe in the same Chapter. VVe must not alwayes looke what the Apostles did in *politia ecclesiastica*, in the gouernmente of the Church, seying there be most diuerse circumstances, and therefore *absque uacillatione* without preposterous zeale, all things can not in all places and times be reduced to one, and the same forme. &c.

In the confessio of the Churches in Heluetia. &c. it is thus written: Men shall easily gather this also, that we doe not by any wicked schisme, seuer or cut off oure selues, from Christes holy Churches of Germanie, Fraunce, England, and other Christian nations, but that we well agree with all and euery one of them, in the truth of Christe, which here we haue acknowledged. For albeit there is some varietie in diuerse Churches, aboute the vttering and setting forth of their doctrine, and aboute rytes and ceremonyes, which they receiue as a meane to edifie their Churches, yet that varietie neuer semed to minister cause of dissention and schisme in the Church: for in such matters the Churches of Christ haue alwayes vsed their libertie, as we may reade in the Ecclesiasticall history.

I omit here the confession of the Church of VVirtenberge, and the testimonies of sundry other notable learned men. I knowe no learned writer, that doth denye the Church to haue authoritie in appoynting rytes, ceremonyes, discipline, and kinde of gouernment according to the place, time, persons, and other circumstances, though the same be not expessed in the word of God, so that it doe nothing repugnant to the same.

But what neede I labour so much in a matter confessed by him, that would seme to ouerthrowe it: so if the Jewes had twentie things left to their order in the Church for our



one (as T. C. hath affirmed) and yet this commaundement not broken *Deu. 4. & 12. Nil addes verbo.* &c. then may the Church of Christ vse hir libertie in like maner, wythout any breache of the same. Wherefore to conclude. I now referre it to the iudgement of the Reader, whether it be true or not, that I haue affirmed against the Autho: of the Admonition: to wit that those things onely are not to be brought in, or vied in the Church, which the Lord himselfe in his word hath commaunded, but that of necessitie in external things, and outward gouernment, the Church hath authoritie to determine according to time, place, perion. &c. though the same be not commaunded or expessed in Scripture, so that it be not repugnant to the word.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 32. Sect. 1. 2.

& Pag. 33. Sect. 1.

Scriptures  
vncristianly  
abused by the  
Admonition.

The other places noted in this margent, as Psal. 37. Rom. 12. 1. Cor. 2. and the rest are not alleaged to proue any thing in cōtrouersie, but onely withoute iudgement placed in the margent to make a shewe: how aptly they be applyed I leaue to the consideration of the diligent Reader.

Marke this  
spirite.

This one thing I can not but maruell at, that these fellowes so please themselves in the platfome of their Church, and attribute so much therunto, that they exhorde, nay rather charge the courte of Parliament, with perfecte hatred to detest the present state of the Church, & with singular loue to embrace that which they prescribe in this Booke: and to moue them rather to this perfect hatred of vs, and singular loue of themselves, they vse the authoritie of the 31. and 139. Psalme. In the one, David sayth that he hath hated them that gyue themselves to deceitfull vanities, because he trusteth in the Lorde. In the other speaking of the contemners of God, of wicked and bloudie men, and of such as blaspheme God, and be his enemyes, he sayth, I hate them ywith an vnfained hatred. &c.

As though all such as like or alowe of the presente state of the Church of this Realme of England, gaue them selues to deceitfull vanities, were contemners of God, wicked and bloudy men, blasphemers of God, and his enemyes. I will not aggrauate this blasphemie of theirs: let Prince, Nobles, and all other louers of God & his worde, consider diligently this spirite, and in time preuent the burning malice of the same: no Turke, no Jewe, no Papist coulde possibly haue spoken more spitefully of this Church and state: but such is the spirite of arrogancie. To the lyke effecte they alleage the 15. of Iohn. 1. Timo. 3. Math. 7. & 11. as though they onely had the word of God, and were of the Church, and we contemners and reiecters of the same. O where is humilitie? Cruely if these men be not by discipline brydeled, they wil worke more harme to this Church than ever the Papist dyd.

*Jo. Whitgife.*

To this there is not one word spoken.

Admonition.

May it therefore please your wisdomes to vnderstande, we in Englande are so farre off, from hauing a Church rightly reformed, according to the prescript of Gods word, that as yet we are not come



come to the outward face of the same. For to speake of that wherein all consent, and whereupon all writers accorde. The outward marks whereby a true Christian Church is knowne, are preaching of the worde purely, ministring of the Sacramentes sincerely, and Ecclesiasticall discipline, which consisteth in admonition and correcting of faultes seuerely. Touching the first, namely the ministerie of the worde, althoughe it must be confessed, that the substance of doctrine by many deliuered is sounde and good, yet herein it sayleth, that neither the Ministers thereof are accordyng to Gods worde proued, elected, called or ordained: nor the function in such sorte so narrowly looked vnto, as of right it ought, and is of necessitie required.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 34. & 35.

The proposition that these libellers woulde proue is, that we in Englande are so farre from hauyng a Church rightly reformed accordyng to the prescripte of Gods worde, that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same. For prooffe hereof they vse this argument: There be three outward marks whereby a true Christian Church is knowne: preaching of the worde purely, ministring of the Sacramentes sincerely: and ecclesiasticall discipline, whiche consisteth in Admonition and correction of faultes seuerely. But thys Church of Englande (for so in effecte they saye) is boyde of all these, Ergo it hath not so much as the externall face of a Church. To proue that the worde of God is not preached truely, they reason on thys sort: The Ministers of the worde are not accordyng to gods worde, proued, elected, called or ordeyned, nor the function in suche sort so narrowly looked vnto, as of right it ought, & is of necessitie required: And therfore the word of God not truely preached. Here (thanks be to God) they alleage not one article of Faith, or poynte of doctrine, nor one peece of any substance, to be otherwise taughte and allowed of in thys Church (for not euery mannes folly is to be ascribed to the whole Church) than by the prescripte worde of God may be iustified, neyther can they. Nowe howe this conclusion followeth (though the antecedent were true) let those iudge that be learned. The Ministers are not rightly proued and elected, &c. Ergo the worde of God is not truely preached: howe wicked so euer the man is, howsoever he intrude hymselfe into the ministerie, yet maye he preache the true worde of God. For the truthe of the doctrine dothe not in anye respecte Depend vpon the goodnesse or euilnesse of the man: I praye you howe were you, and some other of your adherentes called, elected, &c. But to come to the purpose: They woulde proue that the Ministers of the worde in this Church of Englande, are not accordyng to gods worde proued, elected, called or ordeyned.

All pointes of doctrine pure in this church.

An vnapt reason.

What force and pithe is in their argumentes, shall appeare in the seuerall answers to euery one of them. This one thing I muste let you vnderstande, that these men seeke to deface thys Church of Englande, by the selfe same groundes that the Papistes doe: althoughe by another kynde of prooffe. For what haue the Papistes else to saye, but that we haue no Ministers, bycause they be not rightly called, and so consequently no worde, no Sacramentes, no discipline, no Church. And certainly if it were well examyned, I beleue it woulde fall oute, that the Authoꝝ of this Booke haue con-



conspired with the Papistes to ouerthrowe (if they coulde) the state both of this Church and Realme, howsoever subtilly they seeme to detest Papistrie.

T.C. Page 23. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

(a) Where do I  
affirme that they  
say for

A cauill.

(a) Where in effecte doe they saye, that the Church of Englande is boyde of preaching, and ministring of the Sacramentes? is it all one to saye, that the worde in the Church of Englande is not purely preached, and the Sacramentes sincerely, and discipline seuerely administered, wyth this, that the Church of Englande is boyde of all these? Agayne, where doe they reason thus, that the worde of God is not truly preached, because the Ministers are not ryghtly proued, and elected, when as they haue not one worde of true preaching? Is it all one to saye it is not purely preached, and to saye, it is not truly preached? Saynte Paule to the Philipp, is gladd that the Gospell be preached, although it be not purely, but he woulde neuer haue been gladd, that it should haue been preached falsely or not truly. Againe he inueygheth not agaynst the false Apostles, in the Church of Corinthe, because they preached the worde untruly, but because they vsing paynted wordes and affected eloquence, and making a great shew of learning, and tongues, dyd not preach the Gospell sincerely: so that you see that it is one thing, not to preach truly, and an other thing not to preach purely: and so you see their reason is not so euill, for the want of a good calling maye geue occasion to saye, that the worde of God is not sincerely taught, because there is not a lawfull and ordinarie calling. For although for the substance of doctrine, and the manner of handling of it, they that Saynte Paule speaketh to, of the Philipp, dyd not faulde, yet Saynt Paule sayth that they dyd not preach purely, because they dyd it of contention, or of enuie, whyche was no faulde in the doctrine, but in hym that taught. Therefore let men iudge howe iuste your wayghtes are, that expounde not purely not truly, and whyther this be to confute other mens argumentes, rather than to skirmishe wyth your owne shadows.

I knowe no Papistes reason thus, that because we haue no Ministers, therefore no worde, no Sacrament, no discipline, no Church, for they denie that we haue the worde or Sacramentes, because we holde not their worde and sacrifice: but if there be that so reason, yet these men that you charge, haue neither any such antecedent, or such a consequent. For they neuer sayde that there is no Ministerie in England, nor yet do euer conclude, that there is no word, no sacraments, no discipline, nor Church.

For in saying that the face of the Church dothe not so muche appeare (for so the whole proces of their booke dothe declare that they meane, when they say that we haue not scarce the face of the Church) they graunte that we haue the Church of God: but that for wante of those ornaments, whiche it shoulde haue, and through certayne the deformed ragges of Poperie, whiche it shoulde not haue, the Church dothe not appeare in hir natine colours, and so beautifull, as it is meete she shoulde be prepared, to so glorious a husbnde as is the sonne of God. Say you certaynely, and do you heldeue that the authors of this booke, are conspired with the Papistes, to ouerthrowe this Church and Realme? Howe certaynely I will neuer doe that iniurie vnto them, as once to goe about to purge them of so manyfest slaunders, nor neuer be broughte by the outrage of your speeches to proue that nooneday is not mydnight: and therefore as for you, I will set your conscience and you together. The reader I will desire, not to thinke it a straunge thing: for it is no other than hath happened to the seruants of God, euen from those which haue professed the same religion, whiche they dyd, as it appeareth in the 37. of Ieremie, whiche was accused of certayne of the Israelites, that he had conspired with the Babilonians, their mortall enemies, and layd to his charge that he was goyng to them, when he was going to Benjamin.

*Jo. Whitgiste,*

Who is so blynde as he that will not see? Doe they not in plaine wordes saye That the outward marks whereby a true Christian Church is knowen, are preaching of the worde purely: ministring the Sacramentes sincerely, and Ecclesiasticall discipline, &c. Is not their whole dyfte in the Admonition to proue, That neither the worde is preached purely, nor the Sacramentes sincerely ministring, &c. in this Church of Englande? and what doe I other wyse repozte of them? be not my wordes playne? where doe I affirme that they shoulde saye that the Church of Englande is boyde of preaching and ministring the Sacramentes? But let the Reader consider my wordes, and accordingly iudge of your plaine dealing. Where I write y they in effect say the Church of England is boyde of these, I am sure you will referre, these, to that whiche went before, that is, preaching of the worde purely, ministring of the Sacramentes sincerely, and ecclesiasticall discipline, &c. neither can you other wise doe thonghe you woulde wrest my wordes neuer so violently: and therefore that which I repozte of them, is, that they say this Church of England neither hath the worde purely preached, nor the Sacramentes sincerely ministring, &c.

T.C. Will-  
ingly peruer-  
teth the words  
of the answere.



I make no greates difference betwixte purely and truly, neyther dothe it followe that the worde of God is truly preached alwayes when the truth is preached. For as a man maye doe iusta, not iuste, lust thyngs and yet not iustly: so maye the truthe be preached, and yet not truly. A man maye doe that whiche is iuste unwittingly, or for gayne, or for pleasure, or for malice, but then he dothe it not iustly, *Quia non ex habitu & animo*: Euen so a man maye preache the true worde of God, of affection, of contention, ambition, for profite, &c. but then he dothe not preache it truly. So that your distinction betwixt purely and truly is to no purpose.

Neyther dothe Saint Paule helpe you anye thyng at all, but is cleane contrarie vnto you, for in the .18. verse of the firste Chapter to the Philip. these be hys wordes, *Τι γὰρ πλὴν παντὶ τρόπῳ εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ χεῖρὸς καταγγέλλεται*, &c. whych in the Bible Printed at Geneva is thus translated: VVhat then? yet Christe is preached all manner wayes, whether it be vnder a pretence, or sincerely. So you see that there is no difference made betwixte sincerely and truly, for the Greeke worde signifieth truly. And Maister Beza in hys notes vpon the same Chapter and .16. verse expounding *ὁυκ ἀγνῶς* not purely, saythe thus *Non pū o scilicet animis, quoniam alioqui pura esset doctrina*, to weete, not wyth a pure mynde, seeing that otherwyse the doctrine is pure. so that these aduerbes purely and truly in this place are referred not to the doctrine, but to mynde of hym that teacheth: I woulde wyshe that bothe you and others woulde cease from drawing the Scriptures to reure phantasies and affections.

That this is one reason of the Papistes to proue that we are not the Church, because we haue no true ministration, I maruell you can be ignorant, saying there is nothing oftner in their mouthes.

Whether the authors of the Admonition reason in lyke manner or no, tell me, when you haue well considered these wordes of theirs in the Epistle to the Reader. Eytter must we haue a right ministry of God, and a righte government of hys Church according to the Scriptures set by (both which we lacke) or else there can be no righte Religion. Likewise when you haue wythoute parcialitie viewed the reste of their booke: Truly I thinke him to be more than blynde, that saith not thys to be theyr kynde of reasoning. Their meanyng is playne, and the seconde Admonition maketh it plainer, howsoeuer you woulde seeme to colour, and cloake the matter, for what other meanyng can it haue to saye that we haue no righte Religion, and to speake so bitterly agaynst the whole forme of the Church, and the mooste of suche things as be in the same?

I doe beleue certaynly that there is some Papisticall practitioners among you, neyther is it straunge, for so conspired they wyth the Anabaptistes also as I haue declared, and the Anabaptistes hated them, as muche as you, and pretended the simplicity of the worde of God as muche as you: and bothe in pretence of zeale, of puritie of lyfe, and other qualities, for the mooste parte were equal vnto you. And though the Prophet Jeremie were vniustly accused, yet doth not that improue any thing that I haue sayde: for they are not the Prophet Jeremie, neither in person, office, or cause, neither yet haue I accused them vniustly in any thing.

Of the same nature is the charge against the Papistes, that they are not the Church, because they haue no true ministration, and a righte government of hys Church according to the Scriptures set by (both which we lacke) or else there can be no righte Religion. Likewise when you haue wythoute parcialitie viewed the reste of their booke: Truly I thinke him to be more than blynde, that saith not thys to be theyr kynde of reasoning. Their meanyng is playne, and the seconde Admonition maketh it plainer, howsoeuer you woulde seeme to colour, and cloake the matter, for what other meanyng can it haue to saye that we haue no righte Religion, and to speake so bitterly agaynst the whole forme of the Church, and the mooste of suche things as be in the same?



# The defense of the answere Of the election of Ministers.

Tract. 3.

## Tract. 3.

Of the triall of Ministers both in learning and conuersation.

Chap. 1. the first diuision.

## Admonition.

The first is this. For whereas in the olde Church a trial was had (1) both of their abilitie to instruct, and of their godly conuersation also: nowe by the letters commendatorie of some one man, noble or other, rag and rag, learned and vlearned, of the basest (m) sort of the people (to the slander of the Gospell in the (n) mouthes of the aduersaries) are freely receiued.

Acts. 1. 12.  
Acts. 6. 3.  
1. Tim. 3. 2.  
7. 8.  
Tit. 1. 6.  
m  
1. Re. 12. 3.  
n  
Rom. 2. 14.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Page. 36.

It is true that in the olde Church tryall was had of their abilitie to instruct, and of their godly conuersation. But the place in the margin alleaged out of the first Chapter of the Actes of the Apostles maketh nothing for that purpose: being therein no mention at all of any tryall made eyther of learning or maners, but onely of presenting two, and of praying and casting of lottes: And M. Caluine in his Institutions sayth plainely, that out of this place of the Actes and example, there can be no certaine rule gathered of electing and choosing Ministers, for as that ministerie was extraordinarie, so was the calling also. Reade M. Caluine and you shall soone see how little this place, so ofte in the margin quoted, maketh for that purpose for the which it is quoted.

T. C. Pag. 23. Sect. 4. 5. &amp; Pag. 24.

Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4.

It maketh for the purpose which is alleaged out of the first of the Actes, to proue, that there ought to be tryall of those which are chosen to the ministerie: for when S. Peter sayth, that such a one must be chosen as hath bene continually conuersant with our saviour Christ, and from the beginning of his preaching vntill the day wherein he ascended into heauen, he ment nothing (a) else, but that such a one should be chosen, which was sufficiently instructed, and had bene continually a scholar of our saviour Christ, and therefore fit to teache and to witnesse that, which they had seene, and whose godly conuersation was notoriously knowne.

(a) Surely that was not so much ment, as that he might be a fitte witnesse of the doings of Christ and of his resurrection.

Besides that, albeit those two Nathias and Barlabas were therfore set by in the midst, that the Church in the prayer that was made for their election, might by seeing them, pray the earnestly for them: yet it was also as much to say, that if any coule object any thing against them, that he should preferre his objection.

And whether they were examined or no, the matter is not great, neyther when it is sayd that a tryall shoulde be had, it is ment, that when the parties are famously knowne to those which haue the right of election, that there shoulde be alwayes necessarily an appoynting and examining, so that the sufficiencie of doctrine and holynesse of life (for the which cause the tryall and examination is commaunded) be knowne and agreed vpon by them, that chose, it is enough.

And so these two being notoriously knowen and consented of by the Church, to be fitte men, might happily not be examyned, but yet the wordes of Saynt Peter declare plainely, that in the choyse of them, there was regarde had to both, their abilitie to teache, and honestie of conuersation.

(b) If all these be extraordinarie, what haue you left in that election, as ordinary? or how proue you the other to be ordinarie more than some of these.

And although there be certaine things extraordinarie in this election, (b) as that suche a one must be chosen which had been conuersant with our saviour Christ, and that there were two put by for one place, and that it was permitted to lottes, to cast the Apostleship vpon one of them two, as if the Lorde shoulde by the lottes from heauen, tell, who shoulde haue it: yet it followeth not to saye, that the reste of the things that are there vsed, shoulde not be practised in ordinarie callings, for as much they will well agree with them.

And Maister Caluine in the place you alleage saythe, that the ordinarie callings somewhat differ from the calling of the Apostles, and after sheweth wherein: that is, in that they were appoynted immediatly of God, and by his mouthe: whereby it appeareth, that for the residue of those things which are there mentionned, he holdeth that they may well stande with the ordinarie elections.



*Jo. Whitgifte.*

This Keplie standeth all by coniectures: it is certayne that there was no triall had of them, bicause they were sufficiently knowne, and therefore the texte without discretion alleaged, to proue that there oughte to be a tryall of theyr abilitie to instruct ec. If it had bene quoted to proue that suche as were admitted into the function, were meete for the same, bothe for their lyfe and doctrine, it had bene to some purpose. I thynke it necessarye that suche as be admitted into the ministerie (vnlesse they be verie well knowne) shoulde be tryed, bothe in learning, and lyfe, but this place maketh nothing at all for that purpose, but rather contrarie, for it speaketh of suche two as were well knowne, and therefore needed no tryall: so that if we conclude any thyng of that place, it muste be this, that none oughte to be admitted into the ministerie, but suche as be well knowne, and neede no tryall.

There was no other cause of presentyng them, than that whiche is expresse in the texte, and it is presumption to make the Scripture serue to maynteyn oure contentions, agaynste the expresse words and playn meaning.

If thys be a rule to be followed, it muste be followed wholly: for where haue you learned to adde, or take from any lawe or rule prescribed in Gods worde? or howe doe ye knowe that this example must be followed in one thing, and not in another? What speciall reuelation haue you to make any suche dismembryng of this action? No doubt thys example is extraordinarye, and not of necessitie to be followed.

The wordes of M. Caluine are playne, that there can be no certaine rule gathered of this example, for the electing of ministers, bicause the calling of the Apostles doth something differ from the calling of other ministers.

*Chap. 1. the second Division.*

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 36.

In the sixt of the Actes mention is made of Deacons only, whom you will not allowe to be ministers of the worde, and therefore this place serueth not your tourne, neyther is there any thing spoken of any tryall, but only they are willed to looke out among them, leaue men of honest report, and full of the holie Ghost, and wildome to be appoynted Deacons.

T.C. Page. 24. Sect. 5.

And where you saye that the sixte of the Actes, because it speaketh of Deacons is nothing to the mater, me thynke you shoulde haue easily vnderstanded, that if a tryall be necessarye in Deacons (whiche is an vnder office in the Church, and hath regarde but to one parte of the Church, whiche is the poore, and is occupied in the distribution of money) muche more it ought to be in an office of greater charge, whiche hath respect to the whole Church, and is occupied in the dispensing of the holy worde of God.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

That there shoulde be a tryall of suche as are to be admitted to the ministerie, I thinke it moste conuenient (as I tolde you before) excepte the parties be sufficiently known to such as haue authoritie to admit them: but I say that this place of the Actes dothe not proue it, both bicause the office of a Deacon (by their opinion) is altogether distinct from the office of a minister of the word, the one pertyning to the body, the other to the soule, the one occupied aboute moneye, the other in the worde, and al-



so, for that there is in that place no mention made of any triall. That place rather proueth that whyche before was noted Act. 1. that suche onely shoulde be appoynted to that office, as bee knowne by good experience to be fitte for suche a function.

Well me one worde in that terte that signifieth any such tryall as the Admonition speaketh of. Wherefore I say againe as I sayd before, that suche as be well knowne, neede no farther tryall: as both that example Act. 1. and this also Act. 6. manifestly declareth.

*Chap. 1. the third Diuision.*

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 36. Sect. 1.

The booke of  
ording mi-  
nisters iust-  
fied concer-  
ning examina-  
tion.

The rule of Saincte Paule in the. 1. Timo. 3. and Tit. 1. is to bee folowed. And the booke of ording ministers and deacons, set forth and allowed by this Church of England requireth, that whosoever is to be admitted into the order of the ministerie, should so be tried, examined, and proued both for learning and life, as S. Paule there requireth. Reade the booke with indifferencie and iudgement, and thou canst not but greatly commend it. If any man neglect his dutie in that point, his fault must not be ascribed to the rule appointed; neither yet to the whole Church. Is the law euill, because some law- yers in their office swarue fro it? This is fallation à nō causa ad causā.

Wickednes of  
men causeth  
not lawes to  
be euill.

T. C. Pag. 24 Sect. 6.

But in the ende you agree that they should be tried, so that nowe the question standeth only howe and by what meanes: wherein you for your part say, that the booke of ording ministers is a sufficient and good rule. I haue read it, and yet I can not commend it greatly. But you will say not with indgement, or indifferencie. I will promise you with this indifferencie, that I swieth, that all that is there, were good and conuenient, and such as I might saye vnto, so bee it. With what iudgement I doe disallowe it, I leaue it to all men to esteeme vpon these reasons.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The question is not whether you allowe, or disallowe that booke, neither is it materiall whether you doe or not. Your reasons bled against it, I will seuerally, for memorie sake examine.

*Chap. 1. the fourth Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 24. Sect. 7. 8. 9.

The reasons of  
T. C. against the  
booke of orde-  
ing ministers.

First, that the examination of hys doctrine, wholly, and partely of hys lyfe, is permitted to one man. For considering of the one parte the greatnesse of the charge that is committed vnto the ministers, and the horrible perill that cometh vnto the Church by the want of those things that are required in them; and of the other parte weighing the weaknesse of the nature of man, whyche although he seeth many things, yet is he blynd also in many, and that euen in those things whyche he seeth, he suffereth himselfe to be carped away by his affection of loue, or of enuie. &c. I saye, considering these things, it is verie daungerous to committe that to the beue and search of one man, whyche maye with lesse danger and more safetie be referred vnto dyuers. For here in the proverbe is true, Plus vident oculi quam oculus.

And almoste there is no office of charge in this realme whych lyeth in election, committed so neyghly to any, as that vpon one mannes reporte of hys habilitie, all the rest whych haue interest in the election, shall giue their voyces, so that if we were destitute of authoritie of the scripture, the beue lyghte of reason woulde shewe vs a more safe and warper way.

But there is greater authoritie, for S. Luke in the first of the Actes sheweth that Saincte Peter woulde not take vpon him to present two, as fitte for the place whyche was voyde, but sayth, they did present or set vp: wherby appeareth, that the examination of their abilitie was committed to many. The same appeareth also in the. 6. of the Actes, when as the Apostles with the Church wherin there were so excellent personages, to take out seuen full of the holy ghost & wisdom. &c. they

Manie eyes  
see more than  
one.



They doe not there permitte the discernyng of theyr wysedome and other gyftes to one, but to manie.

### Jo. Whitgiste

Your fyrste reason is partely grounded vppon bare coniectures, or rather common suppositions, that maye be supposed in the mosse perfecte government, partely vppon the place Act. ii. eyther not vnderstande, or wyllingly misconstrued, nothyng pertainyng to the purpose. But fyrste it is untrue, that the examination, eyther of doctrine, or lyfe, is in this Church wholly committed to one man: For the Woke committeth the examination of suche as are to bee admitted into the ministration, not onely to the Bysshop, but to the Archdeacon also: to the Bysshoppe in the begynnyng of the Woke by playne and expresse wordes: to the Archdeacon, because he muste presente them vnto the Bysshoppe of his knowledge, in which he can not doe truly, withoute diligent examination. But admitte it bee so, that the examination is committed to one man onely: what then? Forsothe considering on the one parte the greatnesse of the charge, &c. and of the other parte the weakness of the nature of man, &c. it is moze dangerous to committe that to the vowe of one man, &c. If you respecte the greatnesse of the charge that is committed to ministers, &c. Who is better able to consider thereof than the Bysshoppe, whyche bothe knoweth what suche a charge meaneth, and hath hadde hymselfe long experience thereof: To whome also dyuerse severall charges doe apperteyn, for the whyche it behoueth hym to forese, that there bee mete ministers? If you speake of blynde affections, as loue, enuie, &c. who maye bee supposed to bee moze voyde of them, than hee that is called to suche an hygge office in the Church, that is so well instructed in the Scriptures, of so long tyme knowne bothe for his lyfe, learning, Religion, and wysedome, mete to haue that credite committed vnto hym? Surely if anye one man, or moze, bee voyde of suche affections, and bee thoughte mete to haue suche matters committed vnto hym, it is the Bysshoppe: And if hee bee mete and worthy for that place and of fyre, then maye he also bee safely credyted, wyth all thynges incidente vnto the same.

The first reason of T. C. hath either a weake, or a false ground.

The Bysshop most mete to haue the examination.

But what haue you here sayde agaynst one man, in this case, that maye not bee lykewyse sayde of an other man, in all other lyke cases? agaynst one kyng, one Judge: yea agaynst manie, even the whole multitude, in whome not onely lacke of knowledge and discretion in suche matters, but greate abundance of affections, of wrath, of hatred, of loue, of feare, of contention, &c. for the mosse parte reygne, as experience of all tymes and places declareth? But of this matter occasion will be ministred to speake moze hereafter.

The proverbe, *Plus vident oculi quam oculus*, Manie eyes see more than one, is not alwayes, nor in all cases true: one man of wysedome, experience, learning, and discretion, maye see moze, knowe moze, and iudge better in those thynges that hee can skyll of, than ten thousande other that bee ignorant, or that in such matters bee farre inferior vnto him.

You saye, that almoste there is no office of charge in this Realme, &c. whyche is not so, for the offices of greatest importance and charge in the whole Realme, bothe in the Ecclesiasticall and ciuill state, are in the onely Election of the Prince, and they bee beste bestowed and vppon the meetest and worthiest persones. Those offices that bee committed to the voyces of manie, eyther are bestowed of custome, or at the entreatie of some in authoritie, or by extreame suite and labour made by some parties, or else is there greate contention stirred vpp aboute them by some busie bodies. And in dede when are there moze vntoworthy men chosen to offices, when is there moze stryfe and contention aboute elections, when doe partiall and sinister affections moze offer themselves, than when an election is committed to manie?



And where as you say, that vpon one mannes reporte all the rest whiche haue interest in the election, woulde not gyue theyr voyces so sleightly to any: Experience teacheth you cleane contrarie: for doe you not see that in all suche Elections, for the moste parte, some one man ruleth the reste: Moreover, where is the requeste of suche as be in authoritie for any denyed in suche elections: I coulde bring you a number of examples,

If the Election of the minister shoulde bee commytted to euery seuerall Parish, doe you thinke that they woulde chose the meetest: shoulde not the Lorde of the towne or some other among them of countenance leade them as he liste: woulde they haue no respects to theyr neyghbours chylde, though he not the meetest: woulde there be no contention among them: woulde they not haue lyke people, lyke Pastoure: But of thys also more muste bee spoken in an other place.

That in the fyfte of the Actes, is nothing for youre purpose, for there is no order of Election prescribed, but an extraordinarie calling to an extraordinarie office, as I haue sayde befoze. Neyther dydde the multitude presente them, but onely the Apostles, as M. Beza sayeth, *Lib. conf. cap. 5. titu. 35.* Neyther were they examyned, as is also declared: and therefore that place altogether impertinent.

To that in the fyfte of the Actes I haue answered sufficiently: it proueth not examination. And M. Beza in the afozenamed booke and Chapter sayeth plainly, that Luke hath not sette downe what the Church did obserue in the election of Deacons: and shortly after concludeth thus: *Certam igitur regulam, non est quod nimium curiose quisquam hic prescribat, sed si recta fuerit conscientia facile fuerit pro temporum et locorum circumstantiis definire quid expediat.* Therefore there is no cause why anye man shoulde here ouer-curiously prescribe anye certayne rule: But if the conscience be vpright, it may be easy to determine, what is conuenient for the circumstance of tyme and place.

Beza lib.conf.  
cap.5.

The elections  
Act.1. & Act.  
6. do nothing  
agree.

And these wordes he speaketh of that place of the Actes. But I praye you answere mee this one question: if you will make these two places Act.1 & Act.6. rules whiche we muste of necessitie folloze in electing of ministers: howe will you ioyne them together being in nothyng lyke: for Acto. 1. the Apostles presented two to the people, Acto. 6. the whole multitude did present leuen to the Apostles: Acto. 1. they caste lottes, Acto. 6. they layde on handes: Acto. 1. they prayed to God to shewe whether of the two he had chosen, Acto. 6. there is no suche thyng: Acto. 1. of two that were presented one was chosen, Acto. 6. all were chosen that were presented: so that there is great difference in the two places, and therefore no prescript rules for vs to follow.

### Chap.1. the fyfte Division.

T.C. Page.24. Sect.vlt.

Secondarily, I can not commend it, for that, that one man is the Archdeacon, whiche muste examine the Pastors, and iudge of their sufficiencie. For what is the Archdeacon: is he not a Deacon: for he being the chiefe Deacon, muste needes be also a Deacon himself. And therefore although the chiefe Deacon, yet inferiour to any of the Pastors: and the gifts whiche are requyred in him, inferioure to those whiche are required in the Pastour, and so to make hym iudge of the aptnesse and ablenes of the Pastor, is to make the inferiour in giftes, iudge of the superiour: he that hath by his calling lesse giftes, iudge of his which hath by his calling greater giftes, which is nothyng else, than to appoynte hym that hath but one eye, to ouersee his sight, that hath two.

1. Tim.3.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

You will not stand in this reason I thinke, when you haue something better remembred your self: will you not haue the Archdeacon, because he is but a deacon, examine the Pastors, and iudge of their sufficiencie: do you thinke y because he is inferiour to y pastors, & the gifts required

T.C. reason  
meth against  
himselke.



requyred in hym inferioure to those whiche are required of the Pastours; therefore hee is not meeete to examine the Pastoz, and to iudge of his aptnesse: What greater argument can be vsed agaynst your selfe: for if this be true, how can the people examine the pastozs, or iudge of their aptnesse, being farre inferiour to Deacons, in respecte of their office, and in giftes not lyke vnto them: or howe can you admitte your Seniors to the examination or alloweing of them, not onely being inferiour in office and calling, but in giftes also: yea the moste of them rude and ignozant, for suche Seniors you must of necessitie haue, if you wil haue any. Surely I maruel that you haue so much forgotten your selfe. A Deacon is superiour to the people, yea to youre Seniors (though you denie it) and mo giftes required in him than in both the other. 1. Tim. 3. Wherefore if he be not meeete to examine pastozs, and iudge of their sufficiencie, because that were to make the inferiour in giftes to iudge of the superiour. &c. much lesse are the people and your Seniors able to be examiners and iudges in that matter.

Furthermoze, if none must examine and iudge of the Pastoz, but suche as be superiour, or at the least equall vnto him, and suche in whom moe or as many giftes are required, then truly I see not to whom this office may moze orderly or safely be committed than to the Bishop, who is superiour to the Pastour, both in office and also in giftes.

It is not true that the booke committeth the examination of ministers onely to the Archdeacons, or especially: it is otherwise in the beginning of the booke in plaine words. Your reason wherby you would proue an Archdeacon to be only a deacon, is no reason at all: for what sequele is there in this argument, an Archdeacon is the chief deacon, Ergo he is only a Deacon: as though you were ignozant of the state of our Church, and knew not that Archdeacons may be also ministers of the word.

### Chap. 1. the sixt Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 25. Sect. 1.

Thirdly, I mislike the booke, because it permitteth, the Bishop may admit the minister vpon the credit & report of the Archdeacon, and vpon his examination, if ther be no opposition of the people: which appereth by these words in the booke, wheras to the Archdeacon saying thus: Reuerend father in God, I present vnto you these persons to be admitted to be Priests. &c. The bishop answereth. Take heed that y persons whom you present vnto vs, be apt & meet for their godly conuersation to exercise their ministerie duty to the honor of God & edifying of his church. And ther vpo I thinke it cometh that the Archdeacon is called the eye of the bishop. But why doth not he himselfe take heed vnto it: with what conscience can he admit a minister, of whose fitnessse he knoweth not, but vpon the credite of an other, although he were otherwise very fitte: where can he haue that full perswasion that he doth well, vpon the report of others, when the reporte of his life and learning, is made but of one. And therefore Saint Paule ordeyned, that the same shoulde be the ordeyners, and the examiners, and not to hang vpon the sayth or report of an other man, in thyngs that are so weyghtie, and wherof he may himselfe take notice.

1. Tim. 3.

### Io. Whitgifte.

This reason thonghe it differ in some circumstances, yet in effete it is all one wyth the seconde, for it is agaynst the examination of the Archdeacon, and so was that. But youre argumente is not sounde: for dothe the Bishoppe therefore admitte Ministers onely vpon the credite, and at the reporte of the Archdeacon, because the Archdeacon presenteth them vnto hym: you knowe that none is admitted to anye degree here in Cambridge, but the same is first presented to the Vicechancelor, & to the Uniuersitie, by some one of that facultie, who giueth his fidelitie for them: doth the Uniuersitie therfore admitte them onely vpon the credite and reporte of that one man: You knowe the contrarie: euen so it is here: The Archdeacon presenteth to the Bishoppe, the Bishoppe dothe inqurye if he hath diligently examyned them, &c. dothe he therfore thinke you, not examine them

¶ ij.

ham



him selfe: I haue knowne Bishops reiect those whome their Archdeacons haue allowed.

If any Bishop doe giue that credite to his Archdeacon, he dothe more than I woulde wishe he shoulde doe, and other wyse than the booke requireth of him: neyther muste his example done without the booke, preiudice that whiche is well appointed in the booke.

Paule. 1. Ti. 3. declareth what qualities and conditions a Bishop ought to haue: but can you gather of any thing there wrytten, that the same should be the ordeyners and examiners? it is mooste meete it should so be I graunte, but yet woulde I not haue the Scriptures made ship mennes hose, to serue our tournes as it pleaseth vs to tourne them, least wee fall into that faulte oure selues, whiche wee iustly repproue in the Papistes.

T. C. contrary to himselfe.

But stil you are contrarie to your self, for if the same must be the ordeyners & the examiners, then muste the Bishops of necessitie be the examiners, for you can not denie but that the Bishoppes muste be the ordeyners. And if you will haue. 1. Ti. 3. to serue your purpose, then must you of force confesse it, for there Saincte Paule wryteth to Timothy being a Bishop, and but one man, so that this reason is directly agaynst the firste.

### Chap. 1. the seuenth Diuision.

T. C. Page. 25. Sect. 2.

Fourthly, for that albeit the Church is demaunded whether they haue any thing to obiecte, yet that Church wherof he is to be Pastor, and whiche it skilleth especially that he bee fitte, is not demaunded, and whiche woulde (bycause it standeth them vpon) inquire diligently of him.

Jo. Whitgiste.

The absurdities that of necessitie follow the assertion of T. C.

And howe would you haue that Church wherof he is to be Pastor demaunded whether they haue any thing to obiect against him? would you haue euery one that is to be minister, first goe and dwell among them, that they might haue triall of him? In deed so did Mathias, and Barsabas among the Apostles, and the seven among them, by whome they were chosen Deacons. But howe long shall he then remayne among them? for it had neede be a good tyme, else shall they not thoroughly knowe him, nor then neyther, for he maye playe the hypocrite. But who shall in the meane tyme beare his charges there and fynde him? for a number of parishes in Englande be not able sufficiently to fynd one, muche lesse moe: And howe shall they haue any tryall of his doctrine, learning and habilitie to preache, seeing that he maye not publikely eyther teach or exhorste, because he is not yet called to the ministerie?

Surely I vnderstand not how your deuise coulde be well brought to passe, except you will make in euery parishe an vniuersitie, or some schole of Diuinitie, or Colledge of learning, as in deed they had in mooste great Cities of the old Church, where the election of ministers was committed to manye: or excepte you imagine, that some suche maye be dwelling, and continuing in euery Parish, as by inspiration or some other extraordinarie meanes may be made able to be their Pastor, when the place shall be voyde.

But tell me this one thing: woulde you haue him that is to be chosen their Pastor, remayne among them, they hauing yet a Pastor? or come vnto them after the death or departure of their Pastor, as the seconde Admonition woulde haue it Folio. 14: if the fyrste: then muste the Parish be double burdened, that is, they muste fynde bothe him that is, and him also that shall be their pastor: mozeouer it is vncertaine how long he must remaine with them, expecting the death or departure of the other: Likewise how he shall in the meane time occupy himselfe. &c. If the second: then must they of long time be destitute of a Pastor, for they cannot haue sufficient triall of him, excepte also sufficient time be graunted vnto them to trie



trie him in, which cannot be lesse than one whole yeare at the least.

But admitte all these impossibilities and great absurdities, to be possible and conuenient: yet are there further doubtles, what if the parish be wholly or the most parte simple, ignorant, and vnlearned men not able to iudge: what if they be all or the most part corrupt in religion: what if they be such, as can be better content with one that will winke at their faultes, than with him that will reprove them: what if they be such, as will be ouerruled with some one, whome they dare not displease: To be short, what if they cannot agree among themselves, vpon some one, but be diuided into factions. &c. All these things being considered, you shall find it the fittest, and best way, that the Bishop, euen according to the forme prescribed in the booke, haue authoritie to admitte and allow of suche as are to be ministers. Would you haue him that is brought vp in the vniuersitie, and well knowne in all respects to be meete for the ministerie, to whome also a cure in some place of Westmerland is to be committed, to be kept from the same, because he is vnknowne vnto them: Let other men thinke of your deuises as they list, in my iudgement they be mere phantasies & fond dreames, grounded neither vpon the word of God, neyther yet of any other good consideration. Sure I am that they are contrary to the practise of reformed Churches, and namely the Churches of Berne and Tigure. As M. Musculus reporteth in his common places *titu. de ministris verbi*. And M. Bullinger. 1. Tim. 4.

Touching this supposition of yours, that none should be admitted into the ministerie except the same haue some certayne cure committed vnto him, occasion will be giuen to speake in another place. *Tract. 4. cap. 1.*

### Chap. 1. the. 8. Division.

T. C. Pag. 25. Sect. 3. 4.

Agayne, they are demaunded, which can object nothing of his insufficiencie, whome for the most parte they neuer see nor heard of before, as one that came of one day vnto the towne, and goeth away the next.

Further, they haue no reasonable space giuen them, wherein they may inquire or hearken out of his honest conuersation: and haue some experience of his soundnesse in teaching, and discretion and iudgement to rule his flocke. But if as soone as euer it be said, that those that are strangers to them shoulde object against them, no man stand forth to oppose against them, forthwith he is made a minister. And these are those things wherein I thinke the booke of ordering ministers faultie, touching the triall and examination of the ministers, which selfesame things, are likewise of the triall of the Deacon. And so you see, that besides the faultes of those that execute the law, that there be faultes in the lawes themselves, and therefore the cause is truly assigned, although you see it not.

### Io. Whitgifte.

There is none that ought to be admitted by any Bishop, but such as haue dwelte and remained in his dioces a conuenient time: No time of admitting (except it be of some singular person whose habilitie is not doubted of) is appointed, but the same is before a sufficient time notified in the notablest places of the whole dioces, chiefly to this end and purpose, that there may be resort thither by suche as haue any thing to object againste any that is to be admitted at that time into the ministerie: neyther ought any to be admitted except he bring a sufficient testimoniall of his good behauioure from that place, where he hath had his abode: and therefore if they come not, it is a token that they haue nothing to say: or if they haue to object, and do not, the fault is in themselves, they may if they will.

I told you before, that he may not teach before he be therevnto admitted, nor rule a flocke before he haue one committed vnto him, and therefore of necessitie he must at the least be admitted into the ministerie of the worde, before they can giue any iudgement of him. So that in deede though you haue vsed many words, yet haue you in effect said little or nothing: and the slenderesse of your reasons against the booke, together with the inconueniencies that must of necessitie follow, hath procured a great credite vnto it: and it still remaineth true, that I haue answered to the Admonition, that is, that the faults that be, are in the persons, not in the law.



## Chap. 1. the. 9. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 37. Lin. 1.

Worthy ministers in England.

Agayne, if some be admitted into the ministerie, either void of learning, or lewde in life, are all the rest for their sake to be condemned? Or is this a good argumente, some be admitted into the ministerie without triall, therefore none is lawfully admitted into the ministerie? or some ministers be vnlearned and euill, Ergo, there is none good? I thinke you will not Denie, but that there is now within this Church of England, as many learned, godly, graue, wise, and worthy ministers of the word, as there is in any one realme or particular Church in all Christendome, or euer hath bin heretofore.

T. C. Page. 25. Sect. 3. 6. 7.

And what meane you, still to vse this fighting with your owne shadowe? for where are the words, or what be they that condemne all the ministers for some: that say all the ministers are vnlawfully admitted, for some: or that there is none good, because some are bad? If there be no such words, as carrie with them any such sense, then you do wrong to your brethren. If there be words that declare the cleane contrary, then all men see what you be, which although you often faulte in, yet I am loth so often to name and charge you with it. When it is said, that learned and vnlearned are receiued, it is euident that they condemne not all.

The Lord bleste and increase an hundredfold the godly, wise, learned, graue ministers of this Church, and because these words seeme to rocke vs asleepe, and to bring vs into forgetfulness of the great ruines and desolations of the Church, I must tell you that two thousand able and sufficient ministers, which preach and feede diligently and carefully the flocke of Christ, were hard to be found in this Church, which haue bin notwithstanding found in the Church of France, by the estimation of those which know the estate, euen vnder the time of the crosse, where there were no such helps of Magistrates, and appoynted stipends, as God be praised we haue.

And agayne, you are to be put in mind, that a great number of those were bredde in king Edwards days, so that I feare me a man neede no great Arithmetike to count the numbers of suche able ministers, as the late yeares haue brought forth. And yet I am well assured, that if the ministerie were reformed, and worthy men were sought for, there are great numbers of zelous and learned men, that would lay their hands to serue this kind of building by the ministerie. For besides numbers that the vniuersities would yeld, which sighe for the repairing of the decays of the Church, to helpe forwarde so greate a worke, the Iunes of Court, and other the Gentry of the Realme, Galene, and Iustinian, would bring their tenthes, and (as it were) pay their shotte in this reckening.

## Io. Whitgifte.

Their words be playne, for they say whereas in the old Church a triall was had, &c. now by the letters commendatorie of some one man, &c. whereby they set this time as contrary vnto that, because some haue bin admitted without triall: and therefore make that fault generall, which is particular, and in very deepe condemne all for some. If it were not so, why shoulde either they or you condemne the rule, and not the persons only? why shoulde they say that we haue no right ministerie? why shoulde the second Admonition from the beginning to the end, so rattle vpon all the states and degrees of ministers and preachers in this Church, which do not consent with them in disturbing the Church, and opposing themselves against lawfull orders and lawes. I like fol. 32. of the. 2. Admonition especially, and so forth, where they speake in most vchristian manner. And though these me in this place say learned and vnlearned, yet doth it not folloiw that they condemne not all, of an vnlawfull calling, and of not being tried, and examined as well in life, as learning. But what neede you make such ado in closing a matter to notorious: for what do either they or you, but deface euen the best learned, and wisest of such as withstand you: thinking none sufficiently learned, but yourselves and your adherents?

For the number of sufficient ministers in France, able to preach in the time of the crosse, I will not take vpon me to define any thing: yet haue I talked with some wise, godly, and learned preachers of that countrie, such as had good cause to know the state of that Church touching that matter: and truly for any thing that I can learne of them, you haue ouershot your selfe in reckening at the least, 14. hundred. But I am not curious



curious in matters not apperteyning vnto me, and I write but of credible reporte. God be thanked for the number that they haue, or haue, howe many or howe fewe soeuer they are.

Toucheing the number of preachers throughout England, I cannot write any certaintie, but of this vniuersitie because I haue some experience, you shall giue me leave to speake as earnestly in truly commending of it, as you haue done in vntuly and vnkindly defacing and flandering it. The number of knowne preachers, which this vniuersitie hath bredde since the beginning of the Quenes Maiesties reygne to this time of the yeare of our Lord Anno. 1573. are at the least. 450. besides those that haue bin called to that office after their departure from hère, and are not yet knowne to me. The number of preachers that be now in this vniuersitie remayning is. 102. and no doubt but God will encrease the number of them dayly more and more. Although it must be confessed, that the factions and tumults which you and some others haue made in the Church, do discourage a great number from the ministerie, causeth many to contemne it, and thinke the calling to be vnlawfull, and therefore to absteyne from it. Whereouer I know by experience, that some of you deuise and practise by all meanes possible, to stirre vp contention in this vniuersitie, to dissuade men from the ministerie, to bring such as be sober, wise, learned and goodly preachers into contempt, and to make a confusion, and diuide euery Colledge within it selfe. But howsoeuer hitherto you haue preuayled (as you haue preuayled to much) yet I trust you shall neuer thoroughly bring to passe that which you desire. And I doubt not, but that your vnoctisfull, vnciuill, and vncharitable dealing in this your booke, your many errors and foule absurdities conteyned in the same, hath so detected you, that honest, discrete, quiet, and goodly learned men will no more be withdrawen by you, and such as you are, to any such schisme or cōtention in the Church: but rather bend themselves against the common aduersarie, and seeke with hart and mouth to build vp the walles of Ierusalem, whiche you haue broken downe: and to fill vp the pyntes that you haue digged, by craft and subtiltie to ouerthrow the same. And howsoeuer some will still be waywardly disposed, yet I doubt not, but that if such as be in authoritie will do their duties, they may by conuenient discipline, either be kept within the bonds of modestie, or else remoued from this place, wherein of all other places, they may do most harme.

For the Iunes of Court, what they would do I know not, howbeit I thinke very few haue gon from this place thither, whiche had euer any purpose in them, to enter into the ministerie. And surely from that place where I am, I haue not knowne any go to the Iunes of Court, in whome there hath appeared any kind of inclination to the ministerie. What store of fit preachers those Iunes would yeld, if your Church were framed, I know not, but I thinke, that some of the would not refuse the spoile of this. I doubt not but that there are many in the Iunes of Courte well affected in religion: God continue them and encrease the number of them, and giue them grace to take heede that they be not seduced by ouermuch credulitie in themselves, and pretended zeale in others.

What Calene and Justinian would do, may be doubted, for, though both Calene and Justinian haue forsaken our ministerie, yet do they keepe such linings as they had in the respect of the same, and are so farre from yelding of tenthes, that they can be well content to receiue tenthes.

### Chap. 1. the tenth Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 37. Sect. 1.

Toucheing letters commendatorie of some one man noble or other, it may be that the parties which giue these letters be of that zeale, learning, and godlinesse, that their particular testimonie ought to be better credited, than some other subscribed with an hundred handes.

And

The contentions in the Church is an hindrance to the profession of diuinitie, in the vniuersities.

Letters commendatorie of wise and godly men.



The booke  
requireth due  
examination  
of life and  
learning.

And I thinke there is both noble men and other, who may better be trusted in that point, than a great number of parishes in Englande, which consist of rude and ignorant men, easily moued to testify any thing: And in many places for the most part, or altogether, drowned in Papistrie. I know no reason to the contrary, and I see no scripture alledged, why one learned, godly and wise mans testimonie, may not be receiued in such a case, and yet the booke expresseth no such thing, but requireth due examination of learning, and sufficient testimonial of conuersation, and giueth libertie to any one particular man, to object any crime against any such as are to be ordered, & willet that the partie accused be kept from the ministerie untill he haue cleared himselfe of the crimes objected. If tag and rag be admitted, learned and vnlearned, it is the fault of some, not of all, nor of the law: And if they were called and elected according to your fantasie, there would some creepe in, as euill as any be now, and woorse too,

T. C. Page. 26. Lin. 8.

It is not denyed, but the testimonie that a noble man whiche professeth the truth dothe giue, ought to be weighed according to his degree, and place which he hath in the common weith, but where you thinke, that the testimonie of one wise man, learned, and godly, is sufficient warrant to proceede to an election of a Minister, you considered not well the circumspection which S. Paule vled, who when he admitted Timothie into his company, to be a companion in his tourney, to cut off all occasion of euill speech, receiued him not but vpon commendation of the brethren, both in Ly- Act. 16.  
ora and Iconium.

Io. Whitgiste.

I know that the testimonie of many godly and wise men, is of more weight, than the testimonie of one only, but this is no answer to that which I haue said. The place of Paule and Timothie Act. 16. declareth how well Timothie was thought of, and commended vnto Paule, but it folloiweth not, that Paule would not also haue receiued him, if he had bin commended vnto him but by some one. Howsoeuer it is, this your argument is nothing worth: *nunquam licet* (saith Zuinglius) *neque in diuinis neque in profanis, a facto ad ius argumentari*: it is neuer lawful, neither in diuine nor in prophane matters to argue (\*) *a facto ad ius*. Neyther is the text as you report it, for the words do not signify that Paule would not haue take him with him, vnlesse they had al giuen such testimonie of him, neither can there be any such sense truly gathered out of that place. And it is manifest that the Apostles receiued Paule into their company, at the testimonie and commendation of Barnabas only.

Zainglius.

Of a deepe or  
example to  
make a lawe.

Act. 9.

Chapter. 1. the. 11. Diuision.

Answer of the Admonition. Pag. 38. Sect. 1.

You say that there be admitted into the ministerie of the basest sort of the people: I know not what you mean by the basest sort: this I am sure of, that the ministerie is not now bound to any one tribe, as it was to the tribe of Leui, in Ieroboams time: now none is secluded from that function of any degree, state, or calling, so that those qualities be founde in him, whiche in that office are to be required.

T. C. Page. 26. Lin 14.

You know they meant by the basest of the people, such as gate but one leape out of the shop into the Church, as sodainly are changed out of a seruing mans coate, into a ministers cloake, making for the most part, the ministerie their last refuge. &c. And seeing that besides the words be playne, the dayly experience teacheth it, you neede not make it so straunge, as though you knew not what they meant.

L.VV.



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I heare you say so, but why did they then quote the 1. Reg. 18. Verse. 3. that manifestly proueth the same sense that I haue gathered of their words, and that text onely occasioned me so to do.

*Chap. 1. the 12. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 38. Sect. 2. 3. 4.

I maruell to what purpose the twelfth chapter of the first booke of kings is here quoted, for Ieroboam is there reprobued bycause hee tooke the priesthoope from the tribe of Leui, to the which onely it dyd apperteyne.

The Papists neuer tooke so great occasion of flaudring the Gospell, at the ignorance of the ministers (for they haue of themselves those that be as ignorant and more) as they do at your schismes and fond opinions, wherewith you disquiet the peace of the Church, and lay stumbling blocks before the weake, for the which God will surely call you to accompt.

Offences given to the Papists by their contentions.

The second chapter to the Romaynes is here quoted only to painte the margent.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

All this is passed ouer in silence.

Whether Idolatrous sacrificers, and Massemongers, may afterward be ministers of the Gospell. Chapter second the first Diuision.

*Admonition.*

The seconde. In those days (o) no Idolatrous sacrificers or heathenish priests were appointed to be preachers of the Gospell: but we allow and like well of Popish massemongers, men for all seasons, King Henries priests, King Edwards Priests, Queene Maries Priests, who of a truth if Gods word were precisely followed, should from the same be utterly removed.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 38. Sect. vlt.

The place in the fifth chapter of the Hebrewes quoted in the margent, speaketh nothing of Idolatrous sacrificers or heathenish Priests, but onely by the example of Aaron proueth, that no man ought to intrude himselfe into the office of a Bishop or Priest, except he be called of God. Lord how dare these men thus toring the scriptures? In the 23. of the Prophet Ieremy there is much spoke against false prophets, but not one word (for any thing that I see) to proue that idolatrous sacrificers maye not be admitted to preach the Gospell.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

To this is nothing answered.

*Chap. 2. the second Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 39. Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4.

& Pag. 40. Sect. 1.

The places of the 44. of Ezechiel haue some thew in them, for there the Lord commaundeth the Leuites which had committed Idolatrie to



Idolatrours  
sacrificers  
and masse-  
mongers.

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## The defense of the answere

Tract. 3.

to be put from their dignitie, and not to be receiued into the priestes office, but to serue in inferioure ministeries.

Peters for-  
sweating.

I thinke you will not make this a generall rule to debarre suche from preaching of the Gospell, as haue through infirmitie fallen, & be now with hartie repentance returned. We haue many examples to the contrary, Peter forsooke his master Christ, which was as euill as sacrificing to Idolls, and yet he was not put from his Apostleship. We haue diuers examples in the Primitive Church, of suche as by feare being compelled to sacrifice to strange gods, after repented, and kepte still the office of preaching the Gospell, and did moſte constantly die in the same.

T.C. Page. 26. Sect. 1.

(a) S Paule his  
words and mea-  
ning falsified.

What ought to be generall, if this ought not, to put the minister that hath bin an Idolater, from his ministerie: is it not a commaundement of God, and giuen, not of one Leuite or two, but of all those that went backe, not at one time, but at others also, when the like occasion was giuen, as appereth in the booke of the kings, where all the priests of the Lord that had sacrificed in the high places, were not suffered to come to the altar in Jerusalem: Doth not S. Paule make smaller causes of depoling from the ministerie than Idolatrie: For after he hath described what manner of men the ministers should be, and Deacons, he addeth: And being tried, (a) let them execute the functions, as long as they remayne blamelesse: I thinke if so be a man had bin knowne to be an adulterer, although he repented him, yet none that is well aduised, would take him into the ministerie: for if S. Paule reiect him that had. ij. wiues at once (which was a thing that the Jewes and Gentiles thought lawfull, and that was common amongst them, and had preuayled throughout all the world) how much lesse would he suffer any to be admitted to the ministerie, which should be an adulterer, and haue another mans wife, which is condemned of all that professe the name of Christ, and which is not so general a mischiefe as that was, and suffer him to abide in the ministerie, which should committe such wickednesse during his function, and likewise of a murtherer, now the sinne of Idolatrie is greater and more defestible, than any of them, in as much as perterning to the first table, it immediatly strappeth Gods honoure, and breaketh duetie to him, vnto whome we more owe it (without all comparison) than to any mortall man. And if S. Paule in the choise of the widowe to attend vpon the sicke of the Church, which was the lowest office in the Church, requireth not only such a one as is at the time of the choise, honest and holy, but suche a one as had led his whole life in all good works, and with commendation; how much more is that to be obserued in the minister or byshop of the Church, that he be not only at the time of his choise, but all other times before such a one, as had liued without any notable, and open offence of those, amongst whom he had his conuersation.

1. Cha. 13.

1. Tim. 3.

### To. Whitgifte.

The place  
44. Ezech.  
touching I-  
dolatrours sa-  
crificers is  
not perpetuall  
(\*) Tra. 2. cap.  
6. diuis. 5.  
Ezech. 44.

It is not such a commaundement as must of necessitie be perpetually kepte, and made a generall rule for euer: for it perterneeth to the iudiciall law which is not perpetuall (\*) as I haue before proued. Moreover why should this precept rather be perpetuall, than that which goeth before, that no straunger vncircumcised in hart, and vncircumcised in flesh should enter into the sanctuarie: or than that which followeth, that the Priests when they enter in at the gates, must be clothed with white linnen. &c. Do not the circumstances of the place best declare the meaning of it: The like also is to be saide to that example. 2. Regum. 23.

The corrupte  
dealing of  
T.C.  
1. Tim 3.

The place of S. Paule. 1. Tim. 3. is vntuly by you alleaged, and corruptly translated: for the words of the Apostle be not as you report them: and being tried let them execute their functions, as long as they remayne blamelesse: But thus the Apostle saith and let them first be proued, then let them minister being blamelesse: the greek word is ἀνεγκλη-  
τοι ὄντες, that is, if in triall they be founde blamelesse, then let them minister. For triall may be had whether they be blamelesse or no, but not whether they will so remayne. Moreover the Apostle in that place speaketh of Deacons, and not of ministers. I mar-  
uell what you meane so manifestly to falsify the words of the scripture, or to what purpose you haue inuented this new translation, except it be to iustify that erreure of the Anabaptists, that the vertue of the word, and of the Sacraments doth depende vpon the good life of the Minister. Certayne it is that you haue neither greeke, latine, nor English text that doth so translate it. Neither doth the Apostle S. Paule there speake of depoling ministers, or deacons, but of electing them, as it is manifest. I doubt not,



not, but that a whozemonger after he hath repented him (if other things be correspond-  
dent) maye be admitted to the ministerie, euen as well, as Peter after his denyall,  
was admitted to be an Apostle, or Paule after that he had bene a persecutor. Saint  
Paule would not, that a Bishop should haue two wyues at once, but he doth not se-  
clude him from being a Bishop that hath had two wyues: except you will establishe  
in this place the Popishe bigamie. In like maner he would not haue an whozemon-  
ger, a drunkard, a couetous person to be chosen a Bishop: yet doth he not seclude from  
that function such, as haue bene guiltie of these crimes (and now of godly conuersati-  
on) for their former offences: for then shoulde he deale otherwise with them, than he  
himselfe was dealt with: neither haue you any example in the new testament of any  
deposed from their ministerie, though they were found in many things guiltie. Christ  
knewe that Judas was a traitor, yet did he not depose him from his Apostleship: he  
knewe that the Scribes and Phariseis were criminous in diuers pointes, yet dyd he  
will them to be taken, and heard as gods ministers when he said *in cathedra Moyses sedent*  
*Scribe. &c.* the Scribes and Phariseis sit in Moses seate. &c. Mat. 23. And S. Paule knewe  
of diuers wicked and vngodly preachers in the Church of Philippi, yet did he not will  
their ministerie to be taken from them, but shewed himselfe to be very glad for their  
labour and trauell taken in preaching the Gospel. Phil. 1.

True it is, that Idolatry is an horrible and great sinne, yet doth repentance stretch  
vnto it, which so altereth and changeth a man through the mercy of God, be he neuer  
so defiled, that it maketh him pure and cleane: and shall we seclude him from mini-  
string vnto God, that is pure in the sight of God? or shall we not thinke him to be a  
meet minister in the visible Church, that is a member of the vniuersible, and electe  
Church? In the olde law there were many things that defiled the body, and made the  
man for a time vncleane, but now all such things are cleane to those that be cleane. In  
like maner there were then certaine crimes pertaining to the minde, which could not  
be expiated but by corporall punishment, but repentance is a medicine for all, and the  
greatest Idolater truly repenting, may become a more zealous preacher, than he that  
in the sight of the world, neuer committed the least offence.

S. Paule in the choise of widowes doth not require such a one as hath led his whole lyfe  
in all good workes: for how could that be at that time, when they had but in one part of  
their life knowne Christ, and professed the Gospel, being there vnto conuerted by the  
Apostles: but his meaning is, that such be chosen, as were knowne to haue bene dili-  
gent in all good workes, that is, to haue been liberall & beneficiall towardes the poore,  
for so doth M. Caluine interpret it: if you would haue none chosen to be ministers, but  
suche as haue all their lyfe time been blamelesse, I thinke you are like to haue but a  
few, and more like to refuse such as be verie meete and fit for that function. But as the  
Apostle would not haue any admitted to the ministerie vpon a sudden tryall or con-  
uersion, so both he not appoynt for the same, the whole former time of mannes lyfe,  
but a reasonable and sufficient time, suche as may suffice for the tryall of a man in  
such matters.

### Chap. 2. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 26. Sect. 2. 3 & Pag. 27. Sect. 1.

If I should stand with you, whether Peter his forswearing that he knew not Christ, were a  
greater fault then to goe from the Gospel to Idolatry, and therein, for some long space to continue,  
as the Leuites did, I should trouble you. For if a man suddenly and at a pulke for feare, and to save  
his lyfe, say and sweare he is no Christian, and the same day repent him of his fault, although it be a  
great and hainous crime, yet it seemeth not to be so great, as his is, which not onely denyeth Christ  
in wordes, but doth it also in deedes, and worshippeth Antichrist, and continueth in that worship,  
not a day, but monethes, and yeares.

But I will answer you, that euen as our sauour Christ called S. Paule in the heate of his  
persecution, and when he was a blasphemour vnto the Apostleship, so he hauing the lawe in his owne  
handes, and making no lawes for himselfe, but for vs, mighte call S. Peter also to that function,  
which had thrice denyed him.



But as it is not lawfull for vs to follow the example of Christ in calling of Paule, by admitting those which are new conuerted, hauing a contrary precepte giuen, that no new plant, or greene Christian, should be taken to y<sup>e</sup> Ministerie: So is it not lawfull also, to follow that example of our Sauour Christ, the contrarie being commaunded, as I haue before alleaged. For albeit the examples of our Sauour Christ be to be followed of vs, yet if there be commaundementes generall to the contrarie, then we must know, that it is our partes to walke in the broade and beaten way, as it were the conunon causse of the commaundement, rather than an outpath of the example.

1. Tim. 3.

Jo. Whitgiste.

Peter hauing before bragged of his constancie, lately admonished by his Maister Christ, almost eue in y<sup>e</sup> presence of his master, wittingly & willingly denyed, not once, but thrice, yea bitterly forswore him: which fault no doubt was as greuous as any kind of Idolatrie: and therfore if you stand with me in that matter neuer so long, you can not greatly trouble me: so the circumstances being considered, there is nothing to excuse Peters denyall.

As Christ in the heate of Paulus persecution, dyd chosse him to be an Apostle, and called Peter also to that function, after he had thrice denyed him, even so doth he still continue his mercie, neither is it one whit streightened: and these examples hath he set before vs that we should at no time dispaire of his mercie and goodnesse: so saith S. Paule 1. Tim. 1. *Version* *ideo misericordiam consecutus sum.* &c. Notwithstanding, for this cause was I receiued to mercie, that Iesus Christ should first shewe on me al long suffering, vnto the example of them, which shall in time to come beleue in him vnto eternall lyfe.

1. Tim. 1.

Although these examples of our sauour Christ are not at all times, & in al poyntes to be followed, yet doe they sufficiently declare, that no man for any crime is to be excluded from any lawfull vocation, if he repent him and become a new man. And there be no generall commaundementes contrarie hereunto, but this doctrine is consonant to the whole course of the Gospell.

Chap. 2. the. 4. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 27. Sect. 2.

T. C. picketh a  
quarrell to de-  
prae Ambrose  
out of place, and  
vniustly.

I know Ambrose was taken newly from Paganisme, to be Bishop of Millaine, for the greates estimation and credite he had amongst the people, but besides that I haue shewed, that such things are vnlawfull being forbidden, the errors & corrupt expounding of scriptures, which are found in his woorkes, declare that it had bene more safe for the Church, if by studie of the scriptures, he had firste bene a scholer of diuinitie, or euer he had bene made Doctor.

Io. Whitgiste.

You needed not to haue wyped away the example of Ambrose, with so much disgracing of him, being so worthy a man, and so learned a father: for though he were not christened when he was chosen Bishop, yet had he long before that time professed the name of Christ, and was soundly grounded in Religion: for in those dayes many did long differre the time of Baptisme after the time of their conuersion. And S. Paule 1. Tim. 3. by his greene Christian as you terme him, doth vnderstande such as be newly conuerted. Ambrose was a man of notable learning, and singularly commended in all histories that make any mention of him: his errors be not so many, nor his expositions so simple, that you should so contemptuously write of him.

Chap. 2. the. 5. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 27. Sect. 2.

There maye be more examples shewed out of that which you call the Primitive Church, to the contrarie of that which you say. For whē they vled oftentimes against those that had so false, such seueritie



seueritie (in deepe extreme and excessive) that they were neuer after, vntill their deatnes admitted to the Lords table: I leaue to you to thinke whether they woulde then suffer any suche to execute the function of the ministerie. Besides that S. Cyprian hath also a speciall treatise of this, that those that haue sacrificed to Idols should not be permitted any moze to minister in the Church, in the first booke of his Epist, Epistle. vij.

### Io. Whitgifte.

It appeareth in that Epistle of Cyprian, that he ment of such as after they had sacrificed to Idols, toke their ministerie againe vpon them, without any signification or shewe of repentance, but rather iustifying, or at the least excusing their former facte. And that this was Cyprians meaning, it may be gathered by these words in the same Epistle, which he speaketh to the people to whom he writ, touching Fortunatianus, who hauing sacrificed to Idols would haue againe resumed his ministerie: *Ergo contumaces, & deum non timentes, & ab ecclesia in totum recedentes nemo comitetur. Quid si quis impatiens fuerit ad deprecandum dominum, qui offensus est, & nobis obtemperare noluerit, sed desperatos & perditos secutus fuerit, sibi imputabit cum iudicij dies venerit.* VWherefore let no man kepe companie with those which are stubborne, not fearing God, & wholly depart from the Church: But if any will not aske forgiuenesse at the Lord, which is offended, and will not obey vs, but will needes followe them which are desperate and paste hope, he shall laye the blame on none but on him selfe at the day of iudgement. Wherby it is plaine, that Cyprian ment such, as had wholly departed from the Church, and were desperate in wickednesse. It is manifest that in Cyprians time, those that did offend in such crimes & after wardes repented, were appointed a time of publique repentance, according to the qualitie of the fault committed, and vntill that time was expired, they were not admitted vnto the Lords table, except onely at the poynt of death.

Cypri. lib. 1.  
Epist. 7.

But I graunt that there was extreme seueritie in Cyprians time shewed to suche, as had fallen in the time of persecution, and that it evidently appeareth in other of his Epistles, that such were no moze admitted to the ministerie. But this law was made by Cyprian and others as it is euident Lib. 2. Epist. 1. in that Councell of Carthage where it was also concluded that such as were baptized of heretikes should be rebaptized, and thortofore of the lesse force, seeing that that whole Councell is for iust causes reiected.

### Chap. 2. the sixte Diuision:

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 39. Sect. 2. 3.

I pray you what say you to M. Luther, Bucer, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. were not al these sometimes Massemongers, and yet singular and notable instrumentes of promoting the Gospell and preaching the same, wherof many haue giuen testimonie by shedding their blood.

And by whole Ministerie especially hath the Gospell bene published, and is as yet in this Church of England, but by such as haue bene Massemongers, and now zealous, godly, & learned preachers.

T. C. Pag. 27. Sect. 2. 3.

But you aske what they saye to M. Luther, Bucer, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley: I praye you when did these excellent personages, euer slide from the Gospell vnto Idolatrie: which of them did euer say Masse, after God had opened them the truth: what hath so (a) blinded you, that you can not distinguish & put a difference, betwene one that hauing bene noursed from hys youth vp in Idolatrie, cometh after wardes out of it, and betwene him, which hauing knowledge of the Gospell after ward departeth from it, and of such is the place of Ezechiel, of such I say, as haue gone backe and fallen away.

(a) Even the Admonition which I confute, for it speaketh generally and maketh no such distinction

I knowe none, that haue bene preachers of the Gospell, and after in the tyme of Queene Mary Massemongers, which now are zealous, godly, and learned preachers, & if there be any such I thinke for offence sake, the Church mighte better be withoute them, than haue them. You saye God in that place sheweth howe greuous a synne Idolatrie is, in the Priests especially: And is it not nowe moze greuous in the Minister of the Gospell, whose function is more precious, and knowledge greater: and if the synne be greater, shoulde it haue nowe a lesse punishment



punishment, than it had then: howe shall the faulte be esteemed greater or little, but by the greatnesse or smallnesse of the punishment: you sayde before, the places of Deuteronomie, touching adding and diminishing nothing from that which the Lord commaundeth, were for the Jewes, and are not for our times. And this commaundement of God in Ezechiel, you say serued for that time, and not for ours.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The examples  
of Luther, &c.  
are directly a-  
gainst the Ad-  
monition.

The examples of M. Luther, Bucer, Cranmer, &c. do sufficiently confute the Admonition, the words wherof be these: In those dayes no Idolatrours sacrificers or heathenish priests were appoynted to be preachers of the Gospel: but we allow and like well of Popish Masse-mongers, men for all seasons, king Henries priests, &c. here you see, that they doe not onely condemnne suche as once knowing the truth, haue afterwards departed from it, but suche also as haue at any time sacrificed: why shoulde they else name king Henries priests, seeing it is evident that the masse was not abolished in king Henries time: so that I haue better cause to aske, what hath so blinded you that you could not vnderstand their meaning, the words being so plaine: or rather that you would in that point wilfully blind your self, & others also: I know some that being preachers of the Gospel, & after in the time of Quene Mary masse-mongers, which now are zealous, godly & learned preachers, & of as good fame and credit with goodlie men, as any be in this land (without offence be it spoken) neither be the quiet & humble members of the Church offended with them, but reioyce at their conuersion, and praise God for them.

Doctrine framed  
according  
to mens per-  
sons.

But you frame your doctrine according to your affection towarde certaine persons, as y<sup>e</sup> maner now a dayes of some is: so this doctrine hath been taught generally, that no Idolatrours priest shuld remaine in the ministerie: & these examples of Luther, Bucer, &c. haue been lightly reiected, as repugnant to the commaundement of God: but now being better aduised, & remembryng that some in that case be great promoters of your opinions, this mitigation forsooth must be made, that such as were preachers in king Edwards time, &c. they (I meane your fauourers) were professors, though they were no preachers, they were also in Quene Maries time Masse-mongers, & now they be preachers, & yet all is well: for you haue the law in your hands, to coyne what opinions you list, to adde to them, or to take fro them, what you list, to apply & not apply them, to whom and when you list, euen Popelike.

The sinne of Idolatrie is now as great an offence as it was then, but the external  
Tract 2. cap. 6. & ciuill punishment for the same, is in the power of the Magistrate, being a portion of  
the 5. diuision. the iudiciall law, the necessitie wherof is wholly abrogated, as I haue proued before.

Those precepts in Deut. were given to the Jewes, both for the iudiciall & ceremoni-  
all law also: they be given to vs for the law of faith & good maners only: for we are  
clearly deliuered from the ceremonies of the law: & the iudiciall (wherof this in Eze-  
chiel is a portion) are not enioyned to Christians, vpon any necessitie, but left to the dis-  
cretion of the ciuill Magistrate. And therfore I haue said nothing, either of those places  
of Deut. or of this of Ezech. which I wil not by learning & good authoritie iustifie.

*Chap. 2. the. 7. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 39. Sect. vlt.

God in that place of the prophet Ezechiel sheweth how greivous a  
sinne idolatrie is, especially in the priests, but he prescribeth no gene-  
rall rule of secloding them from their ministerie, if they falling, after-  
ward repent.

*T. C. Pag. 27. Sect. 4.*

You worke a sure way, which to mainteine your corruptions, denie the scripture, which speaketh  
against them, to be vnderstanded of those which be in our time, & that to be vnderstanded of our mi-  
nisters, which was of theirs, or of our faultes, which was of theirs. This is not the way to Ana-  
baptisme, but to all heresies, & schismes, that euer haue bene or shall be. For if you goe forwarde in  
clipping the scripture, as you begin, you will leaue vs nothing in the end, wherewith we may eather  
defend our selues against heretikes, or be able to strike at them.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I neither denie the scriptures, nor clip them, neither can my doctrine open the way to any  
heresie:



heretic : but I speake of them in this point as all learned and sounde writers doe, olde  
or newe : if I do not, disproue me, not by words, but by reasons and authorities.

### Chap. 2. the. 8. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 40. Sect. 1.

Besides this, there is a great difference betwixt the severity of the lawe, and the lenitie of the Gospell, betwixt the externall regiment of the Church before Christ, and the Church after Christ, neither can you make the one in all poyntes correspondent to the other: Likewise betwixt the declining of those Priests, which was wholly from God to Gentilitie, & the falling of ours to Papistrie, which confesseth the same articles of fayth that we doe, although not sincerely. It is one thing wholly to worship false Gods, an other thing to worship the true God falsely and superstitiously. But among all other things I woulde gladly knowe wherein king Edwards priests haue offended you: It is happie you let Queene Elizabeths priests alone. I maruell whose priests you are?

T. C. Page 27. Sect. 5. 6.

Whereas you say, there is a great difference betwene the severity of the lawe and lenitie of the Gospell, me thinkes I smel a spice of the error of the Anabaptists, which were also scholars in that behalfe of the olde heretike Cerdon, that there is a good and an euill, a gentle, and a seuerer God, one vnder the lawe, and an other vnder the Gospell. For to saye that God was then a seuerer punisher of sinne, and that now he is not at so great hatred with it, but that he will haue it gentler & softer deale with: is euill al one in effecte with that, which supposeth two Gods. I will saye with you in it, that the transgressions of the law, in the time of the Gospell, ought rather to be seuerely punished, than they were vnder the lawe, for as muche as the knowledge is greater, and the aboundance of the spirit of God, whereby the lawes are kept is more plentifull, than vnder the lawe.

Cap. 13.

At this time I wil content me with the place of Zacharie (\*) which prophesying of the kingdome of Christ, and of the time of the Gospell saith, that then the father and mother of the false Prophete shall cause their owne sonne to be put to death.

(\*) The place of Zach. misseva- derstode

### Io. Whitgiste.

My opinion touching the severity of the lawe & lenitie of the Gospell, is farther from the error of the Anabaptists, than yours is from the Turkes or Iewes. I knowe God is as seuerer a punisher of sinne now, as he was then, but the manner and kinde of corporally punishing it, is not the same now, that it was then: Neither wil I refuse to ioyne with you in this, that Christiā Magistrates are not bound to the iudiciall lawes of Moses, touching the kinde and manner of punishing sinne: and yet is not this to extenuate sinne one whit, but the contrary rather, as Cyrill doth note in his. 11. booke vpon Leviticus, where he sheweth a reason why adultrie, & other crimes were commaunded in the law to be punished with corporal death, and not in the Gospell, which reason fully answereth your obiection, *Quid igitur dicemus quod lex Moysi crudelis est.* &c. what then? shall we say that the law of Moses is cruell, which commaundeth that the adulterer, and adulteresse should be punished: and that the Gospell of Christ through indulgence and pardon, maketh the hearers the worse: it is not so: for to this purpose dyd we bring in that saying of Paule before: howe muche more is he worthie of more grieuous punishment, whyche treadeth vnder feete the Sonne of GOD. &c. Heare therefore howe neyther the lawe was then cruell, neyther yet the Gospell is nowe dissolute, for the greatnesse of forgyuenesse: but in bothe, though diuersely, the louyng kindnesse of GOD remaineth. This, that is according to the lawe (as for example, that the Adulterer and Adulteresse were punnyshed wyth presente deathe) for so muche as bothe of them

Difference betwixt the severity of the law and the lenitie of the Gospell.



haue suffered punishment for their sinne, and haue receiued due rewarde for the wicked-  
nesse which they committed: what reuengement shall afterward hang ouer their soules, if  
they haue committed no other fault, if there is no other sinne, which may condemne them,  
but onely haue committed this fact, and for the same haue receiued the punishment due by  
the lawe? The Lord will not punishe one thing twise, for they haue receiued the rewarde  
for their sinne, and the paine for their offence is finished. And for this cause is not this kind  
of commaundement cruell (as the heretikes affirme, accusing the lawe of God, and denying  
that there is any kinde of humanitie in it) but it is full of mercie: bycause hereby the peo-  
ple should rather be purged from their sinnes, than condemned. But nowe there is no pu-  
nishment layd vpon the body, nor any purging of sinne, through corporall punishment, but  
through repentance, which if a man doe worthily worke, so that he may seme worthie to  
haue the punishment withdrawne, he maye finde forgiuenesse. But howsoever this an-  
swere of Cyrill, may in some points minister occasion of quarrelling to suche as be dis-  
posed, yet this is euident, that the quantitie of sinne & the heynousnesse of it, is not to be  
esteemed according to the corporall and externall punishments, but according to the  
commaundement of God, to the which it is repugnant, and according to the threate-  
nings of God in the scriptures pronounced against the same, for we see that lesser faults  
are by man punished with greater torments, euen according to the state of euery cou-  
try. And this smelleth not one whitte of the Manichees heresie, but the cleane contrarie.  
Neither doe I make this difference betwixt the seueritie of the law, and le-  
nitie of the Gospell, in any other respect, than of temporall punishment appoynt-  
ed in the lawe.

The true mea-  
ning of zacha-  
rie, 13.

The place of Zacharie doth not make for your purpose, except you will giue to the  
parents power of life and deathe ouer their sonnes and daughters, and giue libertie  
for one priuate man to kill another. The prophet in that place declareth what zeale  
shal be in the people against false prophets, & how much they shall preferre the true  
Religion of God before their owne naturall affection, and rather forlake their childre  
yea hate them, and kill them, than by their meanes, they should be withdrawne from  
God: this is the true meaning of that place. If you will referre it to the time of the  
Gospell. But if you will apply it to the Israelites to whom this prophet now prea-  
cheth & prophesieth, then both he declare vnto them what zeale and seruencie God re-  
quireth in them, if they truly repent them of their former Idolatrie: euen that they  
shall not spare their owne childzen, but deale with them according to the lawe Deu. 13.  
ver. 6. &c. M. Luther expounding this place and referring it to the time of the Gospell  
saith thus: *Et est hæc sententia summa. &c.* The summe hereof is, that Christians shal reteine, &  
defend true and pure doctrine, without respect of any person, whether it be his kinsman, or  
friend, for it is necessarie that there shoulde be false doctrine, and heresies, that the truth  
might be tryed, but yet they shall not haue the vpper hande, or preuaile. And interpreting  
(these wordes) his father and his mother that begat him shall thrust him through when he  
prophesieth) he saith, *id est, non ferreis aut ereis armis & gladijs ipsum conficiet, sed verbo Dei,*  
*erit enim spirituale & suauiter certamen, quale est parentum cum suis liberis, sicut & diuus Paulus*  
*Corinthios confodit, & ipsorum errores verbo Dei reprehendit.* That is to say, they shall destroy  
him not wyth Iron or brasen armour and weapons, but wyth the worde of God: for the  
strife shall be spirituall and pleasant, suche as is betweene parentes and their Children, lyke  
as Saynt Paule dothe pearce throughe the Corinthians, and reprehendeth their errors by  
the word of God.

Luther.

The bloody  
assertion of  
C.C.

But would you in dede conclude of thys place, that those whiche haue taughte  
false doctryne muste of necessitie be put to deathe, though they repent? yea that their  
owne parentes and friendes muste kill them, or cause them to be kylled, and not ra-  
ther receiue them willingly, if they will conuerte, and embrace them moste ioyful-  
ly? vndoubtedly, the Prophete hathe no suche meaning: neyther haue you anye ex-  
ample of suche extremitie committed by a true Christian towarde a repentant I-  
dolater, from the natiuitie of Christe vnto thys houre: neyther is there anye  
thing in the whole newe Testamente, whereby anye suche facte can be war-  
ranted. And howsoever thys place maye make, for the seuerie punishyng of stub-  
borne



bozne and peruerse Idolaters, it maketh nothing at all for suche as repente and be conuerted: and therefore it may be, that this place of Scripture bothe content you, but surely it can not perswade any that duely considereth it, that Idolaters thonghe they repent, may not be receyued bothe to mercy, and also into the ministerie.

And if any man shall thinke that I wzing his wordes agaynst his meaning, let him consider agaynst whom he bendeth his force, and bygeth this place of Zacharie (that is, agaynst them whiche haue fallen, and haue bin Massemongers, and nowe are none, but preachers of the Gospell) and he shall easily perceyue bothe the bloudinesse of his opinion, and also that I haue not here in dealt vnfaithfully. Surely (al circumstances considered) it is not vnlike that this hath bene some occasion of the mischæuons attempt which of late hath bene put in practise.

### Chap. 2. the. 9. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 28. Lin. 2. & Sect. 1.

It is as absurde which is brought, to proue that the Papistes which worship God falsly, doe not faulter so haynously as the Israelites did, whiche worshipped the Idols. As who should say, the Jewes, or any other the grossest Idolaters that euer were, did (a) euer take those thinges which they worshipped, serpents, open fyre, water, &c. to be God, or knew not the Images, before whiche they fell downe, were wood or stone, siluer and golde. (b) And who knoweth not, that they thought that they worshipped by them and in them, the God which made heauen and earthe. The Jewes when they molten a golden Calf, and fell downe before it, dyd (c) neuer thinke that to be God, but sayde that they woulde keepe holydaye to the (d) Lorde Jehouah, wherein I will put you ouer to the learned treatises of the godly new writers, whiche doe refute this distinction beeing brought of the Papistes, as a shifte to proue that the Idolatrie whiche is forbidden in the olde Testament, toucheth not them, because they worship God by these thinges, and the Idolatrous Jewes and Infidels, worshipped nothing else, nor looked at nothing else, than the bare thinges before whiche they fell downe. Whiche selfe same distinction you bring to proue, that Papistrice is not so detestable, as the Idolatrie of the Jewes. It may be, that certayne of the Gentiles worshipped by their Images (e) Jupiter & Iuno, &c. But you can not shew, that the Israelites euer worshipped any other god, than the true God, so that their faulter was onely, in that they worshipped him otherwise, than he had appoynted. And the Gentils that worshipped many gods, worshipped one as the head and chiefe, and the rest as small companions, and as they termed them, *minorum gentium deos*, as the Papistes doe God as the chiefe, and the Sanctes as other pettie Gods.

And heere all men may see, what a good proctor you be for the Papistes, both in lessening their faulter, and abating their punishments, and yet will not I say, that you are conspired with them, or haue receyued your fee of them. But if you can shewe where, or in what one poynt, those that you charge with confederacie, haue layde so soft pillowes vnder their heades as these are: they refuse not to be called confederate, and conspired with the Papistes.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The distinction betwixte the worshipping of the false gods wholly, and the worshipping of the true God falsly and superstitiously; is not yet by you proued to haue any absurditie in it. But it is great boldnesse for you to affirme, that the Gentiles and the molle grosse Idolaters neuer tooke those whiche they dyd worship for Gods, but that in them, and by them they thought they worshipped the God that made heauen and earthe. For what prophane Philosopher, what drunken Poet, what boy in the Grammer schole knoweth not the contrarie? Was Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, Diana, &c. Gods or Goddesses that created heauen and earth: or thought to haue made heauen and earth: and yet these and suche like they were, whome the Gentiles did worship euen in their Images. Nay they tooke the very Images themselues sometimes to be their Gods. Dothe not the 115. Psal. Clay. 44. Iere. 10. Baruch. 6. the storie of Bell and the Dragon, and the Scripture in sundrie places else, manifestly declare it? And did not the Jewes oftentimes sinne in this poynt as grossely as the Gentiles did? Looke Iudge. 2. verse. 10. 11. et. 12. Reg. 18. wherein it is playne, that the Jewes were as grosse in taking those thinges to be Gods in dede, as were the Gentiles. And surely I thinke the places in the Scripture before alleaged, so manifest for the pwise heereof, that no man reading the same, can any thing doubt of this matter.

(a) As who should say, that any man can doubt of this.  
(b) A grosse error, for most of the wise gentils thought that the heauens & earth were neuer created.  
(c) A manifest vnruthe, as shall appeare.  
(d) A vnruthe, for they sayde not so.  
(e) This is contrarie to that which you spake immediately before.

The gentiles tooke the Images to be gods.  
Psal. 115.  
Esay. 44.  
Ierem. 10.  
Baruch. 6.  
Hist Bel & Dragon.  
Iudg. 2.  
1. Reg. 18.



Idolatrous  
sacrificers  
and masse-  
mongers.

The example  
of E. C. as  
gaynst him  
selfe.

Exo. 32. ver. 4.

Three kindes  
of Idolatrie.  
Martyr in  
Iud. 2.  
Musculus in  
Lo. com. in ex-  
pla. 1. precept.

## The defense of the answere

Tract. 3

The wordes of the terte doe expressely signifie vnto vs, that the Israelites took the golden Calfe to be God: but be it that they maye be taken there metonymically (whiche is but a coniecture) that can not excuse their grossenesse at other tymes, when they were conuersant among the Gentiles, and allured to worshipp their Gods. But this example serueth very well for my purpose, for Aaron dyd not onely make this Calfe, but also sacrificed vnto it, and caused the people to worshipping it: and yet notwithstanding he was not deposed from his priesthode, although his case was all one with theirs, agaynst whome you nowe speake.

You saye the people sayde that they woulde keepe holyday to the Lorde Iehouah, and therefore did not take the Calfe to be God: wherein you saye not truely, for those were the wordes, not of the people, but of Aaron: the people sayde, These be thy Gods, O Israell, whiche brought thee out of the lande of Egypte. so that, that reason may shewe what Aaron thought of it: and this, what was the opinion of the people. I would haue you to deale sincerely in alleaging of the scriptures.

You put me ouer to the treatises of godly newe wynters, which doe refuse this distinction. &c. But you neither name those wynters vnto me, nor let me vnderstande where to finde those treatises, whiche maketh me suspecte that you neyther knowe whose, nor where they be: but the matter is not greate. I doe as muche mislike that distinction of the Papistes, and the intent of it, as any man dothe, neyther doe I goe aboute to excuse them from wycked, and (without repentance and Gods singular mercy) damnable Idolatrie: But yet doe I saye the Idolatrie bothe of the Iewes, and of the Gentiles (for the causes by me alleaged) to be muche greater. For there are three kyndes of Idolatrie. One is, when the true God is worshipped by other meanes and wayes, than he hath prescribed, or woulde be worshipped. The other is, when the true God is worshipped, together with false Gods. 2. Regum. 17. The thirde is, when we worship false Gods eyther in harte and mynd, or in externall creatures liuing, or dead, and altogether forget the worshipp of the true God. All these three kindes are detestable, but the first is the least, and the laste is the worst: in the whiche kinde the Israelites sundrie tymes offended, as is manifest in the places before mentioned.

The Papistes worship God otherwyse than his will is, and otherwise than he hath prescribed, almosite in all poyntes of their worshipp: they also giue to the creature that whiche is due to the Creator, and sinne agaynst the first table: yet are they not for ought that I can see, or learne, in the thirde kinde of Idolatrie: and therefore if they repent vnsaynably, they are not to be caste either out of the Church, or out of the ministerie.

The Papistes haue little cause to thanke me, or to see me, for any thing that I haue spoken in their behalfe as yet: you see that I place them among wicked and damnable Idolaters. My defense is of those that haue bin Papistes, and be not, and for no other: for them I speake my conscience according to my pwe knowledge, take it as you please.

## Of Ministers learning of Cate-

chismes. Chap. 3.

### Admonition.

The thirde. Then (p) they taught others, nowe they muste be instructed themselves, and therefore like yong children they (q) muste learne Catechismes.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 40. Sect. 3. 4. 5.

& Pag. 41. Sect. 1. 2.

God be thanked, there is a great number of Ministers that can teach others, and may be your scholemisters in al kinde of learning, except you haue more than you better in these treatises.

1. Tim. 4. 11  
Ministers of  
London are  
iointed to  
learne M.  
Nouvels C.  
techismes.



If they that finde some want of learning in them selues, or that be crepte into the ministerie vnlearned, either of their owne accord, or by commaundement of their Ordinarie, reade and learne godly and learned Catechismes, they are to be commended, and so is he that prouoketh them thereunto.

That Catechisme whiche you in derision quote in the margent, is a booke fit for you to learne also: and I knowe no man so well learned, but it may become him to read and learne that learned and necessarie booke. But some arrogant spirites there be, that thinke them selues of all men best learned, and disdain to learne of any.

That place of the fourth chapter of the first to Timothy, doth not forbid a man to learne.

He that is a good and modest preacher, will not disdain as well to be taught, as to teache.

T. C. Pag. 28. Sect. 2. 3.

What shoulde become of the people in the meane season, whilst they learne their Catechisme, and when they haue learned it, they are no more fit to be Ministers, and to teache other, than he that hath learned his Accidence, is meete to set up a schole. And it can not be defended, but it was a grosse oversight, to enioyne ministers to learne a Catechisme. It were muche to compell them to reade it. And if a man would haue declaimed agaynst the ignorance of the most parte of the ministers, thre whole dayes together, he coulde not haue sayde more agaynst them, than that Canon which sendeth them to their A. B. C. and principles of their religion. Howe knowe you that they quote the Catechisme in the margent in derision: is there any sillable or letter that soundeth that wayes: if you coniecture it because they haue set it in the margent, you may as well say, that they likewise quote the scriptures in derision, being also placed there.

\* But howe followeth this? It is meete that ministers shoulde learne euery day, therefore it is meete they be enioyned to learne Catechismes: it is meete they shoulde reade Catechismes, therefore meete to learne them, and be enioyned to learne them: Is there nothing worthier the learning and profession of the Minister, than to learne Catechismes: or dothe a man learne those thinges alwayes, which he reade: dothe he not reade thinges sometime to recorde the thinges that he hath learned: For because they say it is not meete that ministers should be enioyned to learne a Catechisme, you conclude of their wordes, that they shoulde not haue a minister to learne, or to reade any thing, whiche is as farre from their meaning or wordes epyther, as you are from the reasonable and hyght expounding of them.

\* It followeth  
even as the rest  
of your argu-  
ments do, for it  
is your own, and  
no mans else.

Io. Whitgife.

God be thanked, the people neede not pnye alwaye for lacke of fode, they haue the Scriptures read vnto them, they haue also profitable and fruitefull Homilies, they haue the Sacramentes rightly ministred, and publyke prayers in a knowne tongue: and sometyme God sendeth vnto them some well disposed preacher further to instruct them, and the Curate is not so slothfull and carelesse, but that he will also communicate with them that whiche he himselfe hath by diligent reading learned.

Catechismes (and that especially) doe conteyne the groundes of religion, and the principall poyntes of faythe, and good lyfe, and therefore not vnfitte, or vnprofitable for any man to reade. I know not what weightier matters they can learne, than those that be conteyned in that booke: excepte you thinke nothing weightie, but suche matters as you nowe contende for: and for the which you so muche disturbe the peace of the Church. It is well done to enioyne them to learne it, and it shall be no disgracing, no not to your selfe to reade it.

We doe not denie but that there be vnlearned Ministers in Englande, and soe thinke it no discredit at all, to enioyne them to learne suche thinges as are most profitable bothe for them to knowe, and to teache vnto other. To reade and to learne suche an A. B. C. is not vnprofitable for any: but you will still shewe that good opinion that you haue of your selfe, and howe greatly you disdain all other mens



mens labours.

Whether I haue truly sayd that note to be placed in the Margent in derision, or no, let the Reader iudge, to whome also I doe referre the consideration of your modestie, touching that matter. He that indifferently considereth their quotations of Scriptures, wyll thinke that the moste of them, were not placed there in good earnest.

The argument whiche it hath pleased you to frame of my wordes (I graunte) followeth not: but thys followeth righte well, it is fitte that ignozante Ministers shoulde be enioyned to learne suche thinges, as be mete and profitable for them, Ergo, they maye be enioyned to learne Catechismes. And in lyke manner, it is mete they shoulde reade suche Bookes as maye instructe them: Ergo, they maye reade Catechismes. I thinke a man by reading, learneth: and I suppose that to reade those things agayne, whiche a man hath forgotten, is to learne them agayne, if to learne be to vnderstande, and to remember.

But all this your dallying about this matter, is to bring discredite vnto this state of the Church, because there be many ignozante Ministers. Wherefore I will answer you with the very wordes in the confession of the Churches in Heluetia.

*Confes. eccles.  
Heluetic.*

Ve condemne all vnmete Ministers, not indued with giftes necessarie for a shepheard that shoulde feede his flocke. Howbeit we acknowledge that the harmlesse simplicitie of some shepherdes in the olde Church, dyd sometymes more profite the Church, than the great, exquisite, and fine or delicate, but a little too proude learning of some others: wherefore we reiect not nowe a dayes, the good simplicitie of certayne, so that they be not altogether vnskilfull of God and his worde.

## Of the election of Ministers by the voyces and consent of the people.

### Chap. 4. the. 1. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

The fourth. Then election was made by the common (r) consent of the whole Church: now euery one picketh out for himselfe some notable good benefice, he obtaineth the nexte aduocation, by money or by fauour, and so thinketh himselfe sufficiently chosen.

Ad. 1. 16

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 42. Sect. 4. 5. 6.

*Matthias elected extra-ordinarily.*

To proue that the election was then made by the common consent of the whole Church, you quote the first of the Actes. I tolde you before master Caluines iudgement of that place: there is no mention of electing by any common consent. And in the place by you quoted, whiche is the. 26. verse, it is declared howe they gaue forth their lottes, and that the lot fell on Matthias, and that he was by a common consente counted with the eleuen Apostles: heere is no mention of any election. But when he was extraordinarily through Gods prouidence by lot appoynted, then they al counted him, and esteemed him as one of the Apostles, where as before, some of them woulde haue had Barabas.

I thinke your meaning is not to haue alwayes two at once to be presented to the ministerie, and then one of them to be chosen by lotte: I knowe none of that opinion. Wherefore this example is singu-



singular and extraordinarie, and therefore no generall rule to be followed.

If any man seeketh a benefice extraordinarily, or vnlawfully. If any man desire *honorem*, the honor, not *onus*, the burthen: *opes*, the riches, not *opus*, the vvorke: he hath to answere for it: but I trust you wyll not accuse all, though perhaps you knowe some, I meane of your selues, and peraduenture your owne selfe.

#### Admonition.

<sup>s</sup> The fiftie. Then the congregation (s) had authoritie to call ministers: in steade therof now they runne, they ride, and by vnlawfull sute and buying, preuente other sucers also.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 42. Sect. 2. 3.

To proue that the congregation had then authoritie to call ministers: you alleage the sixte of the Actes, whiche place of the Actes I touched before: It speaketh not of Ministers of the worde, but of Deacons, whiche were appoynted to make prouision for the pooze only (as you say) neyther dyd the multitude of the Disciples (for so they be called) electe them before they were willed so to doe by the twelue Apostles.

It may be that some vse to runne and ryde, and by vnlawfull sute and buying preuente others, and it maye be that you haue experience heereof: but all doe not so, this is the faulte of the man, not of the calling: you maye not ascribe mens infirmities to a lawfull order. The rule maye bee good, though it bee by some broken.

A good rule  
may be broke  
by some, and  
yet good still.

T. C. Pag. 28. Sect. 4.

It hath bin likewise shewed, what was in that election extraordinarie, and what pertaineth to the ordinarie callings. And in the sixte of the Actes it was shewed, if the Deacons should not be thrust vpon the congregation agaynst the wyll of it, muche lesse ought the minister. And if that congregation had by the commaundement of the Apostles, an interest in the chople of their gouernours, I see not why the same commaundement remayneth not to be followed of other Churches. Your reasons wherewith you would make difference, shall be after considered.

#### Io. Whitgife.

And I haue likewise answered to whatsoeuer you haue sayde there, but you tell vs neyther there nor heere, howe aptely this parte of the texte, *scilicet*, verse. 26. is in this place quoted. To your reason also gathered oute of the sixte of the Actes in the electing of Deacons I haue there answered: onely I thoughte good in this place to set downe the iudgement of Chrysostome Hom. 14. in Act. *Ideo hoc non permiserunt sorti, ne cum possent ipsi spiritu moti, eligere, hoc faciunt: sed magis statuunt quod multorum testimonijs approbatur. Nam definire numerum, et ordinare, et in talem usum, hoc sibi vendicant: Eligere autem viros illis permittunt, ut ne videantur ipsi in gratiam quorundam agere.* The Apostles dyd not committe the election of Deacons to lotte, neyther they beeyng moued with the spirite, dyd choose them, though they mighte haue so done: for to appoynt the number, to ordayne them, and to suche an vse, they chalenged as due vnto them selues. And yet doe they permitte the election of them to the people, least they shoulde bee thoughte to bee partiall, or to doe any thing for fauoure. Your reasons to proue that to be a perpetuall rule, shall not (God willing) be passed ouer in their place.

Chryso. Hom.  
14. in Act.



## Chap. 4. the. 2. Division.

## Admonition.

The sixthe. Then no Minister placed in any congregation, but by the consent of the people.

Act. 14. 23.  
2. Cor. 8. 19

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 42. Sect. vlc.

To proue that no Minister was placed in any congregation, but by the consent of the people, you alleage the. 14. of the Actes, and of the. 2. to the Corinthians, the eyght chapter. In the. 14. of the Actes, verse. 23. (for the whiche you haue quoted the. 13.) it is thus written. When they (that is Paule and Barnabas) had ordeyned them elders by election (for so is some translation) in euery Church, and prayed and fasted. &c. The texte is playne that Paule and Barnabas did ordeyne them Elders.

T.C. Pag. 29. Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Unto these places of the first and sixte of the Actes is added, firste the place of the fourteenth of the Actes, where the authors of the Admonition doe proue, that the election ought not to be in one man his hande, but ought to be made by the Church, agaynst which master Doctor taketh three exceptions. The first is, for that it is sayde that Paule and Barnabas ordeined Elders, whereby he woulde conclude, that the congregations had nothing to doe. But howe slender a reason that is, it may be considered of infinite places in the Scripture, whercof I will recite two or thre.

In the fiftie Chapter of Iosua it is sayde, that Iosua made him sharpe knyues for the circumcising of the children of Israel, and a little afterwarde, that Iosua circumcised them. Shall we now vpon these words conclude, Iosua dyd make the knyues himselfe, or was a Cutler, or beeing made to his hande, did whette them, and sharpen them, or shall we saye that he dyd circumcise the children of Israel in his owne person, and himselfe alone, when as that was done by many, and by the Leuites, to whome that office apperteyned? No, but the Scripture declareth, that Iosua procured sharpe knyues to be made, and exhorted and commaunded the people to be circumcised.

In the eyghtenth of Exodus, it is sayde that Moses dyd appoynt vnto the people, Princes, Captaynes ouer thousandes and hundrethes. &c. And if any conclude therevpon that he dyd it himselfe alone, he is by and by confuted by that whiche is written in Deuteronomie, where it appeareth that the people dyd choose them, and presented them to Moses, what is it then that is sayde in Exodus, that Moses appoynted them, but that Moses assembled the people, and exhorted them to appoynt rulers, and tolde them what maner of men they shoulde be, and in a worde, late as it were, moderatour in that election.

1. Chap.  
verse. 15.

To come to the newe Testament. In the Actes it is sayde, that Paule and Timothee deli- uered vnto the Churches, the orders and decrees of the Apostles and Elders, and yet it appea- reth in another place, that the Church had also to doe, and gaue their consent vnto the making of those decrees, so that the former place meaneth, that the Apostles and Elders dyd go before, and were the chiefe, and directors of that action.

Act. 16.  
Act. 15.  
verse. 23.

\*You say so, but  
you shewe not  
one.

The same maner of speache is vsed of the Romane stoies, wherein it is sayde, that the Counsell dyd make Magistrates, for because that he gathered the assembly and voyces, whereby they were made: and so S. Luke saythe heere, that Paule and Barnabas ordeyned, because they beeing the moderators of the election, caused it to be made, assembled the Churches, tolde them of the necessitie of hauing good pastors and gouernoures, gathered the voyces, tooke heede that nothing shoulde be done lightly, nothing tumultuously or out of order. And so to conclude, it is an euill reason to say as M. Doctor dothe, that because S. Luke hath, that Paule and Barnabas ordeyned, therefore the people were excluded.

## 10. Whitgifte.

If the reason grounded vpon the playne words of the scripture, be but a slender reason, then do I confesse that to be so likewise. Howbeit, very goodly and learned men thinke it a reason sufficient. Zuinglius in his Ecclesi. sayth, that some were called & elected to the ministerie of the worde, by the Apostles onely. Bullinger in his thirde booke aduersus Anabap. Cap. 4. sayth thus: Paulus & Barnabas presbyteros seu ministros elegerunt in ecclesijs Asiae. Paule and Barnabas did choose Elders or Ministers in the Churches of Asia.

Zuinglius.  
Bullinger.

Those places of Scripture that you recite, may proue that there are suche maner of speeches in the scripture, but they proue not that this is suche, and therefore you haue in vayne rehearsed them.

The



The example of Josua is farre from prouyng thys phrase, to bee suche, so: you affirme, that Josua is sayde to make sharpe knyues, and to Circumcide, onelye because hee procured sharpe knyues to bee made, and commaunded the people to bee circumcided, and not because hee hym selfe dydde sharpen the knyues, or circumcyde in hys owne person: But it is certayne that Paule and Barnabas had to doe in this action, and didde themselves in theyr owne persons, ordeyne ministers, and not commaunde others to ordeyne them. Wherefore the manner of speache can not bee lyke, excepte you will expounde thys place thus: Paule and Barnabas ordeyned them Elders, that is, commaunded the people to chosse them Elders, whyche interpretation were straunge for thys place, and vnhearde of before.

That in the style of Deuteronomie dothe not directly proue, that Moyses alone didde not appoynte those Magistrates, for although he wylled the people to bring vnto him menne of wysedome, and of vnderstandyng. &c. yet it followeth not that they didde so, but it rather appeareth, that they commytted the choyse of them wholly to hym, for after in the fiftenth verse of the same Chapter he sayeth, So I tooke the chiefe of youre tribes, wyse and knowne men, and made them rulers. &c. Manifest it is (that whether the people named any vnto hym or no) he appoynted them, and gaue them theyr authoritie, so that the maner of speache is proper, and without any trope or figure.

Deu. 1. ver. 15.

But doe you not still secretly pushe at the authoritie of the Ciuill Magistrate, vnder the pretence of speakyng agaynst the state Ecclesiasticall? For howe soeuer you woulde seeme to bring in the place in the eightenth of Exodus, to proue the phrase and manner of speaking, yet maye you bee thoughte secretly to insinuate that Princes maye not appoynte vnder-officers, without the Election of the people. And surely if your dealing in this place bee well marked, it may easily be seene, that in reasonyng agaynst the gouernemente of the Church, you laye the groundes of confoundyng, or at the leaste, of chaungyng the state of the Common wealth.

T. C. vnder an other pretence pulseth at the ciuill Magistrate.

In the fiftenth of the Actes ver. 22. and. 23. there appeareth, that the whole Church together wyth the Apostles and Elders, didde sende certayne chosen menne of theyr owne compaigne to Antiochia, wyth Paule and Barnabas. &c. and wrote Letters by them conteynyng these Decrees: wherevnto though the people subscribed, and gaue theyr consente, yet it followeth not, but that the Apostles and Elders made them: As it also appeareth verse. 2. and. 6. of the same chapter. Every one that consenteth to Orders, and subscribeth vnto them, dothe not therefore make them: Wherefore they maye properly be sayde to be made by the Apostles and Elders onely, though the people allowed well of them, and consented to them. And therefore sayth M. Caluine: the modestie of the people herein dothe appeare, that after they had committed the decyding of the controuersies to the Apostles, and other Doctours, they were also contente to subscribe to their decree. Whether there be any suche manner of speache or no in the Romaine stories, it is not materiall: neyther is there any thing here spoken, whyche proueth that thys is suche a manner of speache: wherefore it muste remayne as proper and literally true, vntill there be stronger reasons brought to proue as playnely, that the people ordeyned ministers, as it is here written, that Paule and Barnabas did.

Cal. in. 15. Act.

### Chap. 4. the thirde Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 43. Lin. 8.

And the Greeke worde χειροτονει although it signifie to elect, by putting vp of handes, yet it is the common opinion almoste of all Ecclesiasticall writers, that this worde in Scripture is bled for the solempne maner of ordering ministers by the imposition of hands.



T.C. Pag. 29. Sect. 6. & Pag. 30. Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4.

And I marvel with what conscience he could answer so in this place, especially where it is forthwith added, that they ordeyned them by the suffrages, and voyces of the Church. But you say that the Greeke worde χειροτονία is by the common opinion of almost all ecclesiasticall writers, used in the scripture for the solemn manner of ordeyning of ministers, by the imposition of hands: which is the seconde exception you take to this reason. Wherein, but that I have promised to holde my selfe to the matter, and that these bolde asseuerances in matters most vnttrue, are so common, that if I should euery foote pursue them, I should wearie my selfe and all others, I could not keepe my selfe from running out to maruell at suche high speeches voyde of truth. First, where you say that some translation hath, that they ordeyned ministers without making mention of Election, what haue you gained thereby, when I can shewe moe that translate it otherwise, and say it is, that they ordeyned by election, or voyces, or suffrages? I had not the commoditie of Bokes, whereby I could see the iudgement of all Ecclesiasticall writers. But of those which I had, I finde that there was but (a) one, onely M. Gualter of that minde, and yet he both not shut out the peoples consent in the Election, neyther M. Caluine, M. Beza, M. Bullinger, M. Musculus, M. Wenzius, he that translated Chrysostome vpon that place, Erasmus in his Paraphrases vpon that place are of the contrarie iudgement, of whose iudgement I would not haue spoken, if you would not haue gone about, thus to abuse your reader, with such manifest vnttruthes, to ouerthrow the order which God hath established.

(a) An vnttruth, as will appeare.

But let all authorities of men goe, and let vs examine the thing in it selfe. If so be that the holie Ghost had meant the solemn putting on of the hands vpon the hed of him that was created Elder and Minister, had he not words inow to vtter this his meaning? would he haue for laying on of hands used a word that signifieth lyfting vp of hands: would he haue used a word signifying holding vp for laying downe? for when the hands are layde of the heade of an other, they are layde downe, and not holden vp. There are wordes in the olde Testamente, and in the newe before Luke wrote, and after he wrote, to expresse thys Ceremonie of laying on of hands, and yet none haue ever expresse this.

Saincte Paule speaketh thys of it in his Epistles to Timothie, and aswapes hee bleth *ἐπιθεσις τῆς χειρὸς*. In the olde Testamente where this ceremonie is used and spoken of, the Septuaginta did neuer translate *χειροτονία*. But as the writers of the newe Testament, *ἐπιθεσις χειρὸς*. And what should I stande in thys, when as Saincte Luke himselfe, bothe before and after, speaking of that Ceremonie of laying on of hands, dothe neuer vse this worde *χειροτονία*, but the same worde whiche Saincte Paule bleth, and the Septuaginta? And although the holie Ghoste speake properly, and well by whome soeuer he speaketh, yet it could haue bene worste of all sayde by Saincte Luke, of all the Canonically writers, that hee should speake thus improperly, who of them all wyrteth mooste purely and elegantly, according to the phrase of the mooste eloquent Grecians, and therefore hee borrowed thys speache of the auncient Greeke writers, whiche dyd vse to expresse theyr Elections by thys worde, because they were made, and voyces giuen by this Ceremonie of lyfting vp of hands.

1. Tim. 4.  
1. Tim. 5.  
2. Tim. 1.  
8. Actes.  
9. Actes.  
19. Actes.

But what if Saincte Luke haue used this worde before, and in thys booke, in the signification of choosyng by voyce, dare you then saye, that he bleth it here for putting on of hands? In the 10. of the Actes Saincte Peter sayth, that Christe after his resurrection, appeared not vnto the whole people, but vnto those whome he had before chosen by his (b) voyce, to bee his witnesses, he bleth this *προκεχειροτονήμενους*. Nowe if you will saye here, that it is to be turned, those of whome he layde his hands: I will aske you where you reade, that euer he layde his hands of theyr heades. I will shewe you where he dyd by hys heavenly voyce appoynt them. And I thynke you are not able to shewe in any Greeke authour auncient, and which men doo take to be autentically to teache the propertie or eloquence of the greke tongue I meane whiche were before Saincte Luke his tyme, where the worde *χειροτονία* is taken for the laying on of hands of the head of any.

(b) If you will graunte that this word is taken for electing by one voyce, we shall soone agree.

This I confesse that the Greeke Ecclesiasticall writers haue sometymes used it so, but you must remember that Saincte Luke could not learne to speake of them that came two or three hundred yeares after him: but he borrowed this phrase of speech of those that were before him, and therefore speaketh of elections as they dyd. So that you see this shift will not serue.

### Io. Whitgifte.

There is nothyng to proue that they ordeyned them by the suffrages of the Church, but this worde *χειροτονία*, the acceptation whereof in this place is nowe in question: I say still, that although it properly signifie to electe by putting vp of hands, yet is it the common opinion almoste of all ecclesiasticall writers, that it is used in Scripture for the solemn manner of ordering ministers by the imposition of hands. And that thys is neyther so straunge nor so vnttrue, as you would seme to make the reader beleue, I haue set downe those authours which haue taught me so to say.

The signification of the worde *χειροτονία*

Bullinger vpon the same place sayeth thus: *Ceterum dictio χειροτονία*



ita ponitur; ut vel suffragijs populi delectos esse, vel manuum impositione inauguratos intelligere possimus. But the woorden *χειροτονίας* is so placed that wee may vnderstande either that they were chosen by the voyces of the people, or ordeyned by the laying on of handes.

M. Caluine vpon the same place hath these wordes, *Verbum Græcum χειροτονία significat aliquid manibus sublati discernere, qualiter in committis populi fieri solet. Scriptores tamen ecclesiastici nomen χειροτονίας alio sensu usurpant: nempe pro solenni ordinationis ritu, qui in Scripturis vocatur, manuum impositio.* The greeke woorde *χειροτονία* signifieth to determine something by holding vp of handes, according as it was vsuall in the assemblies and elections of the people: notwithstanding the Ecclesiasticall wryters vse this woorde *χειροτονία* in an other sense. For the solempne manner of ordering, which in the scriptures is called the laying on of handes. And this saying of M. Caluine hath the Marlorat also wrytten in his collections, as allowyng the same. The same M. Caluine *Instit. cap. 8. Sect. 65. Sequitur iam ut tractemus. &c.* It foloweth now that we shoulde intreate of the maner wherby the ministers of the primitiue Church were placed in theyr office. This the Latinistes call ordering or consecration, the Grecians *χειροτονία*, and sometimes also *χειροθεσία*: although *χειροτονία* is properly called that kynde of election, wherein the voyces are signified by lifting vp of handes.

Lykewise Gualter vpon the fourteenth of the Actes. *Deinde χειροτονίας mentionem facit Lucas. &c.* Furthermore Luke maketh mention of *χειροτονία*, by the which not onely the gathering of voyces, but also the laying on of handes, whiche was a signe of consecration, maye be signified: And surely the latter seemeth moste conueniente. For it is not lykely that the Apostles woulde departe from that order, whiche wee see to haue bene obserued in the election of Matthias, and permitte any thing to the iudgemente of man (whiche in voyces oftentimes commeth to passe) seeyng that they stirred vp the whole Church to prayer and fasting.

Thus then you see that the matter is nothing so straunge as you make it: for all these learned wryters affirme as muche touching the acceptation of this woorde, as I haue done: and if you will giue mee leaue to alleadge the Canons attributed to the Apostles, as you do, I wil fynde it there taken in the same signification also: for in the first Cano it is thus wrytten, *ἐπισκοπος χειροτονείτω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν.* 1. & 2. Let a bishop be ordeyned of two or three Bishops. And in the second Can. *πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονείτω.* Lette a minister be ordeyned of one Bishop. You can not denie, but that the olde translations and commentaries also make only mention of electing and ordeyning, and not of electing or ordeyning by voyces.

Oecumenius in his commentaries vpon this place dothe affirme, that Paule and Barnabas did create and ordeyne them: so doe other lyke wise: and howsoever the woorde in Chrysostome is translated, yet Chrysostome giueth no signification in hys commentaries that his meaning was so. But Hom. 14 in Act. he wryteth thus, *Vide quomodo scriptor. &c.* Marke howe the writer is not superfluous, for he dothe not declare how, but he simply declareth, that they were ordeyned by prayers: for this is *χειροτονία*. i. *ordinatio*, that is to say, ordeyning, the handes are layde vpon the man, but God worketh the whole, and it is his hande that toucheth the head of him that is ordeyned, if he be ordeyned as he ought to be. Hierome also wryting vpon the. 58. of Esaie sayeth, that *χειροτονία* is vsuallie taken for the ordeining of Clerkes, by Prayer and laying on of handes.

I denie not but that many doe translate it, as you saye, yet is it doubtfull in diuers of them whether they ment the voyces of the whole Church, or of the ministers, or of Paule and Barnabas onely. M. Bullinger sayeth that hee is elected by the common suffrages of the people, *qui optimorum testimonio probatus est*: whiche is approved by the testimonie of the best. And the laue sayth, *in publico negotio qui se non opponit cum possit, consentire intelligitur*, he is thought to consent in a publike businesse, whiche doth not withstande when he may.

I thinke your complaint for lack of booke is without cause, & verie onlykely it is



to be true, all thyngs consydered. Howe so euer M. Caluine, or M. Bullinger doe take that worde themselves, yet haue they affirmed as muche of the other signification, as I haue done, and therfore the more lyke to be true. Neyther haue you as yet alleaged any thing that can proue the contrarie.

You maye not teache the Holye Ghoste howe to speake, neyther muste you in suche matters vse so lyghte and bayne reasons. Neyther M. Bullinger nor M. Caluine disalloweth that signification, or goeth aboute to confute it, and you youre selfe confesse, that the Greeke Ecclesiasticall wyrters haue semetyme vsed it so, as in dede they commonly doe, which maye easily be vnderstanded, by that that I haue hitherto spoken.

Hee that layeth hys handes vpon a mannes head, dothe lyfte them vp befoze hee can laye them on, and therfore you doe but trifle in makynge so muche a doe aboute holdyng vp, and layng downe. There bee other wordes, (I graunt) to expresse thys Ceremonie of laying on of handes, and I knowe that Luke and Paule doe vse an other worde for the same, and the *Septuagint*. in lyke manner, but what is all thys to the purpose? What can you conclude hereof? Is thys sufficiente to proue, that thys word therefoze in this place may not signifie the same? are these bare coniectures sufficiente, to improue so manye learned mennes iudgementes.

I doe not saye that *χειροτονία* dothe signifie onely the bare Ceremonie of laying on of handes, but the whole solemnitie of creatyng Ministers, whyche is also sometymes signified by *ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν*, as namely, 1. *Thi. 5.* But Sainte Luke, when he vseth in other places *ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν*, he dothe vse it in the bare signification of laying on of handes, and not for any other rite or solemnitie, as he doth this worde *χειροτονία* in thys place: and therfore you doe *petere principium*, when you frame youre pꝛoofes, as though it were affirmed or graunted, that Sainte Luke by this worde shoulde meane onely the bare ceremonie of imposition of handes.

C.C. bringeth a place against himself.

The place that you alledge oute of the tenth of the Actes maketh mosse against youre selfe, and overthroweth youre whole buyldyng. Firste, because *χειροτονία* is not there taken for lifyng vp of handes, but for appoyntyng or ordeynyng onely: for Chyste diide not appoynte his Disciples by lifyng vp of handes: Secondly, it signifyeth not to appoynt or to ordeyne by the suffrages and consente of other: for Chyste required no mannes consente in the choysse of his Apostles: so that you haue losse and not gayned by alleadging of that place: for as this worde *προεχειροτονημένοις* in the tenth of the Actes doth not signifie, that the Apostles were chosen by the consente or voyce of any other, than of Chyste onely: so dothe *χειροτονήσαντες* also in this fourteenth of the Actes signifie, that Paule and Barnabas diide appoynte and ordeyne them ministers by theyr owne voyces onely, and not by the suffrages of the people. Certainly that place of the tenth of the Actes manifestly declareth, that this worde in Scripture dothe not signifie anye common Election by the voyces of the people, as you woulde haue it to doe. Wherfore I thinke that theyr iudgemente can not iustly be mislyked, whyche say this worde in this fourteenth of the Actes, to signifie the soleinne manner of ordeynyng Ministers by the imposition of handes: not meaning thereby the bare Ceremonie, but the whole action of ordeynyng. To conclude, I wyll desyre no other interpretation of thys worde in the 14. of the Actes, than that same place whyche you haue alleadged Actes. 10. whiche also answereth, what so euer you haue heere spoken of Sainte Lukes skyll in the Greeke tongue: or of the vse of this worde in the Scriptures: so that I shall not neede any other Authoꝝ befoze Sainte Lukes tyme, to proue the same.



Chap. 4. the fourth Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 43. Lin. 12.

Surely howsoever the woorde is taken, yet here is no generall rule prescribed of electing ministers. You maye as wel conclude, that all thinges oughte to bee common among Christians, bycause wee reade Act. 2. that all those whiche beleued, had all thinges common among them: and that those which be conuerted to the Gospell, ought to sell their goodes and landes, to be distributed at the discretion of the ministers, because they did so. Act. 2. & 3.

T.C. Pag. 30. Sect. 5. 6. & Pag. 31. Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4.

Lette vs therefore see your thynke: whyche is, that although the Churches consente was then required, yet it is not now, and that it is no generall rule, no more than (saye you) that all thinges shoulde be therefore common now, because they were in the Apostles tyme.

The authors of the Admonition, with theyr fauourers, muste be counted Anabaptistes, no one worde beyng shewed whiche tendeth thereto, you muste accuse them, whiche confirme that foundation wherof they buylde their communitie of all thinges, whiche is one of their chief heresies. If I shoulde saye now that you are lyke to those that row in a boate, which although they looke backwardes, yet they thruste an other way, I shoulde speake with more lykelyhode than you haue doone. For although you make a countenaunce, and speake hottly agaynst Anabaptistes, yet in deede you strengthen theyr handes with reasons. But I will not saye so, neyther doe I thynke that you fauour that secte, but onely the whirlewinde and tempest of your affection bent to maintayne this estate, whereby you haue so greate honour and wealth, byrmyth you vpon these rockes, to wreake your selfe on, and others.

For I pray you what communitie is spoken of, either in the two, or thre, or fourthe of the Actes, whiche ought not to be in the Church: as long as the world standeth: was there any communitie but as touching the use, and so farre forth as the poore brethren had neede of, and not to take every man alyke: was it not in any man his power to sell his houses, or landes, or not to sell them: When he had solde them, were they not in every man his libertie to keepe the money to himselfe at his pleasure: and (a) all they that were of the Church didde not sell theyr possessions, but those whose hartes the Lord touched singularly with the compassion of the neede of others, and whome God had blessed with aboundance, that they had to serue themselves, and helpe others, and therefore it is reckened as a rare example, that Barnabas the Cyprian and Leuite didde sell his possession, and broughte the price to the feete of the Apostles.

And as for Ananias and Saphira, they were not punished for because they brought not the price of their possessions to the Apostles, but because they lyed, saying that they had broughte the whole when they had brought but parte. And to bee shorte, is there any more doone there, than Sainct Paule prescribeth to the Corinthians, and in them to all Churches to the wordes ende: After he had exhorted to liberalitie towards the poore Church in Hierusalem, not (sayeth he) that other shoulde bee releued, and you oppressed, but vpon lyke condition at this tyme your aboundance supplyeth theyr lacke, that also theyr aboundance maye be for your lacke, that there might bee equalitie, as it is writen, he that gathered much, had nothing ouer, and he that gathered little, had not the lesse.

Surely it were better you were no Doctors in the Church, than that the Anabaptistes shoulde haue suche holde to bring in their communitie as you giue them.

In summe the Apostolike communitie, or the Churches in their tyme, was not Anabaptist.

Io. Whitgifte.

I haue shewed before in the beginning of my Answer to the Admonition, not onely howe weake, but also howe dangerous a kynde of reasonyng it is, to saye, that the Apostles did it, Ergo, wee muste doe it, or the Apostles didde it not, Ergo we muste not doe it. Zuinglius a notable learned man, dothe especially reprove the Anabaptistes for this kynde of reason, and sayeth that an argumente, *ad factum ad id, or ad non factum ad non id*, is neuer good, excepte those examples be grounded vpon some lawe or rule. Wherefore, when I thus labour to querthowe the vicious manner and kynde of the Anabaptistall argumente, I truste no indifferent man will suspect me of their errors: when I say, that this is no good argument: In the Apostles time those that beleued had all thinges common among them, therefore Christians muste haue all thinges common: doe I confirme theyr

Di.

heresie

no good argument, a fact to ad id.

Act. 1.  
Act. 5.

2. Cor. 8.



heresie of hauing all things common: I knowe not why you shoulde so charge mee with the whirlewynde and tempest of my affection bent to maintaine this estate. &c. except you be offended because I shewe the weakenesse of the Anabaptistes reasons for their communitie.

My honour and wealth is not so much, but yet I would be loth to haue it common, and you may not blame me though I mainteyne that state, where all men may quietly enioye their owne, without confusion.

I know the Anabaptistes doe not only erre in their kinde of reasoning, but in the right vnderstanding of the Scriptures also, euen of those places wherevpon they frame their argumente. But the texte sayeth playnely, *Omnes qui credebant.* &c.

All whiche beleueed, were in one place, and had all thyngs common. Acto. 2. & 4. *Quotquot enim possessores praediorum aut domorum erant.* &c. For as manie as were possessours of landes or houses solde them, &c. And though they were greatly to be commended in selling their landes and possessions, and in so lyghtly esteeming the riches of this worlde, yet it followeth not, that no man can be a good Christian; vnlesse he followe that example. There are sundrie places of the Scripture that ouerthrow the Anabaptistieall communitie: and therefore howsoever they vnderstande these examples, yet can they not proue theyr error, for it is true that Zuinglius sayeth, *Nullus facti iuri praeiudicat*, examples must giue place when they be agaynste a generall lawe, commaundement or right.

I haue not spoken one worde of Ananias and Saphira, and therefore I muse to what purpose you bring them in: neyther am I agaynste the interpretation of those places of the Actes, yet doe I saye, that no man is bounde of necessitie to followe those examples, excepte it were in the lyke tyme, and state. So that if the Anabaptistes bothe erre in the vnderstanding of those places, and in theyr kinde of reasoning also as they doe in bothe. ¶ Doctor maye keepe his Doctorship still, and they be farre enough from their communitie. The communitie that was in the Apostles tyme was Christian, and mooste fitte for that tyme, but the same maye not now be vrged in the selfe same maner, and forme, without suspicion of Anabaptisme. And it is a very good argument agaynste you: for as the communitie vled amongste the Christians Act. 2. & 4. was goodlie, and yet not necessarie nor meete for all states of the Church, euen so the election then vled was also goodlie, and yet not at all tymes to be practised, but only in the lyke state of time.

### Chap. 4. the fift Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 43. Lin. 20.

& Sect. 1.

In the seconde to the Corinthians. 8. the Apostle declareth how the Churches had chosen Luke (or as some thinke Barnabas) to be his companion in his iourney: But what maketh this for electing of ministers: howe followeth this argument: The Churches had chosen Luke or Barnabas, to be Pauls companion in his iourney: therefore ministers of the worde must be elected by the people.

These three laste reasons are all one, and the places of Scripture whiche I haue sette downe, and answered, be alleaged of you to proue, that the election of ministers, was then made by the common consent of the people, and that euery congregation had authoritie to call their ministers.



1. Tim. 4.  
2. Tim. 1.

Into the place of the 1. epistle to the Corinthians, and 8. chapter, you aske what maketh that to the election of the ministers? But why do not you say here as you did in the other place, that the Apostle meaneth nothing else but the putting on of the hands of them which ordayne? For the same word χειροτονεις is here used, that was there, and this place both manifestly and without all contradiction convince your bayne signification that you make of it in the other place, and the truth wherein you say that the scripture useth this word for a solemn manner of ordering ministers, by putting on of hands. For heere it is said, that he that was ioynd with Paule, was χειροτονεις by the Church, and it is manifest that the imposition of hands, was not by the Church and people, but by the elders and ministers, as it appeareth in S. Paule to Timothy.

Now to come to that which you make so light of: for say you, how followeth this? The Church chose Luke or Barnabas to be companion of Paul's journey: Ergo the Churches must choose their ministers? It followeth very well, for if it were thought meete that S. Paule should not choose himselfe of his owne authoritie, a companion to help him, being an Apostle, is there any Arch-bishop that shall dare take upon him to make a minister of the Gospel, being so many degrees both in authoritie and in all gifts needefull to discern, and trie out, or take knowledge of a sufficient minister of the Gospel inferiour to S. Paule.

And if S. Paule would haue the authoritie of the Church to ordayne the Minister, that should ayde him in other places, to the building and gathering of other Churches, howe much more dyd he thinke it meete, that the Churches should choose their owne Minister, which should gouerne them: which things may be also said of the election in the first of the Acts, for there the Church first chose two, whereof one should be an Apostle, which should not be minister of that Church but should be sent into all the world, so that alwayes the Apostles haue shunned to do any thing of theyr owne willes, without the knowledge eyther of those Churches, where they instituted any gouernours, or if it were for the behoofe of those places where there were no Churches gathered, yet would they ordayne none, but by the consente of some other Church, which was already established.

(\*) Vnto.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Of the acceptation of this worde in the 14. of the Acts, I haue spoken sufficiently. This place is not one whit contrary to any thing that is said in that matter: for in the 14. of the Acts it is referred to the appointing of ministers of the worde, and in this place of the second. Cor. 8. it is applyed to the sending of some with Paule to gather the benenolence of the Churches, and to carrie the same to the poore Saints. Now though χειροτονεις may signify the imposition of hands, or the whole action of ordering ministers, when it is referred to that matter, yet both it not follow, that it should alwayes signify so, to whatsoeuer it is applyed. But take it as you list, it is as well spoken of one alone, as of many, as the place Act. 10. manifestly declareth: and therefore both not of necessitie signify an election made by the people, except some other word be ioynd with it, to expresse the same, as there is in this. 2. Cor. 8. For thus the Apostle saith χειροτονεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν which addition should not haue needed, if this worde alone had of necessitie signified in the scripture any such election, as you would haue it to do.

2. Cor. 8.

In the argument there is no sequele at all, for it was very conuenient and meete, for the auoyding of suspicion of priuate gayne, or corrupt dealing, that such as should haue to do in gathering and distributing almes, should be chosen by a common consent: and it is manifest, that it was Paul's owne request to haue them in this business, by the consente of the Churches, ioynd with him, for the stopping of the mouths of such as would otherwise haue bin ready to suspect Paul's integritie in that money matter: and that this is true, these words declare, *declinantes boc ne quis nos carpat in hac exuberantia qua administratur a nobis, procurantes honesta.* &c. Auoyding this, that no man should blame vs in this abundance that is ministred by vs, providing for honest things, not only before the Lord, but also before men: as though he would say, therefore haue I procured that by the consente of the Churches some might be ioynd with me in this collection, least any man should take occasion to suspect me of corrupt dealing, or to report, that in this business I robbed the Church to enrich my selfe.

Why the companions of Paule were chosen by common sent.

2. Cor. 8. 1. 11

Now therefore how any thing can be gathered of this place, to proue that ministers of the word ought to be chosen by a common consent of the people, let the reader iudge. Paule might haue chosen himselfe if he would, but he desired the Churches to choose them, that his vpriight dealing in collecting and distributing of the almes,



might not be brought into suspicion, as I haue said before. And therefore an Archbishop may dare take vpon him to make a minister of the Gospell, &c. for any thing that is in this place to the contrary. In deede if an Archbishop should be appoynted to collecte, and to distribute almes, then were it fitte (for his owne credite sake, and to auoyde the slanderous speeches of those that be quarrelous) that he should desire some to be ioyned with him, by the common consent of those of whome he should collect. And this is the only thing that may be gathered of this place, touching any election.

It is vnttrue, that in the first of the Acts the Church did first choose those two, that stood in the electio for the Apostleship: the Apostles only did propound them to the church, as M. Beza truly saith in these words, *apparet cum eligendus esset qui in Iuda proditoris locum succederet, fuisse multitudini propositos ab Apostolis eos, quos maxime idoneos censebant.* It appeareth, when he was to be chosen, which should succede in the roome of Iudas the traytoure, that they were propounded vnto the multitude by the Apostles, whom they thought most meete. Neyther were the Apostles chosen by men, but immediately by God, as all writers confesse, whiche was the cause why Matthias was there chosen by lot, and not by the voyces of men.

Why in the Apostles time it was conuenient to require the consent of the people in some things, and yet not conuenient now so to do, is declared after wards.

### Chapter. 4. the. 6. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 43. Sect. vlt.

The consent  
of the people  
vnto Cyprians  
time.

I do not denie but in the Apostles time, and after euē to Cyprians time, the peoples consente was in many places required in the appoynting of ministers.

T. C. Page. 31. Sect. vlt. & Pag. 32. Sect. 1.

You will not denie but that in the Apostles time, and S. Cyprians time in many places, the consent of the people was required: shew any one place where it was not.

An vntruth,  
for I say not, but  
in Cyprians time.

Doth not S. Luke say that it was done Church by Church, that is in euery Church? And where you say it endured (\*) but to S. Cyprians time, it shall appeare to all men that it endured in the Church a thousand yeares and moze after his time: and it appeareth in the. 4. epistle of his first booke, that he vsed it not as a thing indifferent, but necessary, and argueth the necessitie of it, of the place of the first of the Acts, which is alledged by the authours of the Admonition. And so they are not their argumentes that you throwe vp so scornfully, saying, how followeth this, and this, what proueth it: but Cyprians, whome by their sides you thrust through, and so vnreuerently handle.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Election of  
ministers by  
the people not  
general in the  
Apostles time.

You bid me shew any one place where the consent of the people was not required in electing of ministers, in the Apostles, or in Cyprians time. I might rather aske you this question, especially of the Apostles time, and bid you shewe vnto me any one place, that directly proueth the consent of the people to haue bin required in the election of the ministers of the word. In the first of the Acts, the Apostles propounded two, and the election was not by voice, but by lot. In the. 14. of the Acts it is playne, that Paule and Barnabas did chose the ministers of the word. S. Paule saith to Timothee. 1. Ti. 5. *manus citone cui imponas:* lay hands on no man sodainely. And to Titus Chap. 1. that for this cause he left him at Creta. &c. That he should ordeyne elders in euery citie. To be shorte, Christe himselfe alone, withoute the consente of any other, appoynted his Apostles. Shew you me the like euident places for your purpose if you can.

1. Tim. 5.

Tit. 1. &c.

Why Deacons  
were  
chosen by com-  
mon consente.  
Act. 6.

2. Cor. 8.

The. 6. of the Acts is but of Deacons: who by cause they were occupied about money matters, and collecting and distributing of almes, it was meete that they should be chosen by a common consente, to auoyde the grudging of the people that gaue almes, and the suspicion of others, as the place it selfe doth manifestly declare. Acts. 6. There arose a murmuring of the Grecians towards the Hebrues, by cause their widowers were neglected in the dayly ministring. &c. The. 2. Cor. 8. is to the like effect, where of I haue spoken sufficiently. There onely remaineth to helpe you, I thus

word



word *χρησται* which I haue proued not of necessitie to signify in the scripture any election by the people, excepte there be some other word added vnto it, to expresse the same as there is. 2. Cor. 8. and therefore my assertion is grounded vpon the playne and euident places of the scriptures, yours vpon likelyhoods and coniectures onely. And if it were as lawfull for me to alledge the Canons attributed to the Apostles, as it is for you (who haue alledged them in sundry places) then could I tell you out of them also, that the electing of ministers by the people, was not generall at that time: *Cano. Apo. 36.* as it may be gathered out of the. 36. Canon.

If you will belæue Eusebius *li. 2. eccle. histo. cap. 23. 02* Zuinglius in his *ecclē. you shall* find that the Apostles did appoint and ordeyne James to be Bishop of Hierusalem. But I will not now stand vpon this matter, I shal haue more occasion to speake of it hereafter: in the meane time, this whiche I haue saide is sufficient to satisfie your request, for the Apostles time. Touching that of Luke, that it was done Church by Church, if you meane the ordering of ministers by Paule and Barnabas, it is answered before, where I haue shewed that it maketh againste you: if you vnderstande by euery Church, those Churches where Paule and Barnabas were together, then do you expound Church by Church well: else not. But this is not materiall.

Euseb.  
Zuinglius.

Now that the electing of ministers by the people was not generall in Cyprians time, I proue by Cyprians owne words. *li. 1. epist. 4.* where he speaking of electing by the people saith, *quod apud nos quoque, & ferè per prouincias vniuersas tenetur*, which also is obserued with vs, and almost throughout all prouinces &c. In that he saith it was almost in euery prouince, he playnly signifyeth that there were some prouinces, wherein this manner and foyme of electing was not vsed.

Election of  
ministers by  
the people not  
generall in the  
time of Cy-  
prian.  
*Cyprian. lib. 1.  
epist. 4.*

When I say that the consente of the people was required in many places euen to Cyprians time, I do not denie, but that it was also required after Cyprians time, neither do I speake any otherwise in that poynt, than Musculus hath spoken in his common places: *ti. de verbi. ministris*, where he saith thus, *hec forma electionis ad Cyprianum vsque tempora in ecclesijs durauit. &c.* This forme of election remayned in the Churches vntill Cyprians time. I knowe it was both before, and after Cyprians time, in many places: but that is not the question (for it partly is, and shall more at large hereafter be declared, that it was also otherwise both before and after Cyprians time) but our question is whether it ought to be so at all times, or no, & at this time, especially in this Church of England.

Musculus.

You say it appeareth that Cyprian in his. 4. epist. of his. 1. Booke vseth it not as a thing indifferente, &c. Surely if Cyprians wordes be well considered you will be founde not to haue reported truly of him: for he with other Bishops, answering the question that was demaunded of them touching Martialis and Basilides, whether (saying they were conuicted of heynous crimes) they might still enioy their office, and minister vnto the Lord, first, declareth out of Exod. 19. Leui. 21. &c. of what integritie and holynesse those ought to be that serue the altar, and celebrate diuine sacrifices. Likewise they shew that such precepts must be obeyed, and heede taken, that none be chosen into the ministerie, but suche as be blamelesse, signifying by the way, how greatly that people doth offend, that doth communicate with a sinfull priest, and consenteth to the vniust and vnlawfull office of him, that is placed ouer them, shewing out of the Prophet Dæ and the booke of numbers, what punishment is due vnto them, that be contaminated with the sacrifice of a prophane and vnlawfull priest: where vpon he buri- geth in these words: *propter quod plebs obsequens præceptis dominicis, & deum metuens, a peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere, cum ipsa maxime habeat potestatem deligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Quod & ipsum videmus de diuina autoritate discendere, vt sacerdos plebe præsentē sub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus at- quē idoneus publico iudicio, ac testimonio comprobetur. &c.* For which cause, the people obey- ing the commaundementes of the Lorde, and fearing God, ought to separate themselves from a wicked gouernoure, & not to communicate in the sacrifices of a wicked priest, for so much as they especially haue authoritie, either to choose those priests which be worthy, or

The place of  
Cyprian exa-  
mined.

else



else to refuse them which are vnwoorthy. The whiche thing also we see to proceede of the authoritie of God, that the priest should be chosen before the face of all, the people being present, and that he which is fit and worthy, should by the publique iudgement and testimonie be approued, as the Lord commaunded Moses in the booke of numbers saying, take Aaron thy brother, and Eleazer his sonne, for Aaron shall be gathered to his fathers, and shall dye there. God commaunded the priest to be appointed before the whole sinagogue, that is, he declareth that the ordering of priests ought not to be, but (*sub populi assistentis conscientia*) by the knowledge of the people standing by, that the people being present, *vel detegatur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita praedicantur.* &c. either the faults of euil men might be bewrayed, or the desertes of those which are good might be commended: and that that ordering might be iust and lawfull, which shall be examined by the voices and iudgement of all. VVhich thing was afterward obserued according to the rule of God, when as Peter spake vnto the people, concerning the choosung of a bishop into the place of Iudas.

Where the words of Cyprian and the other Bishops be plaine, that the ordering of ministers ought to be in the presence of the people, to the intent they may object any thing against them if they can, but not that it ought to be by their voyces and election, the which the example that he vseth of Eleazer Num. 20. and the words that he reciteth out of the first of the Acts, plainly declare, for though Eleazer was placed in Aarons roome in the presence of the people, yet had they no voyces in hys election: No more had they in the election of Mattheas, though it were in theyr presence.

That also whiche followeth in the same epistle dothe proue this to be their true meaning, for a little after, it is said, *propter quod diligenter de traditione diuina.* &c. VVherefore it ought diligently to be obserued and holden as proceeding from the tradition of God, and the obseruation of the Apostles (the which also is reteyned almost thoroughout all prouinces) that, to the intent orders should be rightly celebrated, all the next Bishops of the same prouince, should assemble vnto that people, to whome a gouernoure is to be appointed, and that the Bishop should be chosen in the presence of the people, which dothe fully know the life of euery one. &c. so that Cyprians meaning is to haue the people present at the ordering of ministers, that if they know any crime in them, they may object it: if not, with their silence allow of the parties: for as the law saith *taciturnitas pro consensu habetur*, silence is taken for a consent. And to this purpose serue the places that he vseth Num. 20. Act. 1. and to no other, as the diligent reader may easily perceiue. But howsoeuer the words of Cyprian sound, certayne it is, that neyther that in the 20. of Numeri, nor this in the 1. of the Acts, can proue any election made by the people.

### Chap. 4. the. 7. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 44. Lin. 1.

No certayne forme of electing ministers commaunded in the scriptures.

But I saye that in the whole scripture, there is no commaundement that it should so be, nor any example that maketh therein any necessary or generall rule, but that it may be altered as time and occasion serueth. For in suche matters not commaunded or prohibited in scripture, touching ceremonies, discipline, and gouernement, the Church hath the authoritie from time to time, to appointe that whiche is most conuenient, for the presente state: as I haue before Declared.

It will fall out that you haue neyther examples of all Apostles, nor of all Churches nor of all purer times.

T. C. Page. 32. Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

But you saye these examples are no generall rules. (\*) Examples of all the Apostles, in all Churches.



Churches, and in all purer times, uncontrolled, and unretracted, either by any the *Apollittae* and purer Churches, or by any rule of the scripture, I thinke ought to stande. If it were a private example of one, or in one place alone, or if it were countermaunded by any other rule of the scripture, then the example were not always safe to follow. But what if there be commaunded also?

In the (a) eight of the booke of numbers the Lorde commaundeth that the Levites, whiche preached the word of God to the people in their severall congregations, shoulde be broughte before the Lord and before the people, & the people should lay their handes upon the Levites heads: whiche what other thinge is it than to declare their liking of them, and by that ceremonie to consecrate them and set them apart for that use of their ministerie? And if you say that it were a disorder that all should lay on their handes, I graunt you: but so he speaketh, because the approbation was by all, and some in the name of the rest declared that, by their laying on of handes.

(a) You are drawn to a streight, when you are glad to fetch a mandatum out of the ceremonial law.

But me thinketh I here your old answer that this pertaineth not unto vs, being a thing done vnder the law: But take heede what you say, for if you will admitte neyther the generall examples of the new testament, nor the commaundements and examples of the old, take heede that you do not or ever you be aware, spoyle vs of the chiefe and principall pillars and buttresses of our religion, and bring vs (b) to playne Catabaptistrie, which you say you are so afraid of.

(b) Not so, but you seeme to bring vs to plain Iudaisme.

For to proue the baptisme of children and yong infants, what stronger hold haue we than that God commaunded in the old Testament, that they should be circumcised, and examples thereof in the new Testament, for that the Apostles baptised whole families, where, by al likelihood there were children. Now we say that there is this commaundement in the old Testament, of the ministers, and there are examples in the newe Testament generall and throughout, why shoulde it not then be necessarie in this as well as in the other? Besides that in the (c) 6. of the Acts, the Apostles commaund that the Church shoulde seeke them out Deacons, whome they might appoynt out of the poore.

(c) This is a silly place to proue a generall commaundement.

Touching certayne Ceremonies, I haue shewed that they are necessary, as namely the sacramentes.

And as for discipline and gouernemente, I haue shewed partly, and more hereafter will be shewed, that they are of the substance of the Gospell, if to haue excommunication be to haue discipline, or if to haue pastors, or Bishops and Doctors and Deacons be gouernemente of the Church.

## Io. Whitgifte.

You do still *petere principium*, and build vpon a false ground: for I denie that you haue examples either of all, or of any of the Apostles: or that this kind of election hath bin in all Churches & in all purer times. &c. and albeit, for the proue of this, sufficiēt is said before, yet will I adde something now also. All the places of scriptures that you haue hitherto alleadged, are Act. 1. Act. 6. Act. 14. and. 2. Cor. 8. whiche places neither agree in persons that were to be chosen, nor in the manner and forme of choosing. For the first of the Acts is of an Apostle, the 6. of Deacons, the 14. of Bishops, and the 2. Cor. 8. of such as were ioyned with Paule for the collecting and distributing of Almes. All men do graunt that the calling and electing of an Apostle is immediatly from God, and therefore dothe differ from all other elections of Pastors, Deacons. &c. But to let this passe: I pray you consider the diuers manner and forme used in all these places. In the first of the Acts, Peter made an exhortation to the disciples, he appoynted out of what company the newe Apostle shoulde be taken: the Apostles presented two, after prayers made, lots were giuen forth, and the Apostle was chosen by lot, and not by voice, but immediatly taken and reputed with the eleuen Apostles.

The diuersitie of election in the Apostles times.

In the 6. of the Acts, the twelue Apostles willed the whole multitude to looke out seven men of honest report. &c. to be Deacons, and the whole multitude did chose seven and presented them to the Apostles: and the Apostles prayed & layed their handes on them.

In the 14. of the Acts Paule and Barnabas ordeyned ministers in euery Church, with praying and fasting.

In the seconde Corinth. eighth. At Pauls request the Churches appoynte certayne to bee collectors for the poore Sayntes with hym: whiche of all these examples woulde you followe? will you name them to the people, or shall the people, name them to you? Will you haue two put vp together, and one of them chosen by lotte? Or will you haue the whole people for to chose



chose, and you to lay on handes: or will you only haue the Bishops to chose: to bee short, will you pray only at the election, or will you both pray and fast: or haue you any commission to make a mixture of all those examples, and so to make one rule, whereunto all Churches at all times must of necessitie be bound?

I told you before, that M. Caluine saith plainly that out of that example in the first of the Acts, no certaine rule can be gathered of electing and choosing of ministers: and M. Beza li. confess. ca. 5. is as plaine, that there can be no certaine rule gathered out of the 6. of the Acts, or out of that in the first: his words be these. In the election of Matthias lottes were cast, but for a peculiar cause, for it behoued the Apostles to be chosen immediately of God: In the election of Deacons Luke hath not set downe what the Church did obserue: But in another place, we may gather by Paule, that they of Asia vsed the holding vp of hands, which manner was vsuall with the most of the Græcians: wherefore there is no cause why any man should ouercuriously prescribe here any certaine rule. &c.

Now to reherse what varietie hath bin vsed in the Churches touching this election, were needlesse, it shall be sufficient only to set downe that which M. Caluine speaketh of it in his last. cap. 8. Sect. 60. &c. wher first he declareth that the rule of S. Paule touching the qualities of a minister is to be obserued, and that he is to be examined according to the same. Then doth he shew, how that there hath not alwayes one order bin obserued touching the electours and appointers: for sometimes none was chosen without the consent of the whole people, and other sometimes the people committed the choise to the Bishop and ministers or Seniors, except it were in the election of the Bishop. And sometimes onely the ministers did first chose, and then offer those whome they had chosen to the magistrate, or to the Senat, or to the chiefe rulers, who ratified the election if they liked it, if not, then did they chose out other. &c. This varietie of electing ministers doth M. Caluine declare in that place.

It appeareth in the. 35. or as some counteth. 36. of the canons attributed to the Apostles, that Bishops were not then chosen by the consent of the people, for that canon speaketh of such Bishops, as being appoynted to some Church, were not receyued by the people, and yet remayned Bishops still. To the like effect is the. 18. can. Con. Ancyra. and the. 17. and. 18. of the Councell of Antioch. In the. 12. Canon of the Councell of Laodicea it is decreed that the Metropolitane with other Bishops adioyning should haue the election of Bishops, and of such as are to be preferred to a cure. And the. 13. Can. of the same countell doth forbid that the elections of ministers should be committed to the people. So that you see your manner of electing by the people not to haue bin in all Churches in all purer times.

It appeareth that you were put to a pinch for a commaundement to establish your manner and kind of electing ministers, when you are constrained to fetch one out of the booke of Numbers, and that nothing at all perteyning to your purpose. For what one word is there in that place that hath any shadow of your election: first, the people there did not elect the Levites: Secondly, they laid their hands vpon them: which I am sure you will not haue the people to do in the ordeyning of Bishops, for you say that only elders and ministers vsed to lay on their hands. So that this place of the Booke of Numbers doth commaund that whiche you will not admitte, and speaketh not one word of that for the which you do alledge it.

But tell me in good earnest, will you bind vs to the obseruation of the Ceremonial law also, as you haue done before to the iudiciall: for what else is there in that whole chapter, but lawes touching ceremonies, and in that place by you alleadged especially: for there he speaketh of the manner of purifying of the Levites and of their offering: he speaketh not of any election. For God himselfe had chosen the Levites before, for the first bozne of the children of Israell. cap. 3.

I would to God men would but indifferently consider how indiscreetely you alleadge the scriptures, lest you should seeme to be boyde of scripture. You say the people by laying on their hands did by that ceremonie consecrate them. Would you haue the people to consecrate ministers by laying on of hands: do you not care what absurdities, and contrarieties you speake: you make a distinction in that whiche followeth betwixte ordeyning

Varietie vsed in the elections in primitive Churches.

Caluine.

Can. Apost. 36

Con. Ancyra.

can. 18.

Can. Antioch.

can. 17. 18.

Con. Laodic.

can. 12.

Can. 13.

E. C. seeketh a commaundement in the Ceremoniall law, for the election of the ministers of the Gospel. The place Numbers. 8. proueth not his purpose.



ordaining & electing, and you say that election pertaineth to the people, & ordaining to the Bishop. Pag. 40. lin. And in another place: that the imposition of hands was not by the Church and people, but by the Elders and Ministers. But if this be a commandment for us now to observe, then Pag. 31. sect. 4. must you recant that saying.

I doe admitte this Scripture as a portion of the Ceremoniall lawe, but I doe not admit it as a perpetuall commandment, because I knowe the Ceremoniall lawe is abrogated, excepte you will haue all those Ceremonies whiche were vsed in that place, and are conteyned in the same commandment, as of sprinkling them with water, of shauing their bodies, of washing their clothes, of laying their hands on the heads of bullocks, &c. practized in ordering ministers of the Gospel. Neither is this any title of Catabaptistrie, but yours smelleth of Iudaisme, for you bounde vs before to the Iudiciall lawe, and now you will bind vs to the Ceremoniall also: what remaineth but to say that Christ is not yet come.

Circumcision is a figure of baptisme, but the Leviticall priesthode is no figure of the ministerie of the Gospel, therefore we may well proue the baptizing of Infantes by circumcision, but we can not proue the ordering of ministers of the Gospel by the ceremonies vsed about the Levites.

Those examples of the Apostles doe well proue the baptizing of children, because they be grounded vpon these generall places of the Scriptures, *Ego sum Deus tuus.* &c. I am thy God, and the God of thy seede. &c. and *Mat. 28. Baptizantes omnes gentes,* Baptizing all nations.

Of discipline also and government, I haue something spoken before, and minde to speake hereafter when further occasion is offered: in this place it is answere sufficient to say, that the contention is not whether discipline or government be necessarie in the Church, or no, but whether this or that kinde of discipline and government be necessarie, and whether there be one certayne kinde and forme of discipline and government to be vsed in the Church at all times, and in all places. As for Pastors, Bishops, Doctors, Deacons, &c. they be necessarie ministers in the Church, but it doth not therefore follow, that there must be alwayes one kinde and forme of government.

The contention is not whether discipline, &c. be necessarie, but whether one kinde be necessarie.

### Chap. 4. the. 8. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 44. Sect. 1.

And I adde, that howsoever in the Apostles time, that kinde of electing and calling ministers was conuenient and profitable, now in this state of the Church, it were moste pernicious and hurtfull.

T. C. Pag. 32. Sect. 6. 7.

You say that howsoever in the Apostles time, this vse was of hauing the consent of the church in the choyse of their Pastor or Bishop, nowe in this state it were moste pernicious and hurtfull. Wherein, see howe (a) vnadvisedly you condemne the churches of Geneva, of all France, of certayne of the Germanie churches, which keepe this order. But you alleage your reasons, therefore those are to be considered, because they come so rare. For your manner is, that if you can haue but one writer new or olde, of your side, or which seemeth to be of your side, you runne away with the matter, as though you had scripture, reason, Doctors, and all.

(a) This is an vnadvised collection.

I will therefore then take a view of your reasons, when as I shall haue briefly set downe those reasons, whereby the perpetuall equitie, reasonablenesse, & conueniencie of this order, that the church should haue a stoke in hir ministers election, may appere.

### Io. Whitgifte.

I condemne no Churches that haue appoynted any order for the electing of their Pastors, which they thinke to be agreable to their state, and moste profitable for them: for therefore I say, that no certayne manner or forme of electing ministers is prescribed in the Scripture, because euery Church may doe therein as it shall seeme to be moste expediente for the same. That maye be profitable for the Churches of Geneva and France, &c. whiche would be moste hurtfull to this Church of Englande.

Id.

And



And therefore I saye that howsoever this popular kind of electing was conuenient or profitable in the Apostles tyme, yet in this state of the Church of Englande, it would be pernicious and hurtfull.

You say my manner is, that if I can haue but one writer. &c. Truly I doe not stande so muche in my owne conceyte, neyther am I so well perswaded of my owne witte and vnderstanding, but that I greatly esteeme the opinions of learned men: and I thinke my selfe to haue reason sufficient, when I haue good and learned authoritie, which is grounded both vpon Scripture and reason. And to put you out of doubt, if you be offended because I so doe, you must be offended still: For I had rather alleage the authoritie of learned men, which is grounded bothe vpon the Scriptures and reason, than to stick to mine owne phantasie, bothe without authoritie and reason, as those commonly doe, which are desirous of innovations, and haue their heades filled with new deuises.

But you will take a view of my reasons. &c. and I will first examine your reasons severally, and then answere for my owne.

## An examination of the reasons which T.C.

vseth to proue the perpetuall equitie. &c. of elections by the people.

### Chap. 5. the. 1. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 32. Sect. 8.

It is sayde amongst the Lawyers, and in deepe reason which is the law of all nations confirmed, *Quod omnium interest, ab omnibus approbari debet.* That which standeth all men by, should be approued of all men. Which lawe hath this sense, that if it may be, it were good that those things, which shall binde all men, and which require the obedience of all should be concluded as farre as may be, by the consent of all, or at least by the consent of as many as may be gotten. And therefore it draweth muche the obedience of the subiects of this realme, that the statutes whereby the realme is governed, passe by the consent of the moste parte of it, whilst they be made by them, to whom the rest put in trust, and choole for that purpose, being as it were all their actes.

### Io. Whitgife.

The first reason examined.

You vse for your purpose a rule of the lawe, which you doe not vnderstande, nor rightly interpret: for where as this word *Debet*, importeth a necessitie, you expound it as a word of courtisie, saying, it may be, and it were good to be concluded: when as the lawe sayth, *Debet approbari*, it shuld be allowed. And reason wil the same, that where many men haue interest in any thing, or haue any thing in common, whercof euery of them hath a priuate interest, right, or propertie, there euery mans consent should be had: as if a house, or any other thing be common among halfe a dosen men by purchase, descent, or gifte, and five of them would burden that thing with any charge, or doe any acte to preiudice the sixth man, it shall not binde him without his consent: for there this rule is true. Furthermore a thing is sayde *omnes tangere*, to pertaine to all, which is common either *Pluribus vt vniuersis*, or else *Pluribus vt singulis*. In the first kinde, are those things that pertaine to bodies politike, as the body of a whole common wealth, Citty, Borough, Towne, Colledge, Church, &c. Wherein (as the Lawyers say) this rule hath no force. The reason of the lawe is, because it being almoste an impossible thing, for all men in suche a body to agree in one, and there being amongst men for the moste parte (as it were) a naturall inclination to dissent, and disagree one from an other, there should neuer any law or order be made, if euery singular mans consent should of necessitie be had: It is therefore sufficient in suche places and matters, if the lawes, statutes, and customes of the place be obserued.

This law can not take holde in the election of ministers.

Wherefore the rule hath onely place in the seconde: that is, in things that are common *Pluribus vt singulis*, to many severally, that is, wherein euery man hath a propertie and particular right: as it is properly in landes, possessions, &c. in the which the Minister can not be comprehended: for it were a greate absurditie, that



that in the election of the minister every singular mans consent shoulde of necessitie be required : for then if any one frowarde man in the whole parishe were disposed to withstande the election, it coulde neuer be ended : and this muste necessarily come to passe, if you will builde vpon this lawe.

And yet in suche cases this lawe admitteth this generall exception, if there be especiall reason and cause why that thing whiche concerneth many, shoulde be done by some other way, rather than by the consent of them, whiche haue interest. And these are taken for good reasons in this case : First, if it be rather behouefull for the common wealthe, and Church of God to doe that whiche concerneth a number, some other way, rather than by the consent of every particular man. Secondly, if it be for the more quiet estate of the common wealthe, not to haue their consent. Thirdly, if it be better for the parties themselves, to haue it other wise prouided : Last of all, if it be agaynst the lawes of God, or of the customes and lawes of any Countrey.

If I were a Lawyer, I could tell you, that this lawe admitteth many exceptions. What is more expedient for all men, than to haue a good Prince, good Councellores, good Judges. &c. and yet I thinke it were moste pernicious to haue those offices committed to the election of the people.

But what neede I stryue with you in this matter : For if those things that be concluded by Parliament, be by the consent of the moste parte of the Realme, because the peoples consent is there in their knightes of their shires, and other Burgeses (as in deede it is, whiche you also confesse) then haue you no more to saye in this matter : for the booke of ordering Ministers and Deacons, &c. is allowed and graunted by Parliament, and therefore the Bishops and Ministers of this Church of England are chosen by the consent of the people, nay (which is more) of the whole Realme, because they are ordeyned and chosen according to that order and rule, whiche the whole realme in Parliament hath made and bounde them selues vnto.

But (by the way) if this ground of lawe be good in that sense that you allenge it, and be transferred to the ciuill state, it will be founde very dangerous, and too muche sauouring of popularitie : as in deede the whole course of your doctrine is.

## Chapter. 5. the. 2. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 33. Sect. 1.

So is it also when the question is to chosse the Magistrate, Mayre, or Bayliffe, or Constable of euery towne, whiche things if they haue groundes in ciuill affayres, they haue muche better in Ecclesiasticall. For it is muche more vnreasonable, that there shoulde be thrust vpon me, a gouernour, of whome the euerlasting saluation or damnation bothe of my body and soule bothe depende, than him of whome my wealthe and commoditie of this lyfe dothe hang. Vnlesse those vpon whome he were thrust, were fooles, or madde men, or children, without all discretion of ordering themselves, whiche as I will shewe, can not agree with those, that are the Church of God, and are to haue a Pastor. For they of the Church of God, although they be called sheepe in respect of their simplicitie and harmlesnesse, yet are they also for their circumspection wise as serpentes, in the wisdome, especially whiche is to saluation : and howe (a) vyle accompt soeuer you will make of them, they are the people of God, and therefore spirituall, and foorthwith those of whome saint Paule sayth, the spirituall man discerneth all things.

(a) No man maketh vile account of the people of God : but you partly of malice, partly of popular affection, would haue it seeme so, thereby to stirre hatred agaynst vs.

1. Cor. 2.

## Io. Whitgiste.

The disorder of suche popular elections hathe bin suche, the contentions moued in them so great, the ambition of the persons standing in election so notozious, the partiall affection of the people inclining to their kinsfolkes, friends, or landlozds. &c. so vtollerable, to be short, the lacke of iudgement & discretion in many of them so apparent, that that maner of electing vpon great considerations hath bin altered in diuers places, & desired to be altered in others also, by al those that are wise & discrete, & that wishe for quietnesse & good gouernment. Neither is it true, that the election of those officers which you name, is euery where in the people. In the best ordered Cities

Id. y.

and



and to wnes it is otherwise: and experience dothe teache, that those offices whiche are in the Princes bestowing, and some other to whome she committeth the same, are the best bestowed, and vpon the moſte worthyeſt perſons, as Biſhoprikes, the offices of Judges, Juſtices, &c.

In eccleſiaſticall affayres, it is muche matter, that ſuche as haue knowledge, zeale, and care for the people, ſhoulde place ouer them a meeſe and fitte Paſtor, than that the choiſe of him ſhoulde be committed to the multitude, whiche is not onely for the moſte parte ignorant, but careleſſe in ſuche matters, yea and oftentimes euill diſpoſed, and commonly led by affection, as friendſhip, hatred, feare, &c.

Chriſtian men  
ſheepe.

Scripture vn  
aply alleaged  
by T.C.

I knowe that Chriſtian men are not called ſheepe bycauſe they be voyde of reaſon: for as Chryſoſtome ſaythe, *Oues ſunt, ſed rationales*, They are ſheepe, but ſuche as are indued with reaſon. And god dothe at one tyme or other (if they be his) open hys truſe vnto them, and indueth them with the ſpirite of diſcerning betwixte true and falſe doctrine, in thoſe things that doe pertayne to their ſaluation. But becauſe God dothe in his good time open his truſe vnto them, are they therfore alwayes voyde of affection and errour? or becauſe ſome haue this ſpirite of diſcretion, is it therefore common to all, or to the moſte parte? In deepe if you ſpeake of the inuiſible Church, which is onely of the electe, then is it ſomething that you ſay: but if you ſpeake of the viſible Church, whiche is a mixture of good and euill, and wherein the euill are the greater number, then hath your ſaying no probabilitie in it. And why may not the Pope as well reaſon of this place. 1. Coz. 2. that he can not erre in matters of religion, as you may, that Pariſhes can not be deceyued in electing their paſtors: for he dothe alleage this terte for himſelfe to the ſame purpoſe: but the meaning of the Apoſtle is this: that he onely whiche is ruled and gouerned by the ſpirite of God, hath the true knowledge of the myſteries of God, and is able to diſcerne the truſe from falſhood. You can no more proue therefore, by this ſentence, that the Pariſhes can not erre in choſing their Paſtors, than the Pope may doe that himſelfe, generall Councels, and the Church can not erre: and ſurely the more I conſider the matter, the more I maruell what your meaning is in alleaging this terte.

### Chapter. 5. the. 3. Diuiſion.

T. C. Pag. 33. Sect. 2.

Moreouer, reaſon and experience teacheth, that it maketh much to the profiting of the Church vnder the hande of the Paſtor or Biſhop, that the Church loue him and reuerence him. For the contempte and hatred of the miniſter for the moſte parte, ſtandeth not in his owne perſon, but reacheth euen vnto the doctrine which he teacheth. But the Miniſter that the Church deſireth, it commonly beſt loueth and moſt reuerenceth, and of the other ſide, hateth and contemneth him, that is thruſt vpon them, therefore it maketh much to the profiting of the people in the doctrine of the Goſpell, that the miniſter come in, by their conſent. Likewise, the people muſt by S. Paule hys rule, followe the good example of the Miniſter: but men wyll not likely followe their examples, whome they loue not, nor loue them, which are thruſt vpon them agaynſt their willes. Therefore it ſtandeth with the good conuerſation and godly following of the ſteppes of the miniſter, that he be with the conſent of the Church.

### Io. Whitgiſte.

The ſeconde  
reaſon exa-  
mined.

This reaſon is baylded vpon a falſe ground: for it is certaine that many paſtors are dearely beloued of their flockes, whiche neither were elected by them, deſired of them, nor knowne vnto them before. And I thinke verily that there is not one pariſh in England which doth the wyſe loue or reuerence their paſtors in that reſpecte, excepte ſuch only as you and your adherents haue inflamed, not only with the ſpirite of diſcorde, but of diſdayne, and contempt alſo towarde all lawes, orders, and perſons, that be not in all poyntes framed according to their imaginations. But would you that a Papiſtical pariſh (ſuche as there may be diuers in England) ſhoulde choſe their Paſtor, that they might loue him? Surely then would they not choſe a Proteſtant, or do men alwayes continue in louing of thoſe, whom they haue choſen? You know that experience teacheth the contrary: ſo long only do they loue him, as he pleaſeth them,



them, and serueth their affections, whiche bycause he neither can nor ought to doe, therefore their affection of loue is some quenched: and they beginne to hate and to contemne hym, and the rather bycause they did chouse him. For in that respecte they thinke him moze bound to please them.

### Chap. 5. the. 4. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 33. Sect. 3.

And if it should happen (which may come to passe) that any Church should desire or choose, or consente vpon by the moste parte, some that is vnmeet, eyther for doctrine or manners, then the ministers & Elders of the other Churches round about, should aduertise first, and afterwarde as occasion shoulde serue, sharply and seuerely charge, that they forbear suche election, or if it be made, that they confirme it not, by suffering him to exercise any ministerie. And if eyther the Churches rounde about do faile of this duetie, or the Church whiche is admonished rest not in theyr admonition, then to bring it to the next Synode, and if it rest not therein, then the Prince or Magistrate, whiche muste see that nothyng in the churches be disorderly and wickedly done, ought to drue that Church from that election to an other which is conuenient. Now I will examine the reasons whiche you adde to proue, that althoughe in times paste the church choosed theyr ministers, yet now it must be otherwyse.

Where find you this maner and forme in the Scripture.

### Jo. Whitgife.

What scripture haue you to proue, that if the Parishes shoulde choose an vnmeet minister, then the ministers and elders of other Churches should take in hande the matter &c. and if they wyll not, then to bring it to the next Synode: if that wyll not serue, then that the Prince or Magistrate must and ought to drue that Church from that election, to an other moze conuenient? Where haue you I say, either commaundement, or example of any suche order in the whole scripture? Will you of your owne head and brayne take vpon you to prescribe a rule besides all Scripture? And dare you so boldly condemne an order taken by the common consent of so great a Church as thys of Englande is, bycause it is not in all poyntes correspondent to some examples in the scripture? Men may see if they be not blynde, what your meaning is. You thinke peraduenture that if this were once brought to passe, it should not be long or you were placed somewhere, according to your desyre. The like pollicie and practise hath bin vled by others: looke Zuinglius in his *Ealefi*.

T.C. in pre-tending scripture, bringeth in that which hath no war-rante in scripture.

But to come to a nêrer examination of this your deuise: first, you haue forgotten your selfe, for a little before you proued by that which S. Paul sayth. 1. Co. 2. *Spiritus* *lis omnia dijudicat*: he that is spirituall discerneth all thyngs &c. That they were spirituall, and therefore coulde not be without discretion of ordering them selues in choosing their pastoz: and now you say, if any church shoulde by the most part choose some vnmeet man, &c. Whereby you confesse that they maye be deceyued, contrarie to your former wordes.

T.C. contrarie to himselfe. Pag. 33. Sect. 1.

Secondly, your order is most vnperfytte, & full of intollerable inconueniences: for who shall complaine of this election to other Churches? And when complaint is made, who shall call them together? when they be called together, what order shal be taken for the auoyding of confusion & tumult? or who shal beare their charges? or in what place shal they meete, or how often? Likewise If the churches round about do faile in this duetie, &c. who shall bring it to the next Synode? or who shall summon the Synode? or in what place shal it be kept? or at what stay shal the parishes be for a pastoz, vntill the matter be determined? or who shal complaine to the Prince and magistrate? or what if the Prince will not drue them to a new election but allow of the olde? Do you not see of what disorder, contentions, tumults, & inconueniences this your disordered order would be the cause? For how many meetings of Churches should we haue? how many Synodes? what parts takyng? what running vp and downe? what losse of time? what cause of offence? what quarels? yea what not?

The order which T.C. prescribeth vnperfytte, & full of inconueniences.

But amongst other things you haue here appoynted to the Prince or magistrate a good office, that he must stand and behold al this, and in the end only drue the parish to a newe election, which also you say that he must doe. Throughout your whole booke you take from the civil Magistrate his whole authoritie in ecclesiasticall matters, & giue encreased,

The Princes authoritie diminished, and hir troubles encreased.



unto him no more, (as I haue before declared) than the very Papistes doe, that is *potestatem facti*, and not *potestatem iuris*. For he muste onely at your commaundement execute suche lawes and orders as you and your Seniors haue deuised. Agayne, considering the great number of Parishes in this realme, the varietie of mens myndes, the diuersitie of opinions in Religion, and the generall inclination in the heartes of men to dissent and disagree among them selues, it can not be, but that in shoorte space the Prince shoulde be ouerpressed and surcharged with the composing and ordering of these confused and tumultuous elections: so that he muste be constrained to let passe the care of the gouernment of the common wealthe, and be wholly troubled with hearing and redressing these matters. Wherefore to conclude, if you haue no better reasons for your popular elections than these, I thinke it will be long before you can persuaade any reasonable or wyse man, to subscribe vnto it. But nowe to the defense of my owne reasons.

## The diuersitie betwixte the Apostles tymes

and oures, requireth a diuers kinde of gouernment, and of ordeyning Ministers.

### Chapter. 6. the. 1. Diuision.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 44. Sect. 2.

First, bicause in the Apostles tyme, the Church was vnder the crosse, and therefore very fewe in comparison was there, that embraced the Gospell, and commonly they kept together, or at the least met oftentimes, so that one of them was thoroughly knowne to another, and they them selues could best iudge who among them was the fittest to teache and instructe, hauing alwayes diuers fit for that function. Nowe the Church is in prosperitie, and therefore the number that professeth, great, and dispersed into diuers places, and in moste parishes not one fitte for the ministerie among them, or knowne vnto them: so that they should call they knowe not whome

T. C. Pag. 33. Sect. 4.

<sup>1</sup> It is not so much to haue the Gospell sown in many places, as to haue it generally receyued in a fewe.

<sup>2</sup> There be many mo Christians in profession nowe than were at that time. For though the Gospell was then dispersed in many places, yet was it professed but of fewe persons.

<sup>3</sup> This proueth that there were but fewe Christians in those cities, in respect of the rest, that were not Christians.

You say it was in the Apostles times vnder the crosse, and therefore fewe, and so mighte easily knowe one an other, who were fit for the ministerie. But you forget your selfe maruellously. For in the Apostles tymes, the Church (I meane visible and sensible, for else howe coulde it be persecuted) was (1) sowne not onely throughout all Asia (whiche is the greatest parte of the world) but through a great parte of Africa, and no small portion of Europe, and now it is shut in a small corner of Europe, being altogether banished out of Asia & Africa: And therefore there are not the (2) tithe nowe, of those that professed the Gospell then, and what a conclusion is this, the Church were fewe in number, because they were vnder the crosse.

For to let passe both other scriptures, and stories ecclesiasticall, haue you forgotten that which is sayde in the first of Exodus, that the more the children of Israel were pressed and persecuted, the more they multiplied: Then you saye they kepte together, and met often, and so knowing one another, were best able to iudge one of another. But heerein you speake as one that hath small experience of persecuted Churches, for in the time of persecution, the Christians that were in one great cite, were fayne to gather them selues out of all the corners, and from all the endes of the citie, to one place, being not able to deuide themselves into many parishes, both for other considerations, and because they were not able to mainteine many ministers, and Elders and Deacons, so that we reade that the Church which was at Antioche, wrote vnto the Church at Jerusalem, and that of Jerusalem vnto them of Antioche, and S. Paule to the Church at Rome, at Ephesus, and at Philippios, &c. Which speeches do declare, that by all likelihood, in one great cite, they had but (3) one congregation, and therefore that muste needes be scattered heere and there, and so could not haue the commoditie either of often meeting, or of knowing one an other, so well, as where suche a cite is deuided into many Churches. Those that knowe the estate of France in the tyme of persecution, do well vnderstande, that euery Church almost was gathered of townes, wherof some were five miles, some seauen, some more, from the place of meeting, and keeping their congregations. And therefore could not meete so often, nor knowe one an other so well, as we by the grace of God may do, which meete oftener, and in lesse number than they do.

Io. V. bit.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

I remember my selfe very well, and I also remember that no learned wyter olde  
 or newe denyeth this to be true that I haue sayde : you onely saye that in the Apostles time the visibie Church of Christ was sowne not onely throughout all Asia which is the greatest part of the world but a great part of Africa and no smal portion of Europe, you proue it not, either by Scripture, storie, or anye good wyter. The Gospell I graunte was preached in all these partes of the world, yet was it not generally receyued in any one part of the world, no not in any citie, not at Ierusalem, where all the Apostles were, not in any the least towne. There were Christians at Ierusalem, at Antioche, at Ephesus, at Rome, &c. But not the tenth part in any of these, or other places, in comparison to the Iewes, and the Gentils that were there, and not Christians. In the Apostles time the visibie Church of Christ at Rome was but an handful in cōparison, to the times that folloved, when the whole citie was christened and professed Christ, and had Christian Magistrats. I speake not of the dispersing of the Gospell into diuers places, which I know was in the Apostles time, for that commaundement had they of Christ, that they should goe into the whole world. &c. but I speake of the multitude of Christians gathered together in one place. In the Apostles time (as I sayd before) no one country or kingdome, no one citie, no one towne, did wholly professe Christ, or for the most part: now whole kingdomes, whole countries, whole nations, professe him.

When Matthias was chosen, the whole Church, was gathered together in one place. And so was it when the Deacons were chosen. Which thing now is impossible, bycause of the multitude : so that though the election mighte be by the whole Church in the Apostles time, when it was together in one place, yet can it not be so now, seeing it is impossible for any one kingdome to containe it. It might wel be that the people in euery citie might meete in one place without confusion or tumult, in the Apostles time, when as scarce the .xx. part of the citie were Christians : but it cannot be so now, when whole cities professe Christ. Wherefore I speake of the multitude of Christians gathered together in one place, not of the multitude dispersed throughout the whole world, though it is not to be imagined that the number of the Christians then dispersed through the whole world, is comparable to the number of Christians which at this day be in Europe.

How few Christians was there at Ierusalem not long before it was destroyed, beyng aboue .40. yeares after Christ? Doth not Eusebius Lib. 3. cap. 5. testifie that they all were receiued into a little towne called Pella: and yet the Apostles had spent much time and labour in preaching there : but the number of such as did not professe Christ was infinite in that citie at that time, if we beleue histories, and especially Iosephus de bello Iuda. Lib. 7. cap. 17. wherefore your opinion of the multitude of Christians in the Apostles time, in comparison to those that be now, is but a very dreame.

It is a very good reason to say, that bycause the Church was then burdened with the Crosse, therefore fewe in comparison embraced the Gospell (for so doe I say) bycause notwithstanding the number of true professors doe increase rather than diminish in the time of persecution, yet is it not so with hypocrites, and dissemblers, who would seeme to professe the Gospell, and whom also we must count professors, bycause we see not their hartes. This is manifest by this example. In the time of King Edward when the Gospell was in prosperitie, how many was there in London that seemed to be earnest and zealous professors of the same : but when the time of persecution came vnder Queene Marie, what became of that number? how fewe was there then in comparison: doe you not thinke that if God should send a triall there would be founde in that citie many false brethren? Moreover in the time of prosperitie true Christians may without daunger shew themselves, and remaine in their cities, though the number be neuer so great: but in the time of persecution they are dispersed into sundry places.

We may learne in the .8. of the Actes, that the Church wholly remayned at Ie-

The multitude of Christians is now greater.

Mar. 16.

Comparison made in respect of the multitude in one place, not dispersed.

Persecution both both diminisheth & increaseth the number of professors.



rusalem, untill that persecution wherein Paule was a doer, and that then they were dispersed: Shall we not then say that at Jerusalem the number of Christians by reason of persecution, were few in comparison? True it is that this dispersing was the cause why the Church of Christ was more enlarged, yet in the meane time was the number of Christians at Jerusalem meruelously diminished. Thus then you maye vnderstande if you please, that this is a good reason to say, the Church was then in persecution, and therefore very few in comparison, that embraced the Gospell, both in the respect of the visible Church generally, and also in respect of the same Church particularly in enery countrey or citie. And yet it is true that *Sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesie*, The blood of Martyrs is the seede of the Church, but that seed must haue time to grow in: and I speake of the externall professors of the Gospell.

Conference in the time of persecution, is a cause of better knowing one another.

That which you write to ouerthrow my words touching the keeping together and often meeting of such Churches as be persecuted, confirmeth my meaning, for I saye they kept together in the time of persecution, and you affirme the same, whereupon I also conclude, that therfore one of them must of necessitie be well knowne to another. And althoughe our assemblies in time of prosperitie be peradventure as frequent as theirs is, or rather more frequent, yet haue we not such occasion to conferre one with another, or to consider one another, or to knowe one another as they haue, for they then admitte none into their societie at their meetings, but such as are knowne to be brethren, and of whose Religion and zeale they haue good tryall. And I thinke that those which haue been exercised eether in Fraunce, or elsewhere, in any suche time of persecutiō, know this to be true, that they know none so thoroughly, or are acquainted with none so intirely, as with such who haue been with them in the time of persecution. You would saye if you coulde, confute a knowne truth, and a manifest thing: for who would denie, but that such as kepe together in the time of persecution, must of necessitie be knowne among themselves, and best iudge who is fittest among them, for any function?

### Chap. 6. the second Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 44. Sect. 3.

The church now full of Hypocrites, &c.

Secondly in the Apostles time, all or the most that were Christians were vertuous and godly, and suche as dyd sincerely professe the worde, and therfore the election of their pastour might safely be committed to them: nowe the Church is full of Hypocrites, dissemblers, drunkardes, whozemongers, &c. so that if anye election were committed to them, they woulde be sure to take one lyke to themselves.

T. C. Page, 34. Sect. 1.

(a) A dangerous assertion tending to the doctrine of the Anabaptists.

To your second difference I answere, that in deede there be Hypocrites in our Churches now, and so were there then, but more nowe than then: I graunt you that also, but there is no greater danger in them, as touching the election of the minister or Bishop, for that in such open and publicke actions that come into the eyes of all men, there is no good man will doe so sincerely, so holily, as they will doe, although it be fainedly. The hurt that they doe, is in closer and secreter matters. But where you say our Churches are full of drunkards and whozemongers: besides that you vtter or euer you be aware, how euill successe the preaching of the Gospell hath had here (for want of discipline and good Ecclesiasticall gouernement) you bewraye a greate ignorance. For althoughe there be Hypocrites, which beare the face of godly men in the church, whose wickednesse is openly knowne to God, and therefore can not be discovered by men, yet in (\*) the churches of Christ, there be no drunkardes nor whozemongers, at least which are knowne. For eether vpon Admonition of the Church they repent, and so are neyther drunkardes nor whozemongers, or else they are



Mat. 13.

Mat. 25.

are cutte off by excommunication (if they continue stubberne in their synnes) and so are none of the Church, and therefore haue nothing to doe in the election of the Minister of the Church. And me thinketh you shoulde not haue bene ignorant of this, that although there be tares in the floure of the Church, which are lyke the wheate, and therefore being grounde, easily meeteth together in the loafe, yet there are no acornes which are bread for swine. And although there be goates amongst the flocke of the Church, because they haue some likelyhoode with the sheepe, feeding as they doe, giuing milke as they doe, yet in the Church of Christ there are no swine, nor hogges, it pertaineth to God onely to seuer the tares from the wheate, and the goates from the sheepe: but the Churches can discerne betwene wheate and acornes, betwene swine and sheepe.

### 10. Whitgifte.

There be not onely Hypocrites (which deale sincerely in nothing, no not in publike actions) but there be such also as be corrupt both in Religion and life, who woulde no doubt be as corrupt in elections (if they might haue to doe therein) as they are in other matters.

In saying that the Church is now full of Hypocrites, drunkards, whores, mongers, &c. I derogate no more from the good successe that the preaching of the Gospel hath had, than the lyke, or greater faultes dyd, from the same in the Church of Corinth, and Galatia. The Church is a net that gathereth together of all kinde of fysh. Mat. 13. it is a feld wherein the deuill soweth tares as fast as the husbandman good coyne: and for one that profitably heareth the word of God, thre doe the contrary, as the parable of the sower declareth. There be many called but fewe chosen: And the gate is wyde that leadeth to perdition: therefore it is no discredite to the Gospel, or to the preaching thereof, nor yet to the good government of the Church, to haue many wicked and vngodly persons, which cannot possible be rooted out, untill the time of Harvest: but this hath been alwayes an Anabaptistickall cauill against the true Church of Christ, and lawfull government thereof, as Bullinger declareth *Lib. 1. aduersus Anabap.* Bullinger. And undoubtedly if this were a good argument to proue that the Gospel is not preached sincerely, then Elai, Jeremie, and other of the Prophetes, which had preached among the people many yeares, and finally preuayled with them, either concerning doctrine or manners, preached not sincerely.

Wheras you say that in the Church of Christ there be no drunkards or whores, mongers, at the least which are knowne, &c. either doe you greatly ouerswete your selfe, and forget the great crimes that were knowne to be in the Church of Corinth: or else woulde you secretly bring in the error of the Anabaptistes, which say, that not to be the true Church of Christ in the which there appeareth manifest crymes: for the declaration of the which error and confutation also, I referre you to the thirde booke of *Bul. aduersus Anabap.* and the 2. and 3. chapter: where you may like wise learne what profite hath come to this and the like Churches, where the Gospel is professed by the preaching of the word, though many wicked still remaine in the same. I graunt you that these vices when they be knowne ought to be punished: But if, eyther because those that be in authoritie doe not their duetie therein, or else those vices continue notwithstanding, therfore you will conclude that this is not the Church of Christ, I tell you plainly, that you haue already entred into one branche of Anabaptisme.

It cannot be denyed but that the euill are continually mixt with the good in this world, even in the most purest Church: and that then they abound especially, when the Gospel is in prosperitie: so that this is a good cause why the election of ministers may not safely be committed to the common people.

### Chap. 6. the third Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 44. Sect 4.

Thirdly, in the Apostles time, all that professed Christ had knowledge, and were able to iudge who were meete to be theyr pastour.

The people  
now ignorant,  
and not able to  
iudge.

Now



**Nowe the most be ignorant and without iudgement in suche matters.**

T.C. Pag. 34. Sect. 2.

You make a digression, and answer not the reason.

If they had knowledge then, it was because they were taught, and that they are ignorant now, it is because they have no good ministers to teach them, and if the Churches should choose their ministers, I am sure they could not choose worse, than for the most part, they have now, being thrust upon them.

### *Io. Whitgife.*

They were then diligently taught, and they gave them selves wholly to learne, because it was a time of persecution, in the which men be commonly best disposed, and sequestred (as it were) from all worldly cares, looking continually to fall into the hands of the persecutors: now, though they be in diuerse places well taught, yet because they haue not such a sense, and feeling of the worde in the tyme of persecution, as they haue vnder the crosse (when the Church of Christe is purest) the election of theyr Ministers can not be so safely committed vnto them now, as it myghte be then. But why haue you not answered my reason? for as yet that is but touched.

### *Chap. 6. the fourth Division.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 45. Sect. 1.

The church now full of Papistes and Atheistes, &c.

Fourthly, in the Apostles tyme there was in the Church no Idolaters, no superstitious persons, no Papistes: now the Church is full of Papistes, Atheistes, and such like, who seeth not therefore what straunge ministers we should haue, if the election of the, were committed to their severall parishes:

T.C. Pag. 34. Sect. 3.

I see that when a man is out of his way, the further he goeth the worse. Before you placed in the church whoremongers and drunkardes, as filthie swine in the Lordes courtes, now you bring in Papistes, Idolaters, and Atheistes, which are not onely filthie, but also poisoned and venomous beastes. I am not ignorant of that distinction, which sayth that there be in the Church, which are not of the Church, and those are Hypocrites as is before sayde: but I would gladly learne of you, what Scripture there is to proue, that Idolaters and Papistes and Atheistes are in the Church. When Saynte Paule (a) calleth all such without the church and with whom the Church hath nothing to doe, nor they with the church: you might as well haue placed in the church, Wolves, Tigers, Lions, and Beares, that is tyrants and persecutors. For those ye speake of, and (in the iudgement of men and of the church) as well shut out of it as they, in the eye of the Lord, they may be of the church, and so maye and are sometimes the persecutors themselves: so that the election of the church, is not, nor oughte not to be hindered by those that haue nothing to doe with it. But now I heare you aske me, what then shall become of the Papistes and Atheistes, if you will not haue them be of the church? I answer that they may (b) be of, and in the common wealth, which neither may, nor can be of, nor in the church: And therefore the church hauing nothing to doe with such, the Magistrate (c) oughte to see, that they toyne to heare the Sermons in the place where they are made, whether it be in those parishes where there is a church, and so preaching, or where else he shall thinke best, and cause them to be examined, how they profite, and if they profit not, to punish them, and as their contempt groweth, so to encrease the punishment, vntill such tymes as they declare manifest tokens of vnrpentantnesse, and then as rotten members, that doe not onely no good, nor seruice in the body, but also corrupt and infect others, cut them off. And if they do profit in hearing, then to be adioyned vnto that church, which is next the place of their dwelling.

(a) The place is not rightly vnderstood.

(b) This is true in the common wealth of the Turkes, but not in this common wealth.

(c) Where finde you this (ought)?

*Io. Whitgife.*



## To Whilgiste.

You muste of necessitie admitte this distinction (some be of the Church, and some be only in the Church) else can you not make any visible Church, for we only know, who be in the Church: but who be of the Church is knowne to him alone, who knoweth those that be his. If they communicate with vs in hearing the worde, and receyving the Sacramentes, though otherwys they be drunkardes, superstitious, or infected with errors in doctrine, &c. yet must we count them in the Church, untill they be cut of from it by excommunication. Wherefore whoremongers, Papistes, Idolatrous and superstitious persons, though they be knowne to be suche (if they do communicate with vs in the word and sacraments) are to be counted in the Church, untill they be orderly secluded from the same. And yet there may be Papistes, Atheistes, and suche lyke, though they be not commonly knowne to be suche. And you knowe well enough, that they which in dede are Papistes in opinion, yet if they be content to conforme them selues to the outward orders of the Church, would stande in their owne defense agaynst him that should accuse them.

How Papistes  
&c. be in the  
Church.

Neither is it true that onely hypocrites are suche as be in the Church, and are not of the Church. That chapter which you quote in your margent, and almost the whole Epistle both declare the contrarie. For the incestuous Corinthian was in the Church, untill he was excommunicated. And the Apostle there speaking of whoremongers, Idolaters, &c. sayth: *Si quis cum frater appelletur fuerit scortator, &c.* If any which is called a brother, be a fornicatour, or couetous, or an Idolater, or a rayler, or a drunkarde, or an extortioner, with suche one eate not. By the name of brethren were those onely then called, which did professe themselves to be Christians, and were so accounted to be. And master Caluine speaking agaynst the like error of the Anabaptistes, after that he had spoken of hypocrites in the Church, addeth and sayth: *Nomnunquam etiam admixti contemptores dei vita dissoluta, & flagitiosa, aut qui sibi cauebunt, ne reprehendantur ab hominibus, sed interim ostendunt se nullo dei timore, nulla reuerentia tangi.* Oftentimes also there are mingled contempters of God, men of dissolute and wicked life, or suche as wil be sure to keepe them selues out of daunger of mens reprehension, when as notwithstanding they shewe themselves not to be touched with any feare or reverence of God.

They which  
are in the  
Church, and  
not of the  
Church, are  
not hypocrites  
onely.  
T.C. citeth a  
place agaynst  
himselfe.

1. Cor. 5.

If you meane that place, 1. Cor. 5. where S. Paule sayth: *Si quis cum frater appelletur, &c.* If any man which is called a brother, &c. and thinke that thereby they are secluded from the externall societie of the Church, you take the words of S. Paule amisse, as the Anabaptistes did: to whome (objecting that place) M. Caluine answered in his booke written agaynst them, in this maner: *Quod autem vetat Paulus cum his cibum sumere qui sunt vite dissoluta, id ad priuatam consuetudinem pertinet, non ad publicam communionem.* Whereas Paule forbiddeth that we should eate with them which are of a dissolute life and behauiour, that pertaineth onely to priuate familiaritie, and not to the publike communion. Nowe if we ought to receyue the Communion with them, we ought also to accompt them in the externall societie of the Church. But why do you thus seeke to shifte of those matters, which you can not answer? Is it not certayne that there is in the externall societie of the Church a farre greater number of suche, than there was in the Apostles time? whiche if it be true (as it can not be denied) then do I still affirme that the election of the minister can not be safely committed to the people.

Caluin aduers.  
Anabap.

1. Cor. 5.  
on this word  
et cum fratre  
unum, et  
et cum fratre  
et cum fratre

Ibidem.

It is wel that you take vpon you to prescribe vnto the Magistrate how to deale with such as be not in the Church: I pray you where finde you any such maner of dealing towards them, appoynted vnto the ciuill Magistrate: if you haue any scripture for it, why do you not alleage it: if you haue none, what presumption is entred into you, thus imperiously to prescribe lawes vnto Magistrates? But what if there be playne scripture, that they ought not to be admitted to the hearing of the worde, if they be dogges and swine: what say you to this? Giue not that which is holy to dogges: neither cast ye your pearles to swyne.

Matth. 7.

Your distinction betwixt the Church and the common wealthe, if it were in the  
roes



roes of Diocessians time mighte be admitted withoute exception, but in my opinion it is not so fytte in thys tyme, and especially in this kingdome. Maye he be a member of a Christian common wealth, that is not in the Church of Christ: if you had sayde that he maye be in the power, and at the wyll and pleasure of a Christian Magistrate, that is not in the Church of Christ, I coulde well haue lyked of it: but it can not yet synke into my head that he should be a member of a Christian common wealth, that is not also a member of the Church of Christ, concerning the outwarde societie. M. Musculus in my iudgement speaketh truely agaynst this distinction of yours betwixte the Church and a Christian common wealth in his com. pla. *dit. de magistra.* Let the Ethnikes and Infidels liuing not in the vnitie of truth, but in the confusion of errors, haue diuerse Magistrates and lawmakers, some prophane, and some holy, bycause their lyfe is altogether prophane, and their Religion nothing else but superstition. Christian people are in euery respecte holy, and consecrated vnto the name and glory of Christ, not in temples onely, and ecclesiasticall ceremonies, but in all their lyfe, in euerye place, at all times, in all things, actions and studyes: that according to the Admonition of the Apostle. 1. Cor. 10. whether he eateth or drinketh, or whatsoeuer he doth, he doth it to the glorie of God. &c. wherefore that distinction of ecclesiasticall and prophane lawes, can haue no place in it, bycause there is nothing in it that is prophane, seying that it is a holy people vnto the Lorde God, and the Magistrate is holy and not prophane, his authoritie holy, hys lawes holy. &c. be it therefore farre from the Church of Christ that it should be partly holy, partly prophane. &c. But all this from the purpose, and you make to many frivulous digressions from the matter which compelleth me also in following you, to doe the lyke.

*Musculus.*

### Chap. 6. the. 5. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 45. Sect. 2.

In the Apostles time no church established, and no christian Magistrate.

Fiftly, in the Apostles time there was no Church established, being then no Christian Magistrates, and therefore the state of the Church was popular: nowe there is Christian Magistrates, and a Church established, and subiect to rulers. &c.

T. C. Pag. 35. Sect. 1.

(\*) The Magistrate is head of the common wealth, and but a member of the Church by T. C. his judgement.

If there be no churches established, bycause there were no Christian Magistrates, then the churches of the Apostles were not established. And it is absurde to say that the Ministers nowe with the helpe of the Magistrate, can laye surer foundations of the church, or builde more cunningly or substantially, than the Apostles could, which were the maister builders of the church of God, and as for the confirmation of the body of the church, and the beautie of it, seying it consisteth in Iesus Christ, which is the head, that is alwayes ioyned vnseparably in all times of the crosse, and not the crosse wth his body, which is the church. I can not see why the churches vnder persecution should not be established, hauing both the foundation and the nethermost partes, as also the toppe, & hyghest parte of the church, as well as those which haue a christian Magistrate. If in deede the Magistrate, whom God haue sanctified to be a nourle vnto his church, were also the head of the same, then the church coulde not be established without the Magistrate, but we learne that althoughe the godly (a) Magistrate be the head of the common wealth, and a great ornament vnto the church, yet he is but a member of the same. The church may be established without the Magistrate, and so that all the wylde, and all the devils of hell can not shake it, but it can not be in quiet, in peace, and in outwarde suretie, without a godly Magistrate. And therefore the church in that respect and suche lyke prayeth God and prayeth for the Magistrate, by the which it enioyeth so singular benefites. Thereupon you conclude, that the church was then popular, whiche is as vntreue as the former parte. For the church is gouerned wth that kynde of gouernment, which the Philosophers that wypte of the beste common wealthes, affirme to be the best. For in respecte of Christe the head it is a Monarchie, and in respecte of the auncientes and pastoures, that gouerne in common, and wth like authoritie amongst them selues, it is an Aristocratie, or the rule of the beste menne, and in respecte that the people are not secluded but haue theyr interest in Church



Church matters, it is a Democratic, or a popular estate. An image whereof appeareth also in the policie of this realme, for as in respecte of the Queene hir Maiestie, it is a Monarchie, so in respect of the most honourable Councell, it is an Aristocratie, and having regarde to the Parliament, whiche is assembled of all estates, it is a Democratic. But you shoulde have shewed howe thys difference of having a Christian Magistrate, and having none, oughte to byp in a diversitie, in the choise of the Pastor by theyr church: it were not harde if one woulde spende his tyme so unprofitably, to fynde out an hundred differences, betwene a persecuted Church, and that whiche is in peace, but seeing you can shewe me no reason, why the Church maye not choose her ministers, as well vnder a godlie magistrate, as vnder a tyrant, I wyll be bold to shewe you, howe that if it were lawefull to breake the order of God, it were meete in the tyme of persecution, that the election shoulde be in some others, discrete and learned persons handes, to bee made without the consente of the church, than in that tyme when there is a godlie magistrate, and that it is then most convenient to be chosen by the church.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

There was then no Church established in any Ciuill government, bycause howe the the Magistrates did then persecute, and not defende the Church. The Church was in the Apostles tyme was established in doctrine moste perfectly: in discipline, in the government, and ceremonies, as was convenient for that tyme, and as the Church maye be in tyme of persecution: but the tyme was not yet come, wherof the Prophet sayde: Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and Princes shall be thy nursing mothers: therfore it was not established in any ciuill government, neyther did it so publikely and openly shewe it selfe. The Gospell and the Church was in Quene Maries tyme here in Englande, but it was persecuted, not established, not mainteyned, not allowed of, nor professed by the publike magistrate, and the lawes of the lande: and therfore of necessitie a greate difference betwixte the government of it then, and the government of it now: the outward shewe of it then, and the outward shewe of it now: the placing of Ministers then, and the placing of them now. My meaning and my wordes be playne, you needed not to haue offended agayne (as almoste continually you doe) in the ignorance of the Elench. whylest you do not reason nor answer *ad idem*. Church was not established in the Apostles tyme. E/say. 49.

If you speake of the Church, as it is a communion and societie of the faithful and elect onely: and of the government thereof, as it is onely spirituall, then is it moste certaine, that the Church is as thoroughly established, as perfectly governed, as gloriously decked and beautified in the tyme of persecution, as it is or can be vnder the ciuill Magistrate: But if you speake of the externall societie of the Church, which comprehendeth bothe good and euill, and of the outward government of it, then neyther it is, nor can be in suche perfecte state, nor so thoroughly established, or outwardly adozned in the tyme of the Crosse, as it is and may be vnder a Christian Prince. The ignorance of thys distinction of the Church, and of the government thereof (of the whiche I haue spoken moze at large in an other place) causeth you to fall into so many and so grosse errorres concernyng the same.

You saye, that if the Ciuile Magistrate were the head of the Church, &c. Christe onely, and properly is the head of the Church, for it is hys body, but yet in the respecte of the externall societie of the same, and the Supreme authoritie that is gyuen of God to the Prince, ouer his people in all causes, he maye be also in that respecte called the head of the Church, &c. The Prince head of the Church.

Chrysostom. in Epistol. ad Philip. Homel. 13. gyueth thys name to certaine women, of whome he sayeth thus: *Videntur mihi iste mulieres caput fuisse Ecclesie quae illic erat*: These women seeme to mee to haue bin the head of the Church which was there. And therfore a learned mā answering Hosius, who reproued Vergerius for mouing y king

Laco. Andraes  
of



of Polonia to take vopen hym to be the head of that Church, sayeth on this sorte: As the Church of Christ in earth is but one bodie, so hathe it but one head (as the Apostle teacheth) which is Iesus Christe, who is always present with his Church, and governeth it with his holie spirit &c. but because this Church being visible, is not onely ruled by the worde, but by the sworde of the magistrate also, appointed by God, therefore wee saye, there are so manie heades of Churches, as there are gouernours of countreys. So that you see the magistrate to be the head and chief gouernour of a particular church in this respect, that it is a visible societie, and must haue besides the spirituall, an externall gouernment also: whereof because the ciuill Magistrate is the head and chief, therefore it can not be therein established without the ciuill magistrate. Your spare speches for the authoritie of the Magistrate in the gouernment of the Church, I will note in a seuerall place by themselves, and therefore doe I the lyghtlyer passe them ouer in this place: In the meane tyme this is no good argument to saye, that the Magistrate is but a member of the Church, therefore he is not the heade and chiefe gouernour thereof in earth: for the head though it be the chiefe, yet is it a parte of the bodie. But you still confounde the visible and inuisible Church of Christe, the spirituall and externall gouernment of the same, which confusion maye make you seeme to say something, to suche as doe not diligently consider it, when in very deede you say nothing, to the ouerthrowe of any thing that I haue answered.

How & church  
may be esta-  
blished with-  
out a Magi-  
strate.

The Church may be established without the magistrate touching true faith, and the spirituall gouernment of it by Christe in the hearte and conscience of man, but not touching the visible societie, and the externall gouernment. Upon this confusion also is that grounded whiche followeth, that the Church in the respect of Christ the head is a Monarchie, &c. For when I sayde that the state of the Church was popular in the Apostles tyme, I spake of the outward forme, shewe, and gouernment of it: which therefore I call popular, because the Church it selfe, that is the whole multitude, had interest almost in euery thing, especially whylest the Church yet remained at Jerusalem.

I knowe that all these three kyndes of gouernmentes maye bee mixte together after diuers sortes, but yet the state of gouernment is named according to that whiche moste ruleth, and beareth the greatest sway: as when matters are moste commonly gouerned by the consent of the moze parte of the people, the state is called popular: when by diuers of the best and wyldest, it is called *optimorum status*, when by one it is called a Monarchie: as in this Realme in the Courte of Parliamente, althoughe all the states be represented, yet because the iudgemente, confirmation, and determination resteth in the Prince, therefore the state is neyther Aristocratie, nor Democratic, but a Monarchie: Euen so in the Apostles tyme, (especialllye, as I haue sayde, whylest the Church remayned at Jerusalem) though they myghte be counted *Optimates*, yet because moste thyngs in gouernment were done by the consente of the people, therefore the state for that tyme was popular.

You saye, that I shoulde haue shewed howe this difference of hauing a Christian Magistrate, and hauing none, oughte to bying in a diuersitie in the choise of the Pastor by the churches: I haue shewed you before the reasons of it: And now I adde this, that for as muche as the Magistrate is the chiefe and principall Gouernour of the Churches vnder Christe, and oughte to haue a speciall care and regarde to and for the same: It is not meete that anye thyng touching the gouernment of the Churches, or anye publyke function perteyning therevnto, shoulde bee otherwyse done, than he shall thinke conuenient and profitable for the present state of it. And therefore well sayeth M. Musculus in his common places, *titu. de verbi ministris*, It is not conueniente that those thyngs whyche are publikely to bee doone, or which concerne the people subiecte vnto them, or to bee shorte, are suche as concerne Religion, and in that respecte perteyne vnto them (excepte wee will saye with the fantasticall Anabaptistes, that Christians may not bee Magistrates) should be done without the consent

Musculus.



consent and knowledge of the ciuile Magistrate. And againe, wherefore for the condition of tyme, necessitie required, that the Magistrates and Princes by the meanes of a few men, which were of excellent iudgement, and had a care that the Church of Christ should be provided for, might herevnto be induced, that they might appoint faithfull and learned Pastours ouer their subiects. And *titulo de magistratibus*, speaking of the Ciuil magistrate he sayth, Firſte, that he shoulde place ministers of Churches where they are wanting, whether he chooseth them himſelfe, or confirmeth them whiche are chosen of others by his commaundement: For it is not conuenient, that any man should take vpon him anye publike offices in the Church, without the authoritie of the publike magistrate. But (you will saye) it was otherwise in the primitiue Churches, in whiche the prelates of the Churches were chosen of the ministers and the people: I answer: Suche was then the state of the Churches, that the ministers were not otherwise to be chosen, bicause they had not a Christian magistrate: if you call backe the manners of those tymes, first call backe the conditions and state of them also. The Prince hath to see that all thyngs be done in the Church orderly, and profitably, and therfore hath he the altering and changing of suche elections.

Your offering of an hundred differences betwene a persecuted Church, and that whiche is in peace, shall goe with that bragge whiche you vsed Fol. 22. where you offered twentie to one, &c. But to what purpose make you this offer? the more differences there are betwene them, the more is my cause iustified. But you will be bolde to shewe mee, how that if it were lawfull to breake the order of God, &c. and I will also be as bolde to answer your reasons seuerally.

### Chap. 6. the. 6. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 36. Sect. 1.

In the tyme of persecution a church chooseth an vnlearned minister, or one that is wicked in lyfe, howsoever it be, he is vnfit, the Churches rounde aboute by their ministers or Elders, admonishe this church of her faulte, and moue to correcte it, the Church will not by no meanes be admonished, what can now the other churches doe in the tyme of persecution? if they excommunicate the whole church, it is a harde matter, and yet if they maye doe that, there is all they can doe: the euill is not remedied, which may be easily taken away, where there is a godly Magistrate, and the Church (as is before sayd) compelled to a better choysse. So you see that there are inconueniences in the choosing of the Pastor and other the gouernours of the church, by the church, in the tyme of persecution, whiche are not in the tyme of peace, vnder a christian Magistrate.

This is but one, and yet none in deede: for the case you put is verie vnlikely in the tyme you speake of.

### Io. Whitgiste.

This is your only reason, to proue that in a Church persecuted, it is meete for the Minister to be chosen without the consent of the Church, than in a Church being in prosperitie. And surely it is even lyke to your reasons in other matters: for first, that whiche you saye of the Churches rounde aboute (for admonishing, correcting, or excommunicating that Church, that shall chose an vnmeet minister) is not to be founde in all the Scripture, either in commaundement or example, and it is a mere deuise of your owne head.

Secondly, it is moste vnlyke, that the Church in the tyme of persecution should chose an vnmeet or a wicked minister: bycause those that be persecuted themselves be godly, and well disposed, and carefull to haue suche a one, as they may safely committe themselves vnto. For though in the tyme of persecution there maye be some hypocrites, that will for a tyme ioyne themselves with the Goodlie, yet the moste parte doe of a conscience that whiche they doe, else woulde they not endure persecution: wherefore if euer the election of theyr minister may safely be committed vnto them, it may then so be especially. Lastly, in the tyme of persecution, they haue no Magistrate, they be all equall, neyther is one bounde to

D. y.

obey



obey another by any ciuill lawe, none hath chiefe and speciall care ouer the rest, as Magistrate to compell: wherfore it can not be otherwyle then, but that suche offices and functions should be chosen by a common consente, neyther can there be therein, in that tyme, the halfe parte of inconueniences that are in the same, in tyme of prosperitie, as any man of any consideration may evidently perceyue.

### Chap. 6. the seuenth Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 36. Sect. 2. 3.

(\*) Where find you that I thinke so.  
(i) The words of this constitution are craftily suppressed.  
(a) He was Francorum non Germanorum primus Imperator: for Conradus his nephwe, & Otho did fyrst translate the empire from Fraunce to Germanie, as some thynke.

Nowe I will shewe you whiche thinke that the consent of the Church in their minister, can not stande with the time of a christian magistrate, that it hath not onely stood, but hath bene confirmed in their tymes and by them. In codice Iustiniani it is thus written, following the doctrine of the holie Apostles (1) &c. we ordeyne, that as often as it shall fall out, that the ministers place shall be voyd in any citie, that voyces be ggeuen of the inhabiteurs of that citie, that he of thre (whiche for their right faith, holynesse of life, and other good things are most appoynted) should be chosen to the Bishopricke which is the most meete of them. Also Carolus Magnus, which was the first Germane Emperoure in. 63. distinct, sacrorum canonum faith, being not ignorant of the holie Canons, that the holie Church in the name of God should vse her honoure the freelyer, we assent vnto the ecclesiasticall order, that the Bishops be chosen by election of the Cleargie and people, according to the statutes of the canons of that diocesse.

In the. 63. distinction it appeareth, that Ludouicus Carolus his sonne decreed, that he shoulde be Bishop of Rome, whome all the people of Rome should consent to choole.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

The proofes of T.C. im-  
proue his  
purpose.

Muscul.

Where do I say that the consent of the Church in the choise of their minister, cannot stande with the time of a Christian magistrate? I haue said that howsoeuer in the Apostles time, that kind of electing ministers was conueniente, now in this state of the Church it were pernicious and hurtfull: whiche to be moste true, the differences of the times befoze by me alleadged, do proue. The ciuill magistrate may committe this election to such as he liketh best, and may vse that maner and kind of choise, which he thinketh to be most conuenient for that Church, whereof he hath the chiefe care next vnto God: And these proofes that you here bring in to iustify your cause, in my opinion do quite ouerthrow the same. For it appeareth to haue bin in the power of Emperours and ciuill magistrates, to appoynte the maner and forme of suche elections: why else shoulde they haue needed to make any lawes or constitutions for that matter? It is true that Musculus *Lo. com. tit. de magistra* speaking of the ciuill Magistrate sayth, *Prudenter autem & magna &c.* But he muste wisely and verie warilye order the election of ministers, seeking nothyng else but that the flock of the Lorde might be provided for. He shall choose not only suche men as are holie, but such as are also able to teach. He shal flee simonie more than a dog or snake But he shal vse that maner of election, which may be most profitable for the Churches: And, for somuche as hee is not able of himselfe to doe all things which pertaine herevnto, he shall vse the helpe, and aide of faithfull men, and of those that feare God, vpon whose shoulders he may laye the care or burthen, whether they bee within the order of the ministerie of the woorde or of an other profession, but notwithstanding in suche sorte, that he him selfe doe know them whiche are chosen, and if they seeme meete do by his authoritie and power confirme them.

T.C. subtilly  
concealeth the  
words of his  
author that  
make agaynst  
hym.

But to come to your authorities. The words that you do alleadge in codice Iustiniani, must somewhere else be sought for, I thinke your authoure Illiricus is deceyued in quoting that place: for surely I cannot vnderstand that they are to be founde in that booke. But from what authoure soeuer they come, you haue subtilly left out the words that expound his meaning and make directly agaynst you. Wherefore I will recite them worde for worde as they are repoyted in Illiricus, the authoure, out of whome you haue borrowed them: *Sequentes igitur doctrinam &c.* Following the doctrine of



of the holy Apostles, in that, that most pure and vncorrupt Priests ought to be chosen, which are appoynted for that cause chiefly, that by their prayers they might obtayne the fauoure of the most mercifull God towards common wealthes: we do decree by this present constitution, that as often as it shall happen the roome of any priest to be voyde, the inhabitants of the same citie shall giue their voyces of three, which in true faith, holynesse of life, and in all other good things are approued and allowed of, that of these, he whiche shall be moste meete, might be chosen Byshop. The Emperoure saith that he followeth the doctrine of the Apostles in this, that they prescribe what maner of men are to be chosen (*sci: integerrimi & incorruptissimi* most pure and most vncorrupt.) not in the maner or kinde of electing, as you would seeme to make the Reader beleue in noting these words only (following the doctrine of the holy Apostles) and leauing out that which foloweth, & declareth wherein he meant to folow their doctrine, namely (*de eo quod debeant eligi integerrimi* in that that they whiche are most pure ought to be chosen. &c.) For else why dothe he adde and saye, *sancimus* we haue decreed: and not rather, they haue decreed? But the words that follow are most playne: *quoties sacerdotalem sedem &c.* as oft as it shall happen that the roome of a Priest shall be voyd, the inhabitants of that citie shall giue their voyces of three. &c. for where did the Apostles euer appoint, that three should stand in the election: or what example haue you of it in the whole scripture? so that you see here no one prescript rule or example of the Apostles in all poynts folowed, but that order to be taken, and law made by the Emperoure, whiche he thought for that state and time of the Church to be most conuenient.

In Nouellis he seemeth to declare what is meant by the inhabitors of that citie: for thus it is witten: *Sequentes igitur ea. &c.* Following therefore those thinges whiche are decreed in the holy Canons, wee make this pragmaticall lawe, by the whyche we decree, that as ofte as it shall be necessary to ordeyne a Byshop, the Cleargie and primates of the citie, for the whiche the Byshop is to be ordeyned, shall assemble togyther, and the Euangelies being layde before them, shall agree and determine vpon three persons: And every one of them shall sweare by the holy word of God (and that to be enrolled with their determination) that they haue not chosen these men, eyther for rewarde, or for promise, or for friendship, or fauour, or for any other affection, but only because they know them to be of the true and catholike faith, and of honest conuersation, and that they are aboue fye and thirtie yeares olde. So that it is plaine, that by the inhabitants of the citie, he meaneth the Cleargie, and the chiefe persons of the citie. It followeth in the same constitution: *Ut ex tribus illis personis, quae decretis hoc modo eliguntur, melior ordinetur, electione & iudicio eius, qui ordinandi ius habet.* That of those three which are in this sort chosen, the best may be ordeyned, by the election and iudgement of him, that hath the authoritie to ordeyne. And this last clause may be an interpretation also of the meaning of that constitution, *ex codice*: that is, that the inhabitants chose three, of whome the Metropolitane should choose one to be Byshop: for it is evident that the Metropolitane had *ius ordinandi*, and that lawe *in codice*, differeth not one whit from this constitution.

The words of Carolus Magnus, make with me rather than against me, for in that he saith *secundum statuta canonum de propria diocesi*: according to the statutes of the Canons of that diocesse, he plainly signifyeth that in sundry diocesse, there be sundry kinds and maners of elections, else would he haue said, *secundum statuta canonum Apost.* according to the statutes of the canons of the Apostles, or *sacra scriptura*, of the holy scripture, or such like. But that which followeth in the same law maketh the matter manifest. *Praecipimus etiam omnibus. &c.* we will also and commaund all those which are subiect to our iurisdiction, that no man attempt to spoyle the priuiledges of the Churches, Monasteries, or the Churches themselues. &c. meaning no doubt touching elections.

That of Ludouike *dist. 63.* declareth also that it was in the Emperours power to alter the manner of elections, or to establishe them: for else, to what purpose were these lawes and Confirmations made? All this verifieth my assertion, and proueth playnely, that the manner and forme of calling and electing Ministers, is, and hath bene, in the power of the ciuill Magistrate to order,



The profes  
of T.C. a-  
gainst him  
selfe.

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## The defense of the answer

as shall be moſte expedient for the preſent ſtate of the Church: if the Prince thinke it conuenient that the people ſhoulde haue voyces in ſuche elections, they maye ſo haue: if not, there is no lawe of God dothe bynde them to it: and that doe all thoſe lawes of Emperours manifeſtly proue.

### Chap. 6. the eight Diuiſion.

T.C. Pag. 36. Sect. 4. 5.

(a) An vntruth,  
for he only com-  
mendeth them  
for ſo doing, he  
doth not com-  
maund them to  
do ſo.

Platina alſo in the life of Pope Adrian the ſeconde, writeth that Ludouike the ſecond by his let-  
ters (a) commaunded the Romans that they ſhoulde chooſe their owne biſhop, not loſing for other  
mens voyces, which being ſtrangers could not ſo well tell what was done in the common weale  
where they were ſtrangers, and that it apperteyneth to the citizens.

The ſame Platina witneſſeth in the life of Pope Leo the. 8. that when the people of Rome  
were earneſt with the Emperour Otho the fyrſt, that he ſhoulde take away one Pope John & liued  
berie licentiouſly & riotouſly, & place an other, the ſame Emperour answered, that it pertained to the  
clergie and people, to chooſe one, and willed them that they ſhoulde chooſe, and he ſhoulde approue it:  
and when they had choſen Leo, and after put him out without cauſe, and choſe one Pope Ben-  
net, he compelled them to take Leo againe. Whereby appeareth, that in thoſe eſtates where Ma-  
giſtrates were Chriſtian, and where the eſtate was moſte of all Monarchicall, that is ſubiect to  
ones gouernement, and alſo when the Church put out any without good cauſe, that then the Ma-  
giſtrates ſhoulde compell the Churches to doe their dutie. In deepe the Biſhop of Rome gaue  
the election then into the Emperour his handes, by cauſe of the lightneſſe of the people, as Platina  
maketh mention, but that is not the matter, for I doe nothing elſe here but ſhew that the elec-  
tions of the miniſters by the Church were vſed in the times of the Emperours, and by their con-  
ſentes. And ſeyng that Otho confeſſed it perteyned not vnto him, it is to be doubted, whether hee  
tooke it at the Biſhop his handes.

### Io. Whitgiſte.

Platina falſi-  
fyed by. T.C.

Platina in vi-  
ta Adriani. 2.

Bale.

You haue not truly reported the wordes of Platina in the firſt place, for he ſayth  
not that the Emperour Ludouike did commaund the Romans that they ſhoulde chooſe their owne  
Biſhop, but that he commended them for their goodlie and ſound choiſe. His wordes be  
theſe: *Superuenere à Ludouico Imperatore literæ, quibus Romanos admodum laudat, quod summum  
Pontificem sanctæ & integræ creassent*, There came letters from Ludouike the Emperoure,  
wherin he praiſeth the Romans very muche, becauſe they had holily and ſincerely created  
the high Priſt. &c. But Platina declareth how tumultuous an election that was, and  
howe iniuriouſly the Emperours Embaſſadoys were ſecluded from the ſame, hauing  
therin intereſt: and although the Emperoure was contente to put by that iniurie,  
and to commend that election (peraduenture for ſome worldly reſpect) yet it is ma-  
niſeſt, that then the Biſhops of Rome began to vſurpe vpon the authoritie of the  
Emperour, and to ſeclude him from hauing any intereſt in their elections. M. Bale  
ſpeaking of this election ſayth: *Vi enim eligendi pontificis potestatem, ad se tunc rapiebant  
Romani*, For the Romaines then tooke by force vnto them ſelues power to chooſe their  
Biſhop.

The ſecond place of Platina argueth the vndiſcreteneſſe of the people both in pla-  
cing and diſplacing their Biſhop, and the authoritie of the Emperour in taking this  
authoritie of placing and diſplacing from them, when they doe abuſe it: for here hee  
put out Benet whom they had choſen, & placed Leo whom they had diſplaced, where-  
by it appeareth, that there was not then any one ſuche preſcripte forme of electing  
the Biſhop of Rome, but that it was in the authoritie of the Emperour, to abrogate,  
alter, or chaunge it. All this is nothing to the improving of my aſſertion, for I de-  
nie not, but that the people had intereſt in elections of Biſhops, in diuers places, and  
eſpecially in the Church of Rome, a long tyme: But this dothe not proue, that there  
is any preſcript rule in Scripture, for the election of miniſters whiche maye not be  
altered, and chaunged from tyme to tyme, as ſhall be moſte conuenient for the pre-  
ſente ſtate of the Church: naye whatſoener ye haue hitherto ſayde, proueth the  
contrarie.

Pla-



Platina doth not write that Otho confessed that the election of the Byshop of Rome did not pertaine unto him: you should haue a care to report the words of the author truly: it is one thing to say, that the election of the Byshop pertaineth to the Cleargie and people, another thing to say, that it perteyned not to him: for it might pertaine to them al. And the same Platina in the life of Jo. 13. saith, that after John was condemned by a councell, and therefore fled away, the Emperoure Otho, at the request of the Cleargie, did create Leo Byshop of Rome: his words are these: *Hanc ob causam Otho persuadente clero, Leonem Romanum ciuem Lateranensis ecclesie Scriniarium Pontificem creat.* For this cause Otho by the perswasion of the Cleargie, chooseth Leo a Citizen of Rome, and keeper of the monuments of the Church of Laterane, to be Byshop. He further in that place declareth, how the people after the Emperours departure deposed Leo, and placed Benet, and how the Emperoure by force compelled them to place Leo agayne.

Platina in vita Ioan. 13.

That Otho the Emperoure did take this graunt at the Byshops hands, that the election of the Byshop should be in him, and not in the people, M. Bale testifieth in manifest words, in the life of Leo. 8. where he saith thus. After, he tooke from the Cleargie and people of Rome, the power of choosing their Byshop, whiche Carolus Magnus had gyuen vnto them before, and by a Synodall decree did commit the same to Otho the Emperoure, for the auoyding of seditions whiche were wont to be in these elections, and Otho receyuing this graunt thankfully, that he might shewe himselfe agayne beneficiall towards the Sea of Rome, restored all things which Constantine is feyned to haue giuen. &c. In the which words also it is to be noted, that this libertie of choosing their Byshop, was granted vnto the people and Cleargie of Rome by Carolus Magnus, the which not only M. Bale testifieth in this place, but M. Barnes also, in these words. Leo the. 8. vnderstanding the wickednesse of the Romaines in obtruding their friends to the Church, by bribes, threatnings, and other wicked deuises, did restore the interest of choosing the Byshop to Otho the Emperoure. Whereof I also conclude, that it is in the power of the ciuill magistrate to take order for elections of ministers, and that the consent of the people is not of any necessitie required therevnto.

Bale in vita Leon. 8.

## Chap. 6. the. 9. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 36. Sect. 6.

And if the Emperours permitted the election of the Byshop to that Citie, where it made most for their suretie, to haue one of their owne appoyntment, as was Rome, whiche with their Byshops did oftentimes put the good Emperours to trouble: it is to be thought, that in other places, both cities, and townes, they did not denie the elections of ministers to the people, besides that, certaine of those constitutions are not of Rome, but of any citie whatsoeuer. And these Emperours were, and liued betwene. 500. and odd yeares, vntill the very poynte of a thousand yeares after Christ, so that hitherto this libertie was not gone out of the Church, albeit the Pope which brought in all tyrannie, and went about to take all libertie from the Churches, was now on horse back, and had placed himselfe in that Antichristian seate.

## Io. Whitgifte.

In that the Emperours did but permitte such elections to the people, it is manifest, that the interest was in them, else why should they be said to haue permitted it. In deed true it is, that the Emperours so long did remitte of their interest in suche elections, that afterwards when they would haue claymed their right therein, they coulde not obteyne it, but by violence were shut from all, as the histories manifestly declare.

Hitherto you haue proued nothing in question, neyther haue you reasoned *ad idem*: for you shoulde either haue proued that the election of ministers dothe of necessitie pertaine to the people, or that the same manner of electing is conueniente for this Church of England in this time, and state: both which I haue improued, and do still vtterly denie, neyther dothe any thing that you haue alleadged, proue eyther of them.

T. C. hath not reasoned *ad idem*.

Chap.



Answere to the Admonition. Page. 45. Sect. 3.

Therefore this diuersitie of the state of the Church requireth a diuers kinde of gouernemente, and another kinde of ordeyning ministers. For this cause *in Concilio Laodicensi*, whiche was Anno. 334. it was decreed that the election of ministers shoulde not be permitted to the people.

Concil. Laodic.

T. C. Page. 37. Sect. 1. 2.

(a) This is vnttrue as shall appeare.  
(b) An vnttruth, for I said not so.

(c) The Church was vnder persecution in Constantines time by the space of 13. yeares, for Maxentius and Licinius did then persecute.

Those that write the Centuries (a) suspect this canon, and doubt whether it be a bastard or no, considering the practise of the Church: But heere or euer you were aware, you haue stricken at your selfe. For before you sayd, that this order of choosing the minister by voyces of the Church, was (b) but in the Apostles time, and during the time of persecution. And the firste time you can alleadge this libertie to be taken away, was in the. 334. yeare of our Lord, which was at the least. 31. yeares after that Constantine the great began to reygne. I say at the least, because there be good authours that say, that this councill of Laodicea was holden Anno. 338. after the death of Iouinian the Emperoure, and so there is. 35. yeares betwene the beginning of Constantines reygne, and this councill. Now I thinke you will not say, that the Church was vnder (c) persecution in Constantines time. And therefore you see you are greatly deceyued in your accompt.

Now if it be as lawfull for vs to vse M. Caluins authoritie, which both by example and writings hath alwayes defended our cause, as it is for you to writing him and his words, to things which he neuer ment, and the contrary whereof he continually practised, then this authoritie of yours is dashed. For M. Caluine saith, whereas it is saide in that councill, that the election shoulde not be permitted to the people, it meaneth nothing else but that they shoulde make no election, without hauing some ministers or men of iudgement to direct them in their election, and to gather their voyces, and provide that nothing be done tumultuously, euen as Paule and Barnabas were chiefe in the election of the Churches: And euen the same order would we haue kept in elections continually for anoyding of confusion, for as we woulde haue the libertie of the Church preserved, whiche Christ hath bought so deere, from all tyrannie: So do we agayne condemne and utterly abhorre the barbarous confusion and disorder.

Vpon the Acts, 16.

## Io. Whitgifte.

Cent. 4.

Where do those that write the Centuries suspecte that Canon? why note you not the place: there is not one worde tending to that end, in that place where they speake of this Councell. Neyther as I thinke are you able to shew any suche thing affirmed by them, and it is the first time that euer I either red or heard it doubted, whether thys were a Canon of that councill or no. In the. 4. Cent. col. 435. I find these words: *variante ab hac consuetudine, mirum qua veritate, constitutiones Concilij Laodicensi, quae ordinationes iudicio multitudinis fieri prohibuerunt.* The constitutions of the Councell of Laodicea, which forbade the ordeyning (of ministers) to be done by the iudgement of the multitude, do varie from this custome (of electing by the people) it is maruel by what truth. But no mā can hereof gather that they doubt whether this Canon be a bastard or no. Only they doubt whether this decre was made according to the truth. The general Councell at Constantinople, which is called *Synodus. 6.* did both allow this councill, and ratifye it.

It is not greatly materiall at what time this Councell was holden: Neyther dothe it follow that because this decre was now made against such elections of the people, therefore the people had before this time in al places interest, in electing of ministers: for it may be that some claimed this interest, and moued the people to contende for it then, as you do now: and therefore the Synode might vpon that occasiō make this determination: as the like might be made at this time in this Church of Englande, against such parishes as take vpon them the election of their Pastors, as you before affirmed some to do: and yet we could not therevpon truly conclude, that before the time of this prohibition the election of ministers was either generally, or orderly committed to the people in this Church of England.

Page. 3.

I haue



I haue not in any place said that this order of choosing the minister by the voices of the Church was but in the Apostles time, and during the time of persecution, neither yet, that they could claime it of dutie in either of these times, or that it was then generall, and in all places: for I haue before shewed the contrary.

And where you thinke that I will not say the Church was vnder persecution in Constantine time (though it be not materiall) yet must I tell you that I thinke it was: for eue then Maxentius and Licinius did persecute, and continued in persecuting by the space of. 13. yeares after Constan. began his reygne: and it is saide of Licinius that he killed many thousandes of Christians.

The Church in persecution in Constantine time.

I haue not at any time wryung M. Caluines words to any other sense, than he hymselfe hath wrytten them: if it be otherwise, make it knowne: for I haue delt playnely and set downe his words, so haue not you. In his Institutions cap. 8. Sect. 63. thus he writeth of this Councell: *Est quidem & illud fateor. &c.* And surely I confesse, that it was vpon great reason decreed in the Councell of Laodicea, that the election shoulde not be permitted to the multitude: for it scarcely at any time happeneth that so many heads shuld with one consente determine any thing: And that saying is almost true, that the vnstable multitude is deuided into contrary factions. &c. Then both he tell what order was obserued in elections: firste the Cleargy only did choose, then did they offer him whome they had chosen, to the magistrate, or to the Senate, and chiefe rulers, who after deliberation, did confirme the election, if they liked of it: if not, then did they choose another whome they thought to be moze meete. In the ende, the matter was propounded to the multitude, rather to know their desire, and require their testimonie, than to gyue them any interest either of choosing or refusing: this is the summe of Caluines meaning, and this he saith, was the meaning of that Councell: which I say is in effect, to take away the election from the people.

Caluine of the Councell of Laodicea.

Your note in the margent must be corrected, for Caluine hath no suche thing vpon the. 16. of the Acts: but the like he hath vpon the. 14. howbeit the words of the Councell be playne, *quod non sit permittendum turbis electiones eorum facere, qui sunt ad sacerdotium prouendendi*: That it ought not to be permitted vnto the multitude, to make elections of them, which should be preferred to the ministerie. And there can be no doubt of the meaning of the Councell, bycause it appeareth in the. 12. Canon that they would haue Bishops preferred to ecclesiasticall dignitie, by the iudgement of the Metropolitane and other Bishops.

Council. Laodicean. Can. 13.

Can. 12.

Libertie and tyrannie be too common in your mouth. It is no tyranny to restraine the people from that libertie that is hurtfull to themselves, and must of necessitie ingender contentions, tumults, and confusion.

## Chap. 6. the. 11. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 37. Sect. 3.

But if Councells be of so great authoritie to decide this controuersie, the the most famous Councell of Nice will strike a great stroke with you, which in an Epistle that it writeth vnto the Church of Egypt (as Theodozet maketh mention) speaketh thus. It is meete that (a) you should haue power both to choose any man, and to giue their names which are worthy to be amongst the Cleargy, and to do all things absolutely according to the law and decrees of the Church, and if it happen any to dye in the Church, then that those which were last taken to be promoted to the honoure of him that is dead, with this condition, if they be worthy, and the people choose them, the Bishop of the cite of Alexandria together giuing his consent and appoynting him.

(a) This is spoke of the Cleargie, not of the people.

## 10. Whitgifte.

The Councell in that epistle, first declareth what was done with Arius: then what became of Melitius, how he was deposed from his Bishoprike, and yet suffered to remaine in his owne cite, but to haue no authoritie of choosing or ordeyning ministers either in the prouince, or in any other cite. After it sheweth that such as were ordeyned and made ministers, or promoted by him, shoulde keepe their ministerie and honoure, but not haue any authoritie in elections, or in preferring of any to any degree of ministerie, wherevpon it by and by followeth, *qui verò Dei gratia. &c.* but those that

The. li. i. cap. 9.



that by the grace of God and your prayers, haue not bin factious and scismaticall, but kept themselves vndefyled in the Catholike and Apostolike Church, it is meete that they should haue authoritie and power, both to choose any man, and to giue their names whiche are worthy to be of the Cleargy: And to do all things according to the lawes and decrees of the Church. Their meaning is euident, that suche only of the Cleargy shoulde haue to do in electing or preferring any to the ministerie, whiche haue not bin schismaticall and factious in the time of heresie: for these words of the Council are not spokē of the people, but of the Cleargie, as the circumstance of the place doth declare: which thing Iacobus Grinaeus noteth in the margēt, in these words: *Iura Clericorum qui orthodoxi manserunt.* That which followeth and if it happen any to dye in the Church, &c. dothe argue that the people had a consent in those Churches, according to the orders whereof the Council would haue them to procede: but it maketh no new law for it, neyther doth it decree any thing as concerning it. And it is euident that their order herein was not generall, but particular to those Churches: for it followeth after in the same epistle, *Hac proprie & peculiariter ad Egyptum, atque sanctissimam Alexandrinam ecclesiam pertinent.* So that it is manifest that the meaning of the Council was not to bind all Churches to this order. But al this labour of yours is lost, for you go about to proue that which no man denieth.

This order was peculiar to Egypt and Alexandria.

### Chap. 6. the twelfth Diuision.

T. C. Page. 37. Sect. 4.

Another of the famousst councils, called the Council of Constantinople, which was gathered vnder Theodosius the great (as it is witnessed by the Tripartite story) in an epistle which it wrote to Damasus the Pope, and Ambrose and others, saith thus: we haue ordeyned Nectarius the Bishop of Constantinople with the whole consent of the Council, in the sight of the Emperoure Theodosius beloued of God, the whole citie together decreeing the same. Likewise he sayth that Flavian was appoynted by that Synode byshop of Antioch, the whole people appoynting him.

Lib. 9. cap. 19.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The words in that epistle both as the Tripartite histo. and as Theodozet himselfe reporteth them *lib. 5. cap. 9.* signify, that the whole citie was well pleased, that Nectarius was chosen to be their Byshop, and consented vnto it: But it dothe not therefore follow that the whole citie did chuse him. In Theodozet I find these words. *Reuerendissimum & dei amantissimum Nectarium episcopum praeposui in generali nostro Concilio, & praesente amantissimo dei Imperatore Theodosio, cum omnium clericorum, ac totius ciuitatis approbatione.* VVe haue placed or ordeyned the most reuerend, and louing Nectarius, in our generall Council, both Theodosius (the Emperoure most beloued of God) being presente, and also with the approbation of all the Cleargie and the whole citie.

The li. 5. cap. 9

They saye we haue placed or ordeyned Nectarius, &c. and they whiche say so were Byshops. Whereouer Theodozet in the chapter that goeth before, saith plainly that the Pastors and ministers did chuse him Byshop. But be it that the whole citie did giue their voyces: that is no proue, that at all times it must of necessitie be so.

The same answer I make to your example of Flavianus.

### Chap. 6. the xiiij Diuision.

T. C. Page. 37. Sect. 5. 6. 7.

Needlesse proofes.

Likewise in the councill of Carthage where Augustine was, holden about Anno Domini. 400. in the first Canon of the Council it is sayd, when he hath bin examined in all these, and found fully instructed, then let him be ordeyned Byshop by the common consent of the Clearks, and the lay people and the Byshops of the prouince, and especially either by the authoritie, or presence of the Metropolitane.

And in the Toletane councill, as it appeareth in the. 51. distinction, it was thus ordeyned. Let not him be counted a Priest of the Church (for so they speake) whome neyther the Cleargie nor people of that citie where he is a Priest, doth choose, nor the consent of the Metropolitane and o-  
ther



ther Priests in that prouince had sought after.

Whereouer Concilium Gabilonense whiche was holden Anno domini. 650. in the tenth Canon hath this. If any Byshop after the death of his predecessor be chosen of any but of the Byshops in the same prouince. and of the Cleargie and citizens, let another be chosen, and if it be otherwise let that ordinatio be accounted of none effect. Al which Councils proue manifestly, that as the people in their elections had the ministers round about, or Synods and councils directing them, so there was none came to be ouer the people, but by their voyces and consents.

### Io. Whitgiste.

This which is affirmed of these Councils, is confessed to be true, but not to the purpose: for the question is not whether the peoples consent were required at any time or no, but whether it must be required at all times.

### Chap. 6. the. xiiij. Diuision.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 45. Sect. 4.

This alteration of gouernment and orders in the Church of Christ is well set out by Ambrose in the. 4. to the Ephe. vpon these wordes, *Et ipse dedit. &c.* where he saith on this sort, that the number of Christians might encrease and be multiplyed, in the beginning it vvas permitted to euery one to preach the gospel, to baptise, and to expound the scriptures, but vwhen the Church vvas enlarged there vvere certayne parishes appoynted, and gouernoures and other officers ordeyned in the Church. &c. Therefore the vvritings of the Apostles do not in all things agree vvith the orders that are novv in the Church. Thus farre Ambrose.

Ambrose.

T.C. Pag. 38. Sect. 1.

Inderde if you put such darke colours vpon the Apostles Church as this is, it is no maruell if it ought not to be a patrone to vs of framing and fashioning our Church after it. But O Lorde who can patiently heare this horrible disorder, ascribed to the Apostles Church, whiche heere you attribute vnto it, that euery one hand ouer head preached, baptised, and expounded the scriptures, what a window, nay, what a gate is opened heere to (a) Anabaptists, to confirme their fantastickall opinion, wherein they hold that euery man whome the spirite moueth may come, euen from the plough tyle, to the pulpit, to preach the word of God. If you say it is Ambrose saying & not yours, I answer, vnlesse you allow it why bring you it, and that to proue the difference betweene the Apostles times and these? For if it be false (as it is most false) then there is no difference heere betweene the Apostles times and ours. Doth not the whole course of the scriptures declare, and hath it not bin proued, that there was none that tooke vpon him the ministerie in the church, but by lawfull calling? what is this but to cast dust and dirt of the fairest and beautifullest image that euer was, to make a smokie, disfigured, euill proportioned image to seeme beautiful, to ouerthrow the Apostles buildings of golde and siluer, and precious stones, to make a cottage of wood, strawe, and stubble, to haue some estimation, which could haue none the other standing. For in effect so you do, when to vphold a corrupt vse that came in by the tyrannie of the Pope, you go about to discredite the orders and institutions whiche were bled in the Apostles times, and that with suche manifest vntruthes.

(a) The Anabaptists glory of the same calling that you contend for.

### Io. Whitgiste.

This is a very slender answer to Ambrose, whose authozitie both for his excellent learning, and vertue, and also for his antiquitie, is not to be so contemptuously reiect-  
ted. The selfesame word and to the same effect doth Georgius maior in his commentaries vpon the first to the Philip. recite out of one Rabanus Byshop of Moguntia, who also borrowed them as it should seeme, of Ambrose. Maior alloweth well of them, and maketh no suche exclamations as you do, and yet a man knowne to be learned, and sound in religion, as his works declare. Likewise the authozs of the Centuries. 4. Cent. cap. 7. alledge this same place of Ambrose, and allow of it: and therefore the matter is not so heynous as you make it.

Ambrose vnworthly reiect-  
ted, by T.C.

The Anabaptists gloze of the same calling that you now contend for, as it appeareth in the. 3. booke of M. Bullinger aduers. Anabap. cap. 4. whose words be these, *suam vero*

Anabaptistes  
pretende a  
kind of calling  
by the people.  
vocatio.



Ballinger.

Sleydane.

*vocationem &c.* They affirme that their calling is iust, bycause they be called and sent of their Churches: but our vocation to be vnlawful, which is made of the magistrate, and therefore, that they are sent of God, but we of the world and of men. You know that this was one of the first things that the rusticall Anabaptists moued sedition for, and that they required it of the magistrates, as Sleydan declareth li. 5. *ex his postulatis, saith he, primū erat, vt ipsis liceret ecclesia ministros eligere, qui verbum dei purē doceant*: Of those requests, the first was, that they might choose ministers of the Church, which might teach the worde of God purely. You see therefore that the Anabaptists many of them, require a vocation, and one not much unlike that which you strue for in this place, and at this time. When Ambrose saith that it was permitted to euery man to preach the Gospell. &c. he dothe not say that it was permitted vnto them withoute some kinde of calling: if you will beue the place well, and consider it at large, as it is in Ambrose, your heate will be something quenched I doubt not.

It is no derogation at all from the Apostolicall Church, to haue the orders of it in diuers points altered: for though suche were most conueniente then for that state, time, and persons, yet are they not so now in respect of this state, time, and persons, so that the forme of the Apostolicall Churches was then perfyte, and absolute, though now it admitte (in the respect of diuers circumstances) alteration.

### Chap. 6. the. 15. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Page. 45. Sect. vlt.

Musculus.

Musculus also in his common places answering to this question, why that ministers of the word are not chosen now by the ministers and the people, as they were in the primitive Church, but appoynted by the Magistrate, saith thus: *talis tum ecclesiarum erat status, vt aliter nō essent eligendi ministri, quia Christiano magistratu destituebantur. Si reuocas temporum illorum mores, primum conditiones & statum quoque illorum reuoca.* Such vvas then the state of Churches, that they coulde choose their ministers no otherwise, bycause they had no Christian Magistrates. If thou vvouldest haue the manners and customs of those times obserued, then must thou call backe their conditions and state.

T.C. Page. 38. Sect. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. vlt. &.

Sect. 39. Sect. 1. 2.

The place is to commaund which you assigne, you had I am sure the booke before you: you might haue tolde where the place was, and in what title. But that place of Musculus in the title of the magistrate, is answered by himselfe in the same booke, where he entreateth of the election of the ministers. For going about (as it seemeth) to satisfie some of their ministers, whiche were brought in doubt of their calling, bycause they were not chosen by their Churches, speaking of the vse of the Church in choosing their minister he sayth thus.

First it must be playnly confessed, that the ministers were in times past chosen by consente of the people, and ordeyned and confirmed of the seigniores.

Secondarily that that forme of election was Apostolicall and lawfull.

Thirdiv, that it was conformable to the libertie of the Church, and that thrusting the Pastor vpon the Church, not being chosen of it, doth agree to a Church that is not free, but subiecte to bondage.

Fourthly, that this forme of choise by the Church maketh much both to that that the minister may gouern his flocks with a good conscience, as also that the people may yeld themselves to be easier ruled, than when one cometh against their willes vnto them.

And to conclude all these, he sayth that they are altogether certeyne, and such as cannot be denyed. After he sayth that the corrupt estate of the Church and religion drieth to alter this order, and to call the election to certayne learned men, which should after be confirmed of the Prince. And that it may yet more cleerely appeare that his iudgement is nothing lesse than to confirme this election, he setteth downe their election in Bernland, whiche he approueth and labourerh to make good as one which although it doth not fully agree with the election of the primitive Church, yet cometh very neare vnto it: As that not one mā, but al the ministers in the citie of Berne do choose a Pastor when there is any place void.

Afterward he is sent to the Senate, from the which, if he be doubted of, he is sent agayne to the ministers, to be examined, and then if they find him meete, he is confirmed of the Senate (whiche standeth



standeth of some number of the people) and by the moſte parte of their voyces. By theſe things it appeareth, that this election of the Miniſter, by the people, is lawfull and Apoſtolike, and conſeſſed alſo by him, that thoſe that are otherwiſe, bring with them ſubiectiō vnto the Church, and ſeruitude, and carry a note and marke of corruption of Religion.

Laſte of all that he goeth about to defende the election vſed in the Churches where he was Miniſter by theſe, that it approached vnto the election in the primitive Church. Nowe what cauſe there may be, that ſoe ſhould bring the Church into bondage, or take awaye the order whereby bothe the Miniſter maye be better aſſured of his calling, and the people maye the willinglier ſubmitte them ſelues vnto theiꝝ paſtoꝝ and gouernours, or what cauſe to departe from the Apoſtolike forme, of the choiſe of the Paſtoꝝ being lawfull, I confeſſe I knowe not, and woulde be gladde to learne.

To aſſigne the cauſe hereof vnto the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, and to ſaye, that theſe things can not be hadde vnder hym (as you vnder Maſculus name doe aſſume) is to doe greate iniurie vnto the office of the Magiſtrate, whyche abridgeth not the libertie of the Church but defendeth it, diminiſheth not the Paſtoꝝ his aſſurance of his calling, but rather encreaſeth it, by eſtabliſhing the ordinarie callings onely, whiche in the tyme of perſecution ſome tymes are not ſo ordinarie, withdraweth not the obedience of the people from the Paſtoꝝ, but bzgeth it where it is not, and conſtrayneth it where it is not voluntarie. And ſeeing that alſo (\*) Maſculus ſayth, that theſe forced elections are remedies for corruption of Religion, and diſordered ſtates, what greater diſhonour can there be done vnto the holy inſtitution of God in the ciuill gouernour, than to ſaye that theſe forced elections without the conſent of the people, muſte be where there is a Chriſtian Magiſtrate: as though there coulde be no pure Religion vnder him, when as in deede it maye be eaſily vnder hym pure, whiche can hardly, and with greate daunger be pure withoute hym. And when as it is ſayde, that the Churches conſente ſhoulde be hadde in the election of the Miniſter, (a) we doe not denie the confirmation of the elections vnto the godly ciuill Magiſtrate and the diſanulling of them, if the Church in chooſing, and the Miniſters in directing, ſhall take any vniſſite man, ſo that yet, he doe not take awaye the libertie from the Church, of chooſing a more conuenient man.

(\*) Maſculus meaning peruerſed.

(a) Here you are ſone gone from your Apoſtolical forme.

So that you ſee, that by Maſculus your witneſſe reaſons, theſe enforced election withoute the conſente of the people, is but corrupte, and ſo oughte not to be in the Church. And that although it hath bene borne withall, yet it muſt be ſpoken againſt, and the lawfull forme of election laboured for, of all thoſe that loue the truth, and the ſinceritie therof.

### Jo. Whitgiſte.

*Turpe eſt doctori.* &c. you haue befoze tolde vs, what Juſtinian ſayth (a) in codice: Alſo of (b) an Epistle ſent from the counsell of Nice vnto the Church of Egypt, as Theodozet maketh mention: of the counsell of (c) Carthage, of (d) Toletane counsell, and afterwarde you tell vs what (e) Auguſtine (\*) & Gratiā ſay, and wil, that (f) the centuries ſhould be ſcene, &c. & yet you neither tell vs in what part of Juſtinians Code, in what booke or Chap. of Theodozet, in what coucel of Carthage, or of Toledo, in what tome of Auguſtine, or part of Gratiā, in what centurie, or booke of centuries, which all require much more tyme to ſearch out, than this of Maſculus, & eſpecially your law, which (for any thing that I can perceiue) asketh ſo long a ſearch in codice Juſtiniani, that I thinke it will neuer be founde there. But it is no great marueile for you repoꝛte them as the Authoꝝ doth of whom you boꝛowe them, without any further ſearch or tryall. But to put you out of doubt, this place of Maſculus is *titulo de Magiſtratibus*.

Maſculus in deede confeſſeth that in the Apoſtles tyme, miniſters were chooſen by the people, and ordeyned and confirmed by the elders. And after that he hath ſhewed this manner of election to haue bene vſed to Cyprians tyme, he addeth and ſayth: *Ad hunc itaque modum eligebantur* &c. After theſe manner in tymes paſte were Miniſters, Byſhoppes, and Deacons elected: the whyche forme alſo of electing, Churches reteyned vnto the tyme of Chriſtian Princes and Magiſtrates, whoſe conſent was required in the election of Byſhoppes, and that worthily, for it is not meete that thoſe things whiche are to be done publikely, and concerne the people whiche be their ſubiectes, and pertaine vnto them in reſpect of Religion (except we wil ſay with the Anabap. that Chriſtians ought not to be Magiſtrates) ſhoulde be done without their conſent.

After this, he declareth how the Biſhop of Rome in the end, ſpoyled the Magiſtrate and the people alſo of this libertie: and when he hath ſpoken againſt the abuſes of the Romane Church in that matter, he maketh an obiection of ſuch Churches as profeſſe the Goſpell, ſaying, but ſome peraduenture will object that thoſe Churches whiche in our time will ſeme to haue reformed Religion receiue their miniſters of the Magiſtrate, &c

(\*) Pag. 72.  
ſect. 3.

T. C. tripped in that wherein he findeth fault with other.

(a) Pag. 36.

ſect. 2.

(b) Page. 37.

ſect. 3.

(c) Page. 37.

ſect. 5.

(d) Ibid ſect. 6

(e) Pag. 41.

ſect. 2.

(f) Pag. 71.

ſect. 6.

Tit. de verbi  
miniſtris.



not by any election of the people : to this obiection he sayth that he is compelled to answer for their sakes : who though they faithfully labour in the word of the Lord, yet do they doubt whether their vocatiō be lawfull or no, because they were not elected & ordeined according to the Apostolicall forme : And hauing confessed those points y<sup>e</sup> you here set downe, he maketh this resolutiō. *Verū si consideres diuersū ecclēsiæ statū. &c.* If thou shalt consider the diuers state of the Church, thou must confesse, that that which in it self is Apostolicall, lawfull, & vsuall, & conuenient for the libertie of the Churches, *primis quidē ecclesiæ temporibus prodesse potuisse, nostris vero non ita:* might wel profit the Church in the beginning, but not so in our time. For thē there was not such a multitude of Christiāns, but that the minister without tumult, might by cōmon consent be chosen, which thing at this day were very hard to be done. Moreouer thē the mindes of the faithfull were not so generally infected with cōmon errors, nor so blinded with false worshippings, but they remained as yet in the doctrine & Religion which they had receiued of the Apostles : wherefore it might well be, that a true minister might be chosen by their cōmon suffrages. But after that the number of Christiāns was encreased to an infinite multitude, & first schismes, then generall ignorance, blindness, & sundry kinds of superstitiō inuaded the Church, &c. there could no longer any true & sincere minister be elected by the generall consent of the people &c. wherefore for the conditiō of the time, necessitie it self required, that Princes & Magistrates should commit this matter to certaine wise mē carefull for the Church, by whose meanes meete pastors might be placed, &c. then he addeth: that for the circumstances of time, as in all Churches the Apostolicall forme of electing & ordeining cannot be restored, so is there no cause, why the minister of Christ, being called to preach the Gospell by a godly Prince, & Magistrate, shuld doubt of his calling, whether it be right & Christian or no. But he must remēber that where the state of the Church, & of Religio is corrupt, another way must be found out to remedie the same, than that which was vsed in the Churches, when all things was safe and sound. In the end he declareth what manner of electing & ordeining Ministers is vsed in y<sup>e</sup> church of Berne. Neyther doth he in that place or any other that I knowe, goe aboute to defende the election vsed in the Church where he was Minister, by this, that it approached vnto the election of the Primitiue Church, as you report him to do. Thus haue I truly reported Musculus his wordes in that place, and his order : than the whiche what can be more directly spoken to my purpose : whiche is to proue that no one certaine maner and forme of electing Ministers, is anywhere appointed to be generall, and perpetual, but that the same may be altered accorbyng to place, tyme, and persons : and that the manner vsed in the Apostles tyme, is not meete and conuenient for this time. All this I saye Musculus hath plainely, and by good reasons here proued, whyche he doth also as manifestly confirme in the title *de Magistratibus*. For after that he hath declared that it pertaineth to the Magistrate to appoint Church Ministers, he sayth *dices: at secus factum est in primis ecclesijs, in quibus à ministris & plebe eligebantur ecclesiarum antistites, respondeo, talis tum ecclesiarum erat status. &c.* as it is in my answer.

For the subiection and bondage of the Church which you so often talke of, this is my answer in few words : that subiection to lawfull Magistrates in matters lawfull, is no bondage to any, but to such as thinke dutifull obedience to be seruitude & bondage, as the Anabaptistes do. Why the people are debarred from electing (which you call the Apostolicall forme of the choise of the Pastor) you may learne by that which hath been hetherto spoken, if you be so desirous to learne, as you would seeme to be.

The minister may be assured of hys calling though he be not chosen by the people.

That the minister may be well assured of the lawfulness of his calling, though he be not called of the people, you haue also hearde of Musculus, who of purpose answereth that doubt. He that is sure of an inward calling neede not to doubt of hys outward calling, if it be according to the manner and forme of that Church wherein he is called.

That the people doe as willingly now submit them selues to their Pastors and gouernours, (though they haue no interest in electing of them) as they did then, experience teacheth in all places, where there be good and vertuous pastors, except onely in such as you and yours haue set on fire with contention and contempt. You saye to assigne the cause hereof to the Christian Magistrate, &c. We giue vnto the Magistrate that



that which of duetie belongeth vnto him in the respect that he is a Christian Magistrate, and hath the chiefe gouernment of the Church in all causes, & ouer all persons: and you desirous of popularitie, withdraw from the Magistrate that which is due vnto him, giuing the same to the people, and vulgar sort.

You counte it an abridging of the libertie of the Church, a diminishing of the pastors assurance of his calling, a withdrawing of the people from the pastor, to be shorte, a bypning of the people into bondage, for the Magistrate to mainteine his right in vsing that kinde of appointing Ministers, which he thinketh to be most profitable for the Church committed vnto him: and is not this to doe great iniurie to the office of the Magistrate? Why doe you not plainly say that the Quenes Maiestie abridgeth the libertie of the Church, diminisheth the pastors assurance of his calling, withdraweth the people from their pastor, bygeth and constraineth them to that which is voluntarie, & byngeth them into bondage, because she will not suffer them to haue fredome in the elections of their Bishops, and Pastors: for this is your plaine meaning. But temper your popular and vndutifull speeches: the true libertie of the Church, which is libertie of conscience, and fredome from false doctrine, errors and superstitions, and not licence for euery man to doe what himselfe listeth, was neuer moze in any Church: pastors neuer had better cause to be assured of their calling: the people at no time moze bound to cleaue to their pastors: neuer lesse cause to complaine of byging constraint, seruitude, or bondage, than they haue at this daye vnder hir Maiestie: but you go about to perswade them to the contrary, which wher vnto it tendeth, would be in time considered.

The true libertie of the Church.

Musculus saythe, that this manner of ordering Ministers (for he doth not call it forced elections) is a remedie against corrupted states, not in respect of lawes, gouernment, Magistrate, or Religion by authoritie established, but of menues myndes that are corrupted with errors, contentions, and sinister affections, and this is no dishonor to the ciuill gouernor. For if in a kingdome there be many wayward and disordered persons, the fault is in themselves, and not in the Magistrate, nor in the kind of gouernment, but a great commendation rather, when as by the diligence of the Magistrate, and profitable kinde of gouernment, such disordered persons be corrected and reformed, or at the least kept vnder and restrained. Is it a dishonor to the Prince, that where as he founde the whole Realme corrupted in doctrine, now it is otherwys, though not in the heartes of many, yet in externall forme, and publike regiment? Wherefore you do but subtilly, (I will not saye contemptuously) transfer that to the Magistrate and kind of gouernment, which Musculus meaneth of the corrupt mindes and affections of the common sort of men.

T. C. transferreth & corruptions of mens myndes, to the gouernment.

You adde that when it is sayd, that the Churches consent shoulde be had in the election of the minister, &c. but how shall we know that you meane as you speake: for you haue no warrant so to doe in any Apostolicall election, or in any forme vled in the Apostles time. Wherefore either you must breake that rule which you would haue both to be perfit, and perpetuall for all times, and states, or else doe you but dissemble with the Magistrate, and minde nothing lesse than that you say you would do.

T. C. bygeth the Apostolicall forme, and yet byngeth in that which is not Apostolicall.

But as god neuer a whit, as neuer a deale the better: for the Magistrate muste confyrme them, or reiecte them, if he be godly, and take not from the Church hir libertie in choosyng. First, what if the Magistrate be vngodly: or who shall iudge whether he be so or no: or howe shall the Magistrate knowe when the Church in choosyng, and the Ministers in directing shall take any vnfitte man: who shall complayne to the Prince of his vnfitness, if both the Ministers and people thinke him fitte: or who shall iudge of hys fitness: or what priuiledge shal the Magistrate haue hereby, when he muste haue one of the peoples electyng whether he will or no, or else muste the Church be disstitute? Surely the Magistrate shoulde haue a good office, to be so troubled with suche elections in this Church of Englande. In good sadnesse tell me, doe you not see the absurdities of these youre sonde and troublesome deuises: or are you so blynde, that you perceyue not how farre you would swarue from the forme,

The absurdities of the deuise of T. C.

R. h.

which



which you saye was vsed by the Apostles, when you giue to the ciuill Magistrate the confirmation of ministers, which they in their time kept to themselves?

Musculus hath in most playne manner taught the selfe same thing, that I haue done, as it may appeare to all those that will vnderstand: but you of purpose woulde blind both your selfe and others.

## That Byshops haue authoritie to admitte

and ordeyne Ministers.

### Chap. 7. the firste Diuision.

#### Admonition.

Nowe that authoritie is giuen into the handes of the Bishop alone, who by his sole authoritie thrusteth vpon them suche, as they many times, as well for vnhonest life, as also for lacke of learning, may, and do iustly dislike.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 46. Sect. 1.

That Bishops haue authoritie to admitte Ministers (which is heere denyed) it is plaine by that which is written. 1. Tim. 5. *manus cito ne cui imponas*, Lay thy handes rashely on none. These wordes Ambrose, Chrysostome, and all learned wyters, for the moste part, doe say to be an Admonition to Timothie, that he oughte to be circumspecte in appoynting of Ministers. And to Titus chap. 1. Paule sayth that he left him at Creta, *ut constituat oppidatim presbyteros*, that he shoulde appoynt Ministers in euery towne. This Hierome and others doe expounde of the authoritie that Titus had in placing ministers in euery Church.

T. C. Pag. 39. Sect. 3. 4. & Pag. 40. Sect. 1. 2.

(\*) A wilfull de-  
prauing of the  
Answer.

(\*) Who hath  
sayde so?

Nowe you woulde proue (\*) that this election of Ministers by one man was in the Apostles tyme. But you haue forgotten your selfe, whiche sayde a little before, that this election by the Church, was not onely in the Apostles tymes, but also in the time of Cyprian: nowe you saye otherwyle. And if the election of the minister by the Church agree so well with the tyme of persecution, and when there is no christian Magistrate, howe cometh it to passe, that in those dayes when persecution was so hotte, and there were no suche Magistrates, that Saint Paule woulde haue the election by one man, and not by the Church. Besides that, if (\*) this be Saint Paule hys commaundement, that the Bishop shoulde onely choose the Minister, why doe you make it an indifferent thing, and a thing in the power of the Church to be varied by tymes, for this is a flat commaundement. Thus you see you throw downe wth one hande, as fast as you build with the other. But to answere directly to the place of the fifth of the first to Timothie.

I saye first, that Saynt Paule writeth to Timothie, and therefore instructeth him what he shoulde doe for his parte in the appoynting of the Minister. If he had written to the whole church of Ephesus, he woulde likewise haue instructed them howe they shoulde haue behaued themselves in that businesse. If one doe write vnto his friende, that hath interest in any election, to take heede that he choose none but suche as are meete, shall anye man conclude therevpon, that none hath to doe in that election, but he to whome that letter is written? Then I say further that Saynt Paule attributerh that vnto Timothie, that was common to more with hym, because he being the director and moderator of the election is sayde to doe that whiche many doe: whych thing I haue proued by diuerse examples bothe oute of the Scripture, and otherwise before. And euen in thys imposition of handes, it is manifestly to be shewed. For that whereas Saynt Paule 2. Tim. 1. sayth in the seconde Epistle that Timothie was ordeyned by the putting on of hys handes vpon hym, in the firste Epistle he sayth, that he was ordeyned by the putting on of the handes of the eldership. So that that whiche he in one place taketh to him selfe alone, in the other he commu- 1. Tim. 4. cateth wth moe. Agayne, it is a fault in you, that you can not distinguish or put difference betweene the election, and imposition of handes.

Last of all I answere that althoughe thys mighte agree to Timothie alone, as in deede it can not, yet it followeth not that euery Bishop maye doe so. For Timothie was an Euangelist, which was aboute a Bishop, as hereafter shall better appeare. And it is an euill argument to saye the greater maye doe it therefore the lesse maye doe it. The superiour, therefore the inferiour. If you were at any coste with producing your witnesses, you shoulde not be so wyle to be so launche of them, as to cite Ambrose and Chrysostome, to proue a thing that none hath euer denyed for



for who denyeth that Sainte Paule doth not geue warnyng to Timothie to be circumspecte? if you meane to vse theyr testimonie to proue that he onely made the elections, they saye neuer a word for you, if there be any thing, cite it. To the place of Titus, I answere as to that of Timothie, for there is nothing there, but agreeth also to this place. And as for Hierome, he hath nothing in that place, as he hath in no other, to(\*) proue that to the Byshop onely doth belong the right of the election of the Minister.

(\*) As if there were any suche thing affirmed.

I haue shewed you reasons before, why it can not be so taken of the sole election of the Byshop, the Church being shut out. If authorite would doe any good in this behalfe, as it seemeth it ought, seeing that all your prooue throughout the whole booke, is in the authorities of men, (whiche Aristotle calleth ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείονος, bunning proofes) I coulde send you to M. Caluine which teacheth, that it is not to be thought that S. Paul would permit to Titus to ordeine Byshops & ministers by his owne authoritie, when he himselfe would not take so much vpon hym, but ioyned his with the voyces of the Church. But he peradventure sauntereth not your task, and yet you would make men beleue sometimes, that you make much of him, if you can get but one worde (a) vnioynted, and racked in peeces from the rest, to make good your part. If he weigh not with you, you haue M. Musculus, whome you take to be a great patron of yours in this cause, which doth with greater vehemencie affirme the same thing that M. Caluine sayth, asking whether any man can beleue that Paule permitted in this place to Titus, or in the place before alleaged to Timothie, that they should ordeine of their owne authoritie, & by themselves, when as Paul would not doe it but by the voyces and election of the Church.

(a) An vntrue accusation.

Musculus in his comment, in his title of the election of ministers

### Io. Whitgife.

The Admonition in the first article colozably, but in the .7. plainly affirmeth, that the right of ordering ministers doth at no hande appertene to the Bishop: this doe I improue in this place, and proue that the right of ordering & electing Ministers, doth appertene to the Bishop: but I haue contented my selfe with the fewest proofes, because theyr assertion is so absurde, that it can not but discredite their learning with all learned men. And what so euer T. C. hath hether to sayd, manifestly declareth it to be vntrue: yet now it is his pleasure to glosse vpon my words, and to say that I would proue this election of Ministers by one man, to haue bin in the Apostles time, &c. Whereas in deede my words be plaine, and my meaning is to proue that the electing and ordering of ministers doth appertene to Bishops: I do not say only to Bishops.

Bishops may admit ministers.

When you say that the election of the Bishop doth appertene to the people, doe you meane that it only pertaineth to the people? But because you thinke y<sup>e</sup> to be so great a matter, to say that in the Apostles tyme the election of Ministers was by one man, seeing that I haue sayd before that this election by the Church was in the Apostles time and after, I will say now more than I sayd before, that they be both true: that is, that in the Apostles time there was diuerse maners of ordeining & electing Ministers. For some tyme one alone did choose, and ordeine, sometimes many, sometimes Ministers onely, and sometime the people also: as it may evidently be gathered, both by that which is spoken before, and by this also that I doe say in this place. Zuinglius in his booke called Ecclesiastes sayth thus, VVe reade in olde tyme of three kindes of elections: some were chosen by the common and generall consent of all the faithfull gathered together in one place: Other some were elected and sent by the Apostles onely: Other some we maye finde, whom one onely Apostle did choose and send, as Titus whome Paule lefte at Creta, committing vnto him, the care of that Church. The like sayth M. Bullinger Lib. 3. aduersus Anabap. cap. 4. there is another calling of those, whiche are also called of God, but by men, which choose & sende according to gods ordinance, as when Peter sent Marke, and Paule both called and sent Timothie, Titus & Luke. Thus you see that it is counted no straunge matter to haue diuers kinds of calling & electing ministers, euen in the Apostles time. And therfore in saying now, that Bishops haue authoritie to admit ministers, I saye nothing contrary to any thing that I haue saide before, neither yet if I affirme that Timothie and Titus had this authoritie to themselves alone.

Then by your leave I say nothing for it. Bishops onely do it, who take vpon y<sup>e</sup> to defende

Diuers kindes of ordeining & electing ministers in the Apostles time.

Zuinglius.

Bullinger.

The election of the Minister by the Church is fittest for the tyme of persecution: but that doth not seclude from the same tyme, election and calling by one man: neyther is this the question, whether choosing by the common consent of the people, or calling & sending by one man, be meetest for y<sup>e</sup> tyme of persecution: but whether election made by the multitude, is fitter for the tyme of persecution, and when there is no christian Magistrate, than for the tyme of prosperitie, and vnder a Christian Magistrate: and therfore you doe but incumber the Reader wyth false suppositions. Elections by the multitude, or by one onely, maye be vsed in the tyme of persecution,



and at other times also, as shall be most expedient for the Church.

**T. C. peruer-**  
teth the say-  
ings of the  
Answerer.

1. Tim. 5.

Where doe I saye, that it is Paules commaundement that the Byshop should onely choose the Minister? undoubtedly this is no true or diuine dealing, wyllyngly and wittingly to peruert a mans saying, neither can it come of a good conscience, and you haue faulted in it very oft. I proue by that which S. Paule said to Timothie 1. Ti. 5. (Lay thy handes rashely on none) that a Bishop hath authoritie to admitte Ministers, because Timothie to whom these words were spoken, was a Bishop: and learned interpreters do say, that Saint Paule by these words did admonishe Timothie, that he ought to be circumspect in appointing of ministers: Therefore this is not Paules commaundement, that a Bishop onely should ordeine ministers, but this he giueth in charge to all Bishops, in the name of Timothie, that they lay their handes rashely on none: whereby also he plainely signifieth that the ordering and electing of Ministers doth apperteyne vnto them, which is denied by the Admonition. Here is then nothing throwne downe that was before builded, but you cast snow ballles at y<sup>e</sup> windowes of the building, which may for a tyme darken them, till your snowe be melte away with the Sunne.

Touching your direct answer, (as you call it) to the place. 1. Tim. 5. thus I brievely replie, that it is but deuised of your owne head, not grounded vpon any good authoritie, nor consonant to the circumstance of the place, or course of the Epistle. Both Ambrose and Chrysostome and other learned writers (as I haue sayd) doe vnderstand it to be ment of the authoritie that Timothie had in ordering Bishops and ministers. The whole Epistle, and the circumstance of this place doe plainly testifie, that thys was spoken to Timothie, onely in the respect that he was a Bishop. The preceptes that be contained in this Epistle, the most of them, and in this Chapter especially, are suche as properly pertaine to Timothie in the respecte that he was a Bishop, and a Minister of the worde. To conclude, if the election of a Bishop had of necessitie perteyned to the people, Paule woulde not haue wrytten in this manner to Timothie as he hath done, describing vnto him what qualities he that is to be elected Byschoppe oughte to haue, but he woulde rather haue wrytten the same to the people, or willed Timothie to declare it vnto them. Neyther doth he any where in any of hys Epistles wryte to any Church, to geue them any instructions in this so necessarie a matter: but onely wryteth of the same in those Epistles to Timothie and Titus beyng Byschops, which maye be an argument that the ordering of Ministers doth properly apperteyne to a Bishop, and that thys also, *manus cito. &c.* is spoken to Timothie in that respect.

A man maye wryte to hys friende that hath interest in an election, but Paul doth not onely wryte vnto Timothie as to one that hath interest, but as to one in whom the whole interest consisteth. When you say that Paule attributeth that to Timothie, that was common to him w<sup>th</sup> moe: if you meane moe Bishops, then it is true, for it is a rule for all Bishops to follow: but if you meane other of the people, then doe you but shifte of the matter with ghesling.

Eol. 31. Sect. 4.

To your p<sup>ro</sup>ofes of that phrase and kynde of speache I haue answered before, it is but a starting hole to flie vnto, when you are foyled by the playne and euident wordes of the Scripture. That whiche is by you alleaged. 2. Ti. 1. and 1. Ti. 4. maketh for my purpose: for you haue before confessed, that imposition of handes was not by the Church and people, but by the Elders and Ministers: and you alleage these places 1. Timo. 4. and 2. Timo. 1. to proue the same. And therefore I muche maruell to what ende you nowe alleage them, excepte it be to proue your phrase, for they cannot proue any election made by the people, vnlesse you will say and vnlay at your pleasure.

To laye on  
handes, is di-  
uersly taken,  
Bullinger.

But to put you out of doubt, *imponere manus*, to lay on hands, sometimes signifieth the ceremonie only of laying on of hands, and sometimes the whole maner & forme of ordering. And in this second signification it is taken. 1. Ti. 5. & 2. Ti. 1. Bull. expounding this place. 1. Ti. 5. sayth, *manus enim imponere aliud non est, quā ecclesie aliquē præsicere & ordinare*, To lay on hands is nothing else, but to ordeine & appoynt one ouer the Church.

And



And interpreting y<sup>e</sup> also. 2. *Tim.* 1. he saith: *Paulus in presenti per donū dei, prophetie donū intellexit et functionē Episcopālē ad quam vocat Timotheū dominus, sed per ministeriū Pauli, qui idē nunc dicit donum illud in Timotheo esse per impositionem manuum suarum.* Paul doth heere vnderstande by the gifte of God, the gifte of Prophecie, and the offyce of a Bishop, vnto the which the Lord had called Timothie, but by the ministerie of Paule, who for that cause nowe sayth, that that gift was in Timothie by the imposition of his hands. And M. Caluine *Institu. Cap. 8. Sect. 50. decideth this matter fully in these wordes: Sed Paulus ipse alibi se* Caluine.  
*et.* But Paule himselfe in another place, doth testifie that he, and no moe, did lay his hands vpon Timothie: I admonishe thee (sayth he) that thou stirre vp the grace which is in thee, by the imposition of my handes. For where it is sayde in the other Epistle of the laying on of the handes of the eldership, I do not so take it, as though Paule spake of the Colledge of Elders: but in this name (*videlicet presbyteris*) I vnderstand the ordination it selfe: as if he should say, endeavour thy selfe that the grace be not in vayne, which thou hast receyued by the laying on of hands, when I ordeyned thee a minister. Agayne vpon this. 1. *Tim.* 5. he sayth thus: *Impositio manuum ordinationem significat, signum enim pro re ipsa capitur.* The imposition of handes signifieth the ordering, for the signe is taken for the thing it selfe. For what is it to appoynt, but to call, elect, & ordeyne? Whereouer that which Paule sayth to Titus, *Vt constituas.* *et.* dothe expounde this to Timothie, *manus citō.* *et.* and therefore in deede I make no difference in this place, betwixte election, ordeyning, and imposition of handes.

Last of all (you say) that you answered, though this mighte agree to Timothie alone, *et.* If it agreed to Timothie alone, it must needes followe that it may agree to other Bishops also: for Timothie was a Bishop, as it shall be by better reason proued, than you *Tract. 8.*  
 are able to shewe any to the contrarie: This that you speake of his Euangelistship, and of his superiortie in that respect, is onely spoken without reason or authoritie: but you shall haue store of bothe to the contrarie (God willing) when I come to that place.

I am not so lauish of my witnesses, as you are of scoynfull and vnseemely tauntes and speeches.

Bothe Ambrose and Chrysost. doe not say, that Paule heere warneth Timothie onely to be circumspect, but to be circumspect in appoynting of Ministers: and if it were not so, I doubt not, but that I shoulde heare of it. The words are spoken to Timothie in respecte that he was Bishop, neither hath the Apostle giuen any suche like Admonition to any Church, in any of his Epistles, as I haue before noted. And therefore Ambrose in his exposition of this place to Timothie (after that he had shewed what circumspection the Apostle would haue to be vsed in ordeyning of Ministers) concludeth thus: *Hec Episcopus custodiens, castum se exhibebit religioni:* A Bishop obser- Ambrose.  
 uing these things, shall shewe himselfe pure in religion. Whereby he signifieth that this precept is properly pertainyng to a Bishop. Chrysostome also in the. 1. *Tim.* 4. vpon Chrysostome.  
 these wordes, *Cum impositione manuum presbyterij,* sayth, *Non de presbyteris hoc loco, sed de Episcopis loquitur: non enim profecto presbyteri ipsum ordinarunt:* He speaketh not of priests in this place, but of Bishops, for certaynely priestes did not ordeyne him. And Oecolampad.  
 vpon the same wordes: *Presbyteros dicit Episcopos, neq̄ enim presbyteri Episcopum ordinabant,* He calleth Bishops Priestes, for Priestes did not ordeyne a Bishop. Whereby it playnely appeareth that these auncient fathers thinke this precept, *manus citō ne cui imponas:* lay thy handes sodenly on no man, to be giuen onely to Timothie in the respect that he was Bishop, and therefore also to apperteyne vnto Bishops onely to ordeyne Ministers.

Hierome vpon that place to Titus sayth: *Audiant Episcopi qui habent constituendi Presbyteros per vrbes singulas potestatem, sub quali lege ecclesiastica potestatis ordo teneatur:* Let Bishops which haue authoritie to appoynt Ministers in euery citie, heare in what lawe the order of ecclesiasticall authoritie dothe consist. And a little after (speaking also of Bishops) VWhereby it is manifest that those whiche contemning the Apostles rule, will not bestowe the ecclesiasticall degree vpon any for desert, but for fauour, to doe agaynst Christe. &c. Hierome heere taketh the Bishop onely to haue authoritie to ordeyne



Chrysost. in  
1. Tit.

and appoynt Ministers. And Chrysostome upon the same place sayth that Paule dyd those things himselfe that required greatest labor and trauell: but lefte other things of honour and commendation to Titus, as ordeyning of Bishops. So sayth Theophilact likewise. Thus then you see howe evidently bothe those places of scripture, and also these auncient fathers do ouerthrow that saying of the Admonition, that the right of ordering ministers dothe at no hand apperteyne to a Bishop. And how manifestly also the same haue iustified that whiche I haue sayde, that is, that Bishops haue authoritie to admit ministers: for these be my very words.

The corrupte  
dealing of  
C.C.

Nowe how corruptly you haue dealt with me here in this place, I would wishe the indifferent Reader to consider: where I saye, that Bishops haue authoritie to admit ministers, you make me to say, that the election of ministers by one man was in the Apostles time. And where I say, these words of Paule to Timothie (*manuscito me cui imponas. &c.*) be an admonition to Timothie, that he oughte to be circumspect in appoynting of ministers: you make the reader beleue that I say, that it is a commaundement given by Paule to Timothie, that the Bishop onely shoulde choose the minister. And where I say that Hierome and others do expounde these wordes to Titus (*ut constituas oppidatim. &c.*) of the authoritie that Titus had in placing ministers in euery Churche: you report them, as though I shoulde saye, that Hierome proueth the righte of the election of the minister to belong to the Bishop onely: where I haue ordeyning, there you haue election: And where I saye, belongeth to the Bishop, there say you, belongeth to the Bishop onely. Is this your sinceritie? dare you accuse other men of corruption, being guiltie of it your selfe almost in euery lyne? True it is, that I am perswaded that bothe Timothie and Titus, and consequently other Bishops, haue authoritie to ordeyne and appoynt ministers alone, which I haue also partly proued before, and shall do partly hereafter, as I haue occasion: But yet all men that be not blinde may see, that I haue affirmed no suche thing in that part of my answere to the Admonition.

I haue alwayes greatly esteemed the iudgements & opinions of learned men, & howe soeuer you are perswaded of your owne excellencie, and dexteritie of wit, yet am I content to submit my selfe to the opinions of other, to whome I am in no respect comparable: and then do I thinke my selfe to haue reason sufficient, when I haue good authoritie of the scriptures, and of learned writers.

Aristotle spake as a heathenish Philosopher, of such prophane sciences, as be grounded not vpon authoritie, but vpon naturall and humaine reason: but that that we professe is of an other nature, for it is grounded vpon authoritie, and for the authoritie sake to be beleued, what reason soeuer there is to the contrarie. And surely I maruell what you meane so often to quarell with me, for the alleadging of the authoritie of learned writers: except it be because you haue not red so many your selfe, or else that you would seeme your selfe to be the Author & inuentor of those reasons, which you haue borrowed of them: which in deede, is to winne the prayse of a good wit vnto your selfe, and to robbe the learned writers of their iust commendation. Wherefore to answer you briefly in this matter, I thinke authoritie in diuine matters to be the best reason, whether it be of the scriptures themselves, or of such learned men as do rightly interpret the same. And I deeme it to be much more honestie in vsing their authorities to expresse their names (that they may haue their iust commendation, and the matter the more credite) than vsing their authorities, & suppressing their names, vayneely & arrogantly to vsurpe as my owne, that which I haue borrowed out of them.

Authority the  
best prooue in  
diuine mat-  
ters.

I know Master Caluines interpretation vpon that place, & likewise what Musculus sayth of the same in his Common places, *titu. de electione ministrorum*: but the words of the texte be playne. And forasmuche as you make a distinction betwixte electing and ordeyning, and saye, that electing pertaineth to the people, and ordeyning to the Bishop: Likewise that the Apostle in this place speaketh of ordeyning, and not of electing, you muste of necessitie confesse, that by saying *sicut tibi ordinaram*, as I appoynted thee, he meaneth onely imposition of handes and prayer: as though he shoulde say,

Page. 41. lin. 4.

Tit. 1.

ut con-



*ut constituas opidatim presbyteros sicut tibi ordinaram. sci. per impositionem manuum & orationem:* That thou shouldest ordeyne Ministers in euery citie as I appoynted thee (that is to saye) by laying on of handes, and by prayer. And thus doe learned Interpreters also expounde this place: Neither is *Musculus* his meaning muche other wyse, as it may appeare to those that well consider his wordes: especially if your distinction betwixt electing & ordeyning holde, and if *Paul* speake here of ordeyning onely: for in ordeining of Ministers the Apostles vsed laying on of handes as a ceremonie, they prayed also and fasted. But if you will haue the Apostle here to speake of electing also, then dothe he expounde him selfe, when he sayth: *Si quis est inculpatus. &c.* If any by voreprouable, the husbando of one wyfe. &c. For howe can you otherwise make those wordes aptly to hang together? No doubt the Apostle gaue *Titus* an especial charge in ordeyning of Ministers, to haue respect vnto these qualities: of whiche charge he putteth him in minde when he sayth, that he lefte him at *Creta*, to ordeyne Ministers in euery citie, as he appoynted him. that is, suche as be vnreprouable. &c.

Act. 14.

Tit. 1.

I knowe there be some that expounde this place thus also: that for as muche as *Paul* when he lefte *Titus* in *Creta*, did will him to ordeyne Ministers in euery citie, now he putteth him in minde of the same by his letters, and willeth him to doe according to his appoyntment, that is, to place Ministers in euery citie: and surely this interpretation hathe good reason: for being absent, we commonly vse to put them in minde by letters, to whome we haue committed any thing to be done, of such things as we willed them to do, when we were present with them.

I reuerence Master *Caluin* as a singular man, and worthy instrument in *Christs* Church: but I am not so wholly addicted vnto him, that I will contemne other mens iudgements that in diuers poyntes agree not fully with him, especially in the interpretation of some places of the Scripture, when as in my opinion they come neerer to the true meaning and sense of it in those poyntes, than he dothe.

I did neuer cleaue to *Musculus*, or to any other man so, that for his or their sakes I derogate any thing from suche as be comparable to them, and haue deserved singular commendation for their writings. If any one, or mo learned men be of my iudgement, though all be not, I am not ashamed to vse their testimonie in that poynte, though in some other poyntes I do not consent vnto them.

If I either vnioint or racke in peeces from the rest, any worde or sentence of Master *Caluins*, make it knowne, set it open, that I may iustly beare the blame of it: but if I deale truly and faithfully with him, if I set downe his owne wordes, whole sentences, whole sections, and (as you say) whole leaues, without adding, altering, or diminishing, then howe can you excuse your so vntrue and vniust charging of me? Which, if it were not so common and vsuall with you, might the better be tolerated.

### Chapter. 7. the. 2. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 46. Sect. 1.

It is the generall consent of all the learned fathers, that it pertaineth to the office of a Bishop to order and electe Ministers of the worde. In this sayth Hierome in *Epist. ad Euagrium*, A Bishop dothe excell all other Ministers, in that the ordering and appoynting of Ministers dothe properly pertaine vnto him. And yet these men saye, that the righte of ordering Ministers dothe at no hande appertaine to a Bishop. But for the order and manner of making Ministers, peruse the booke made for that purpose, and as I sayde before, so I say agayne, if thou hast any iudgement thou canst not but lyke it, and allowe of it.

Hierome.



T.C. Pag. 40. Sect. 3. 4. 5.

In the ende you saye it is the generall consent of all the learned Fathers, that it belongeth to the Bishoppe to choose the Minister. Because you acquainte my eares with suche bolde and vntrue affirmations, I can nowe the more patiently heare you thus haunting your self, as though you had all the fathers by hearte, and carried them aboute with you; wherefore you wente, whereas if a man would measure you by the skill in them, which you haue shewed heere, he would hardly beleue that you had red the tenth parte of them.

\*I had cited Ambrose and Chrysostome before.

Are all the learned Fathers of that minde? I thinke then you would haue bin better aduised, than to haue set down but one, when as you know a matter in controuersie will not be tried but by two or thre witnesses, vnlesse the Lord speake him selfe: and therefore you giue me occasion to suspecte that bicause you cite but one, you knowe of no more. Nowe let vs see what your one witness will depose in this matter.

And first of all, you haue done more wisely than simply, in that you haue altered Hieromes wordes. For where he sayth, wherein dothe a Bishop differ from an Elder, but onely in ordeyning: you saye, a Bishop dothe excell all other Ministers, &c. I reposte me heere vnto your conscience, whether you dyd not of purpose chaunge Hierome his sentence, bicause you woulde not let the Reader vnderstande what oddes is betweene Sr. Hieromes Bishops in his dayes, and betweene our Lord Bishops. For then the Bishop had nothing aboute an Elder, or other minister, but onely the ordeyning of the Minister. Nowe he hath a thousande Parishes, where the Minister hath but one. For the matters also of the substance of the ministerie, the Bishop nowe excommunicateth, whiche the Minister can not. Besides diuers other things, whiche are meere ciuill, whiche the Bishop dothe, and whiche neither Bishop nor other Minister oughte to doe. I saye, I reposte me to your conscience, whether you altered Hieromes wordes to this ende, that you woulde keepe this from the knowledge of your reader, or no. For answere to the place, it is an (a) euill argument to saye, the Bishop had the ordeyning of the Minister, Ergo he had the election of him. The contrarie rather is a good argument: the Bishop had the ordeyning of the Minister, therefore he had not the election of him. For ordination and election are dyuers (b) members of one whole, whiche is the placing of the Pastor in his Church, and one member can not be verifed of an other, as you can not saye your foote is your hande. I will not denie, but that sometimes these wordes may be founde confounded in Ecclesiasticall writers, but I will shew you also, that they are distinguished, and that the election pertaineth to the people, and (c) ordeyning vnto the Bishop.

(a) It is your argument, it is none of mine: my wordes importen no such thing.

(b) Diuers members of the whole may concur in one, and the self same person, though one of them can not be verifed of an other.

(c) Then haue you al this while strived in vayne.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Shew me one Father that denieth that, which I heere affirme: if you neyther doe, nor can, then may my skill in the Fathers, and reading also be as muche (for any thing heere to the contrarie) as you thinke I woulde haue it seeme to be. But I will not followe you in your bayne of gybing. I had cited before Chrysostome and Ambrose, for the same purpose, so that my witnesses be thre, and therefore sufficient, except you will make some lawfull exception agaynst them: but bicause you may vnderstande that I haue plentie and stoe sufficient, I will rehearse but one sentence vnto you of M. Caluines, in his *Instit. Cap. 8. Ordinari Episcopos à suis Metropolitibus, iubent omnes veteres Synodi*: All auncient Synodes do commaund that Bishops should be ordeyned of their Metropolitans.

Caluine.

What cause shoulde I haue thus to reposte Hieromes wordes, to proue such difference betwixte the Bishop and other Ministers, seeing that dothe not pertaine to this place: and agayne, considering that I haue at large proued the same in another place? Are you so dull of vnderstanding as you would seeme to be? doe not bothe the wordes that goe before, and those that followe also, declare my purpose in vsing that place? I doe not translate Hieromes wordes, but I declare Hieromes meaning: and if the offence be in this, that I say a Bishop doth excel al other ministers, then dothe your owne Author Illinicus (out of whome you haue verbatim borrowed so muche) and the other writers of the Centu. offende also: for thus he sayth: *Ordinatio ministrorum propria erat Episcopi, quo solo iure ceteris sacerdotibus prestantiorem esse Episcopum Hieronymus scripsit ad Euagrium*: The ordeyning of Ministers was proper vnto the Bishop, by the whiche (as Hierome wrote vnto Euagrius) a Bishop onely excelleth other priestes: out of whom as I haue borrowed this worde excell, so haue you borrowed also this word onely: for the wordes of Hierome be these: *quia enim facit excepta ordinatione Episcopus, quod presbyter non facit*: VVhat dothe a Bishop, whiche a Minister dothe not, excepte ordination? Whereby he manifestly affirmeth as muche as I in this

Centu. 4. ca. 7.

Hie. ad Euag.



this place require: that is, that the right of ordering Ministers doth apperteyne to the Bishop. The same also Chrysostome in the lyke wordes wryteth in. 1. Ti. 3.

Touching the difference betwixt a Bishop and a common minister, of the superiority of Bishops, and of their iurisdiction (for auoyding of confusion, whereunto you here prouoke me) I will speake when I come to that part of this booke.

You saye that this is an euill argument, The Bishop hath the ordering of the Minister, Ergo he hath the election of him, &c. I thinke it is a very good argument, and that you are greatly deceyued when you saye election and ordination can not concurre in one, and the selfe same person, althoughe they maye be distinguished the one from the other. Had not the Master of the Colledge interest in the electing of you when you were chosen to be fellow, and dyd he not also admitte you? Was there not then bothe election and admission in one man? And is not the lyke in other degrees of learning? Hath he not he authoritie to electe, that hath he authoritie to admitte, that is, to ordeyne? or haue you an example of any lawfully placed in the ministerie, without the election and admission of the Bishop? Haue you forgotten what you alleaged before out of the Councell of Carthage, the Councell of Toledo, &c. where it is sufficiently expresse, that the election of Ministers dothe as well pertaine to the Bishops, as it dothe to the people? And doe not all the examples and places of scripture that you haue alleadged for your purpose, verifie the same? Wherefore thoughe election and ordination so differ the one from the other, that the one can not be sayde to be the other, yet maye they well be ioyned together in one subiecte: as Prudence, Iustice, Temperance and Fortitude are, being notwithstanding members of one whole. But this hath deceyued you, that you thinke, because dyuers members of one whole, can not be confounded among themselves, and one verified of another, therefore they maye not meete together in one and the selfe same person, whiche is a grosse oversighte of yours: for take your owne example: althoughe your foote is not your hande, yet (I am sure) you woulde be sozie if one man mighte not haue bothe feete and handes.

But what neede I labour any thing in prouing this: for you your selfe confesse more than I affirmed, and as muche as I require, that is, that election and ordination are sometymes confounded in Ecclesiasticall wyters: And therefore the one taken for the other. I doe not denie but that sometymes also they be distinguished, althoughe the Admonition in this place that I doe nowe confute, dothe vtterly confounde them.

### Chapter. 7. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 41. Sect. 1.

Upon the sixte of the Actes, the glosse hath, that that whiche was done there of the twelue Apostles, in willing the brethren to looke out fitte men, was done to giue vs example, and muste be obserued in those that are ordeyned: for saythe the glosse, the people muste choose, and the Bishop muste ordeyne. And that S. Hierome muste be so vnderstanded, it appeareth not onely that it hath bene so expounded: but also it maye be easily proued, for that S. Hieromes sentence and iudgement appeareth in other places, that he woulde haue nothing heere done without the people, as in his Epistle ad Rusticum monachum, he (a) willethe that the people shoulde haue power and authoritie to choose their Clerkes and their Ministers. And in his Epistle to Neopocian, of the lyfe of the clerkes, he hath this distinction manifestly: (b) They runne, saythe he, vnto the Bishops suffraganes, certayne times of the yere, and bringing some summe of money, they are annoynted and ordeyned, being chosen of none, and afterwarde, the Bishop without any lawfull election, is chosen in hugger mugger, of the Canons and Prebendaries onely, without the knowledge of the people. And so you see, that althoughe that S. Hierome saythe, that the Bishop had the ordeyning of the Ministers, yet he had not the election, for the ordeyning was nothing else but an approuing of the election, by putting on of handes, and consequently, hauing made your daunt, that all the learned fathers were of this iudgement, that the Bishop shoulde elect the Minister, you shewe not so muche as one.

Election and ordination may concurre in one person.

T. C. forgetteth him selfe.

An oversighte of T. C.

(a) Hieromes words falsified:  
(b) An vntruth, proceeding of grosse ignorance for these are Musculus his words, and not Hieromes.



## 10. Whitgifte.

What glosse sayth so: where shall a man finde it: or where is it: this is to large a scope that you take vnto your selfe. But I muste pardon you, for Illiricus, of whom you haue borrowed it, dothe not otherwyse quote the place. Howebeit the wordes as Illiricus dothe reporte them (whiche I thinke are taken out of *glosa ordinaria*) make nothing agaynst any thing that I haue sayde: for if you will thus reason: The Bishop must ordeyne, *Ergo*, he may not elect: I denie your argument, the reason I haue shewed before, one man may bothe ordeyne and elect.

T. C. falsifi-  
eth Hierome.

Hier. ad Rus-  
sic. Mona-  
chum.

You haue utterly falsified Hieromes wordes *ad Rusticum monachum*, and muche more declined from the true interpretation of them, than I woulde haue suspected, especially seeing you woulde be thoughte to haue intrapped me in the like not long before. For the wordes of Hierome be these: *Cum ad perfectam etatem veneris, si tamen vitacomis fuerit, & te vel populus, vel Pontifex ciuitatis in clerum elegerit, agito quae clerici sunt*. VWhen thou shalte come to perfecte age, if thy lyfe be answerable, and eyther the people, or the Bishop of the Citie shall choose thee into the Cleargie, doe suche thinges as belong to a Clarke. He dothe not heere will that the people shoulde haue authoritie to choose their Clerks and their Ministers, as you saye, but he saythe vnto Rusticus the Monke, that if eyther the people, or the Bishop of the Citie choose him to be Clarke, that then he must doe those thinges that pertaine to a Clarke. He sayth, *vel populus, vel Pontifex*, &c. signifying that it was a thing indifferent to be chosen eyther by the people, or by the Bishop: which maketh for me against you, for I say that a Bishop may choose a minister, and you denie it.

T. C. fath-  
ereth that vpon  
Hierome, whi-  
che is not to  
be founde in  
him, but is in  
Muscianus.

Hierome ad  
Nepoti.

The place that you alleage out of the Epistle of Hierome, *ad Nepotianum de vita Clericorum*, is not to be founde in Hierome. They be Master Musculus his owne wordes, *Titu. de verbi ministris*. And bicause that he dothe adioyne them to a place whiche he hathe alleaged out of Hierome, therefore you thinke them to be alleaged of him as Hieromes wordes, whiche is a grosse oversighte, and argueth that you haue not redde the Authoys them selues. Oh, howe woulde you haue triumphed if the lyke coulde haue bene espyed in my booke. There is a manifest place to the contrarie in that Epistle to Nepotian, for thus he saythe: *Gloria patris est filius sapiens: gondeat Episcopus iudicio suo, cum tales Christo elegerit sacerdotes*: A wyse sonne is the glory of the father: lette the Bishoppe reioyce and be gladde of his iudgement, when he hathe chosen vnto Christe suche Priestes. Here mighte I triumphe ouer you (bothe for corrupting of Hieromes wordes, and fathering that vpon him which is not to be founde in him) if I were disposed to deale with you so prophanely in a diuine and serious matter. Onely this I wishe, that by these grosse oversightes, you woulde learne one poyne of wysedome, that is, to be modest, and to knowe your selfe.

## Chapter. 7. the. 4. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 41. Sect. 2.

Howe will I shewe you the cleane contrarie of that you saye, not that I gladly trauayle this waye, for if you hadde not constrained me, you shoulde not haue hearde one voyce this waye. And woulde to God, that you woulde be contente, especially when you meete with those that will bee tryed by the Scriptures, to seeke no farther strengthe than they giue you. But I am lothe you shoulde oppresse the truthe, and make all men asfayde of it, by making them beleue, that it is so desolate and forsaken of hir friends, as you pretende. You confesse S. Cyprian is agaynst you herein, and he was a learned Father, and a Martyr also, whiche did not onely vse this forme of election, but also taughte it to be necessarie, and commaunded, and therefore me thinketh you shoulde not haue sayde all the learned Fathers without exception: you see also



also. S. Jerome is of another iudgement. S. Augustine also when he speaketh how he appoynted Eradius to succede him, shewed, how it was the approued right and custome, that the whole Church should either choose or consent of their Byshop. And Ambrose saith that that is truly and certainly a diuine electio to the office of a Byshop, which is made of the whole Church. Gregorius Nazianzene in the oration which he had at the death of his father, hath diuers things which proue that the election of the minister perteyned to the Church, and (1) confuteth those thinges whiche should seeme to hinder it. These were learned fathers, and yet thought not, that the election of the Pastor or Byshop, perteyned to one man alone, but that the Church had also hir interest, therefore you see all the learned fathers are not of that mind, you say they are.

(\*) We haue seen it, finally to your credite.

(2) This is an vntruth, for he maketh no such confutation there.

### Io. Whitgifte.

To Cyprian I haue answered before: the people gaue their consente in his time: but yet was he bolde sometime to elect clearks without them, as it appeareth lib. 2. epist. 5. which he writeth vnto the Cleargie and people, signifying vnto them that it was not necessarie to haue their cōsent in choosing one Aurelius a Clarke: his words be these: *In ordinandis clericis (fratres charissimi) solemus vos ante consulere, & mores ac merita Cypri. lib. 2. singulorum communi consilio ponderare. Sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana, cum præcedunt diuina suffragia &c.* In the election of Clearks (beloued brethren) we were wont to take your aduise before, and to weigh with common aduise euery mans manners and deserts: But the testimonies of men are not to be looked for, when diuine suffrages haue gone before. In these words also it appeareth, what interest the people then had in electiōs, euen to beare witnesse and to testify of the good life and cōuersation of such, as should be admitted into the Cleargie.

What interest the people had in Cyprians time.

Ierome himselfe (whatsoeuer your counterfeyte Ierome dothe affirme) agreeth with me.

Did not Illiricus tell you where Augustine speaketh these words, neither in what tome, nor in what booke, nor in what epistle? Surely Augustines works are farre larger, than Musculus common places. But the treatise you meane of, is in his seconde tome among his epistles, in number 110. I would with the learned reader to peruse it, then shall he soon perceiue, how little it maketh for your purpose, and how aptly it serueth mine. First he doth not shew that it was the approued right and custome, that the whole Church should either choose, or consent of their Byshop: if he do, lay downe his words: if you cannot, then hath Illiricus his collection deceiued you. Secondly, although it may there appeare that the people vsed to giue their consents, yet Augustine both by his owne act, and by the act of Seuerus byshop of Milleum, declareth that not to be so necessary, or such a right, but that it may be, vpon iust considerations, altered. Last of all, the words of Augustine be playne, which I will only set downe and leaue them to the consideration of the reader. Augustine shewing his reason why he did appoint Eradius to succede him, saith thus: *scio post obitus episcoporum &c.* I know that Churches vse after the deaths of Bishops, to be much troubled through ambitious or contentious persons: and it is my ducie (so much as lyeth in me) to prouide for this citie, least that thing (whereof I haue oftentimes had experience to my greefe) should happen. Then he sheweth what a stirre there was a little before in the Church of Milleum about their Byshop, at what time he was sent for vnto them, to appeale the controuersie, and declaring how in the ende, they willingly imbraced him, whome Seuerus their Byshop, whilest he was aliue, appoynted vnto them, he saith, *minus tamen aliquid factum erat, unde nonnulli &c.* Yet was there somewhat lesse done, whereby diuers were offended, bycause my brother Seuerus thought it sufficient to appoint his successor in the presence of the Cleargie, and spake not thereof vnto the people: by occasion whereof some greefe was conceiued. But what needes more words: it pleased God, the greefe was expelled, ioy came in place, and he was admitted Byshop, whome the predecessor had appointed. And it followeth immediatly, *Ergo ne aliqui de me querantur, voluntatem meam, quam credo dei esse, in omnium vestrum notitiam profero, presbyterum Eradium mihi successorem volo. &c.* Therefore least anye shoulde complayne of me, I doe heere signifye vnto you all my will (whyche I thinke to bee the wyll of God) I will haue Eradius the mynister to bee my successoure. &c. Lastly he sheweth howe he himselfe was

The testimonie of Augustine cited by C. C. serueth not his purpose.

Aug. 2. 10. 110.

Contention in popular elections.

Byshops appoynt their successors.

appoynted



appointed Byshop, his predecessor being yet alive.

Notes out of  
the testimony  
of Augustine.

Here it is to be noted, first, what stirre began to be in Augustines time about such elections made by the people, which was the cause why he and others appointed vnto themselves successors whilst they yet liued. Secondly, that Severus appointed to himselfe a successor, and thought it not necessary therein to require the consent of the people, which he would not haue neglected if it had bin either necessary or vsuall: Last of all, that Augustine pronounceth Eradius to be his successor in the presence of the people, that they might know his minde, but yet without asking their voyces, although they did willingly of themselves consent: so that which after ward he requireth them to subscribe vnto, was the petition that he made vnto them, no more to trouble hym with their ciuil matters, but that they wou'd resort vnto Eradius his successor for such causes. When the reader hath well considered these circumstances, which he shall better learne in the place it selfe, then let hym iudge how muche it serueth for your turne.

Contention  
about popular  
elections.

Ambro. epi. 82

It may appeare by that Epistle of Ambrose, what contention there was in *Vercellensi ecclesia* (to the which he wrote) about the election of their Byshop, for they had bene long destitute of one, as it there appeareth. Wherefore he exhorteth them to agreement, by the example of their predecessors, who so well agreed in chosing of Eusebius, whereupon he saith, *merito vir tantus* (meaning Eusebius) *euasit, quem omnis elegit ecclesia: merito creditum, quod diuino esset electus iudicio, quem omnes postulauissent*. He worthily proued a notable man, whome the whole Church elected: he was rightly thought to be chosen by gods appointment, whome euery one desired. And who doubteth but that he is called of God, whome the whole Church without suite, without sinister affection, without intent to mainteine factions and schismes, doth desire: this proues, that in Ambrose his time, in that Church the people desired their Byshop: which is not to be denied: but it also sheweth that in the same time, there were marvellous contentions about such elections: which is to be considered.

Nazianzene  
performeth  
not that for  
the which he  
is auouched.  
Contention  
in popular  
elections.

The common  
people especial  
authors of  
tumults in  
elections.

Exeget. 6. 1.

C. C. reasoneth  
not ad  
idem, and de-  
fendeth not  
the Admoni-  
tion.

Nazianzene in that oration, hath not one argument to proue that the election of the minister doth pertaine to the Church, neyther doth he confute those things which should seeme to hinder it: for there is none alleadged: only he declareth what a marvellous stirre and sedition there was, at two sundry times, in the Church of *Cæsaria*, about the election of the Byshop, what violence was vsed about the same, how the people were deuised among themselves first, and after against their ministers. Likewise how they suddenly misliked their owne choise, and would haue disanulled it, if they had not bin restrained of their willes by Nazianzene, his father. How the Emperoure also, and the ruler of the citie, taking part with the factious company, were by him pacified. Surely this maketh very little to the commendation of popular elections: Nay in the second contention that he there reciteth, declaring who were the especiall authours of it, he saith, *Ecclesie enim a malo erant immunes pariter & opulentiores & potetiores, sed omnis impetus ac seditio inter plebem erat, ac precipue vilissimam*: For the churches (meaning the *Cleargie*) were cleare from that mischiefe, so were the richer sort also, and they which were of greater authoritie, but all the violence and sedition was among the common people, and among them especially, which were of the basest sort. And a little after, telling how his father pacified that sedition, he saith, that his father went vnto them, admonished them, *populum, sacerdotes, necnon alios & quotquot qui ad gradum pertinebant, obtestabatur, eligebat, & calculum ferebat*. &c. He humbly intreated the people, the priests, and others which perteyned to that order, he elected, chose. &c. What is here spoken that maketh not rather against you, than with you, no man denieth but that the people at this time had interest in the election of the minister in diuers Churches, but that doth not proue that they ought to haue so nowe, or that the Byshop hath no interest in the same: nay inconueniences of popular elections did then manifestly appeare.

There is not as yet one authoritie brought in to proue that the ordering of ministers doth at no hand appertaine to the byshop, whiche the Admonition affirmeth, and I haue improued: but you haue not replied vnto it, keeping your olde accustomed manner still, not to reason *ad idem*: for whereas you shoulde conclude thus: the



the ordering of ministers doth at no hand pertain to a Byshop, you conclude thus: The election of a Pastor or Byshop pertaineth not to one man alone. And yet you haue not proued that, only you bring in examples of popular elections: and so haue I brought in both examples, and authorities for the sole election of the Byshop: for they be both true. But you ought to proue these two propositions, if you will iustify the Admonition: firste, that popular elections ought to be perpetuall: and secondly: that the ordering of ministers doth at no hand pertain to the Byshop. But you subtilly passe these over, and cast a mist before your readers eyes, in heaping vp, out of Illiricus needlesse p[ro]ofes.

T. C. letteth slip & which he shold proue and yet proueth not that which he would. The propositions that should haue bin defended

### Chap. 7. the 5. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 41. Sect. 3.

And that this election continued in the Church, vntill within a CCC. yeares, at what tyme there was more than Egyptiacall, and palpable darknesse ouer the face of the whole yearth, it may appeare in a treatise of Flaccus Illiricus, whiche he calleth an addition vnto his booke that he intituleth the catalogue of the witnesses of truth, of whome I confesse my selfe to haue bin holpen in this matter of the choise of the Church touching the ministers: especially in the Emperours edicts whiche are before cited. For lacking opportunities diuers ways, I was contented somewhat to vse the collection to my commoditie, for the more speedy furtherance, and better proceeding in other matters, which I will leaue of, because they may be there red of those that be learned, whome I will also referre to the sixt & seventh bookes, of Eusebius, where both the formes of the elections in those times are described, and where besides that the customes of the peoples choise is set forth, there are examples of the election of the people and Cleargie, which were confirmed by the Christian magistrate, namely in the Byshop of Constantinople. And these may suffice for the other that haue not that commoditie of bookes, nor habilitie, nor skill to reade them, being in a strange tongue, to know, that besides the institution of God in his worde, this manner of electing did continue so long, as there was any sight of the knowledge of God in the Church of God.

(a) Not only much, but almost altogether.  
(b) An vntruth for there is no such thing to be found in these bookes of Eusebius.  
(c) This is vntrue, for Eusebius maketh no mention of confirmation of Elections by any Christian magistrate, nor of any Byshop of Constantinople.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Illiricus his treatise that you speake of, doth nothing preiudice the cause that I haue in hand, touching the authorities there alleadged: for the question is not whether it hath bin so or no, but whether it be convenient and profitable for the Church to haue it so now. The reasons that Illiricus vseth, beside his authorities, are of no great force to proue either necessitie or conueniencie, of such elections in this Church, as the state is now.

You do well to confesse the help that you had by Illiricus, for it could not haue bin vnespied, seeing you haue almost verbatim drawen all the authorities, and reasons that you vse in this cause out of him. And truly I maruell with what face you can so opprobriously obiect vnto me, other mens collections, and lacke of reading the ancient writers, when as it is euident that your whole booke consisteth of other mens notes, and collections: and that you your selfe haue scarce read any one of the Authours that you haue alleadged. 18. authorities at the least you haue borrowed of Illiricus, in this cause, besides certayne other reasons.

The reply of T. C. consisteth of other mens collections.

You referre the reader to the 6. & 7. booke of Eusebius, where you say both the formes of elections in those times are described, and the customes of the peoples choise set forth, and diuers examples of the elections of the people and Cleargie, &c. But the reader shoulde haue bene something beholding to you, if you had named the Chapters as well as you haue done the bookes: Howbeit you do very politikelly, to referre youre readers to the whole bookes, which you are sure the most of them cannot, and of those that can, many will not peruse: but you haue not dealt faithfully, for it is not to be founde in any parte of these two bookes, where the customes of the peoples choise is set forth, or any example of the people and Cleargies election confirmed by the Christian Magistrate. Nor yet any example of any Byshop of Constantinople. The contrary rather may be collected in sundry places. In the sixt Booke Eusebius declareth that in the absence of Narcissus (by cause it was not knowne where he was) The gouernours of the Churches

T. C. sendeth his reader to Eusebius for that which he shall not find in him. Euse. lib. 6. cap. 10.



adioyning, ordeyne another Byshop.

And after Narcissus retourne, bycause he was aged, the story saith: *dictum Alexandrum alterius paræcie* &c. That the ordinance of God called the said Alexander, being Byshop of another parish, to vndertake that charge with Narcissus, according to a vision which was in the night revealed vnto him: And in y next chapter he sheweth how that those of Hierusalem receyued the said Byshop courteously, and would not suffer him to retourne to the place where he was Byshop before, they being admonished by a vision in the night, which signified vnto them, that they should go out of the citie gates and receiue their Bishop appoynted vnto them by God: which thing they also did by the consent *vicinorum Episcoporum*, of the Byshops adioyning. What forme or manner of electing can you gather of this place: except you will admitte visions, and call them from one Byshop, to another, to helpe some, that is growen in age. Neyther is here any mention made of the electio of the people: for this that he saith Hierosolomitani went out. &c. it may rather be vnderstanded of the ministers and deacons of Hierusalem, than of the people.

In the .7. booke cap. 30. it appeareth that the ministers and Pastors had then authority to chosse Byshops. Only in the .6. booke ther is one example that may seeme something to make for your purpose vntill it be well considered. It is of one Fabianus who was chosen Byshop of Rome (as it is there reported) in this manner: *sum fratres omnes ad ordinandum futurum Episcopum in ecclesia congregati essent*. &c. The reporte goeth (when as all the brethren were assembled togyther in the Church, to chosse him which should be Byshop, and many of them determined of diuers worthy and notable men, Fabianus hymselfe being present with the rest, and no man minding to chosse him, that a doue falling from aboue (like as the holy ghost descended vpon our sauoure in likenesse of a doue) did lighte vpon his head, and so the whole people being with one spirite much moued, did togyther with great ioy and with one consent proclayme him woorthy to be Byshop, and immediatly rooke him, and placed him in the Byshops seate. Here we may learne that Fabianus was miraculously chosen to his Bishopricke, and that the people moued with this miracle did burst out into commendation of him, and thought him woorthy to be Bishop: dothe it therefore follow that they elected him: for it may be doubted whether those brethren that came togyther to ordeyne the Byshop, were of the Cleargy, or of the people.

It is not denied but at this time the people did sometimes, and in some places geue their consents in the electing of their Byshop: yet doth not this example proue it, being (as it may appeare) extraordinarie: neither is there in these two bookes any forme of such elections described, nor any customes of the peoples choice set forth: much lesse any examples of the elections of the people and cleargie which were confirmed by the Christian Magistrate, as you affirme. And surely I maruell what you meane to speake of any suche confirmation by the Christian magistrate, seeing it is manifest, that as yet, there was no Christian Magistrate mentioned by Eusebius, except only one Philip Emperoure of Rome, of whome he speaketh very little: and maketh no mention of any elections made in his time: so farre off is he, from expressing examples of any confirmation of such elections, by any christia magistrate. Namely (you say) in the Byshop of Constantinople, & yet ther is no such example in either of those bookes, no not so muche as one word of any Bishop of Constantinople. And y it may appeare how far you ar ouersene in this place, you shal vnderstand that the last Emperour of whom Eusebius maketh any mention in these bookes, is Dioclesian, who came to the Empire Anno. 288. but Constantinople was builded Anno. 335. So that by your assertion the Byshop of Constantinople was confirmed aboue. 40. yeares before Constantinople was.

A grosse oueright of T.C.

### Chap. 7. the. sixte. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 42. Lin. 2. & Sect. 1.

Parturient montes. &c.

I will adde only one place, which if it be more (\*) bitter than the rest, and cut the quicke more neare, you shall not be angrie with me, but first with those that were the Authoys of it, and then with



with him that wrote it.

Eusebius in the sixth booke speaking of Origen, which was admitted not of one Byshop, but of many Byshops to teach, sheweth how the Byshops were reprehended by the Byshop of Alexandria called Demetrius, because they had admitted him (a) without the election of the Presbyterie of the Church, which were the chiefe in the election in euery Church, and vnto the whiche the Churches did committe the gouernment of themselves in euery seuerall towne and citie, and saith that it hath not bin heard, that λαϊκοὶ should ὁμιλεῖν παρόντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων which is, that the lay men should teach when the Byshops were present. Whereby it is euident, that he counted him (b) a lay man which was only admitted by the Byshops, although they were many, not being first elected by the presbyterie of that Church, whercof he was the teacher.

(a) An vntruth as will appeare.

(b) Vntruth, for Origen was yet a lay man, and not admitted minister by any.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The terrible p̄face that is here p̄fired would make any man quake that is not acquainted with such bayne byagges. But soft man awhile, you do but dreame: for there is no such matter in that booke of Eusebius. Did you neuer heare tell of any that labouring to smite at another, haue deadly wounded themselves? I beleue it will fall so out with you in this bitter and sharpe place, and then shall not I neede to be angry with you: you shall haue moze cause to chafe with your selfe.

T. C. smiteth at others, but woundeth himselfe.

For answer to the place: I say it is altogether by you falsified, and most vntruly alleadged: the only thing that Demetrius found fault with, was because Origen being a lay man did teach in the Church, Byshops being present: for he saith: it was neuer heard that lay mē should teach in the churches, Byshops being present. But what is sayde to this, *nescimus quomodo*. &c. wherein he affirmeth (we know not how) that thing which is not true: seeing there may be found diuers, who when they were able to profyte the brethren, and that the holy Byshops had exhorted them to instruct the people, did after this sorte, teach in the Church. As Euelpis was required to do at Laranda by Neon: and Paulinus at Iconium by Celsus: and at Synada Theodorus by Atticus, whiche were all blessed brethren: And it is very likely that this thing was done also in other places, whiche we know not of. **¶** *¶* Demetrius himselfe suffered him to do the like in Alexandria as it is manifest in sundry places of that booke: and even in the end of the same chapter He retourneth to Alexandria, and doth againe employ himselfe to his accustomed diligence in teaching. But because this place is so confidently auouched, and so vntruly, I will set it downe as it is in Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 20. where he speaking of Origen saith thus: In the meane time (by reason of a greate warre begonne in that citie) leuing Alexandria, and thinking that he could not safely abide in Ægypt, he went into Palestina, and remayned at Cæsaria, where also he was requested of the Byshops of that countie, that he would dispute, and expound the holy scriptures before the whole Church, when as yet he was not ordeyned minister. The whiche thing is hereby manifest, for that Alexander the Byshop of Hierusalem, and Theoctistus Byshop of Cæsaria, writing to Demetrius of him, do after this sort render an accompt of that deed: Furthermore he addeth this also in his letters, that it was neuer heard of, neyther yet at any time scene, that lay men did teach in the Church, Byshops being present: wherein (we know not how) he affirmeth that thing which is not true. &c. As it is set downe before. **¶** What one word is there here that sheweth how the Byshops were reprehended by the Byshop of Alexandria called Demetrius, because they had admitted Origen, without the election of the presbyterie of the Church, whiche were the chiefe in the election in euery Church, and vnto the whiche the Churches did committe the gouernment of themselves in euery seuerall towne and citie, &c. as you affirme? Nay is there any thing sounding that way? the only cause why Demetrius reponeth them (as I haue said) is, because they suffered Origen in their p̄sence to interpret the scriptures in the Church, being as yet but a lay man. And yet you see how Demetrius is reproued for that also, & how by sundry examples it is there shewed, that it is no rare thing for a lay man, to interpret the scriptures in the Church, the Byshop being present, if he be there vnto called by the Byshop.

Eusebius falsified by T. C.

Eu. li. 6. ca. 20

Origen was then indeede a lay man,

Is this your bitter place? is this that terrible cutter? Indeepe, it maketh your doings vncyphered, and shewly woundeth you, if you can well consider it.



*Euseb. lib. 6. 23.* But to make the matter yet more plaine. *Euseb.* in the same booke and. 23. chapter sheweth how Origen afterwards *accepit presbyterij gradum in Caesaria palestinae, ab eius loci Episcopis* was made minister in Caesaria Palestina of the Bishops of that countrie. The which thing Demetrius misliked also, not for any iust cause, but only of malice: for although Demetrius at the first esteemed well of Origen, and bare good will unto him, yet afterwarde when he saw him maruellously to prosper, and to become very famous and well accompted of, he then sought meanes, not only to discredit him, but those also which had preferred him to the ministerie: laying to his charge that which he had done being a boy, (that is, gelding of himselfe) as Eusebius doth at large declare *lib. 6. cap. 8.* You see therfore how untruly you haue reported Eusebius, and that there is no suche cause by him expressed, why Demetrius reproboued the Bishops, as you seyne to be.

*Pa. 114. Sect. 1.* But I partly smell your meaning, which I suppose to be this: that all we which are admitted into the ministerie by the Bishops, withoute your presbyterie, are but lay men: whereby you would insinuate, that all those which haue bin baptised by vs, are not baptised: because you say, that it is of the substance of being of baptism, whether he be minister or no, that ministrerth that sacrament, *Pag. 114.* And this is that mysterie, which you and your fellows will not as yet openly utter, but craftily dissemble, untill you see better oportunitie. The truth is, your intent is rebaptization, and flat Anabaptisme. But I haue declared sufficiently the vanitie of your collection in this place: and the weakenesse of your reasons touching this matter, where you haue giuen me more especiall occasion to speake of it. *Tract. 9.*

### Chap. 7. the. 7. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 42. Sect. 2. 3.

Seeing then that the scripture doth teach this order, that there should be no minister thrust upon the Church, but by the consent thereof, and reason perswadeth that way, and the vse of the Church hath bin so from time to time: both in peace and in time of persecution, both under tyrants, and godly princes, it cannot be without the high displeasure of almighty God, the greates hurt and sore oppression of the church, that one man should take this vnto him, which pertaineth to so many, or one minister which pertaineth to more than one, especially, where the aduise of learned ministers may concur with the peoples election or consent.

Now if any man will rise up and say that this doctrine bringeth in disorder, and by this meanes children, boys, and women should haue their voyces: which is vnseemely, all men vnderstande that where the election is most freest, and most generall, yet only they haue to do, which are heads of families, and that this is but a meere cauil to bring the truth in hatred, which is unworthy to be answered, and requireth rather a Censor, than a disputer to suppress it.

### 10. Whitgifte.

The scripture doth not teach any such order: it hath examples to the contrary: it prescribeth herein no certayne rule to be perpetuall: there is better reason to the contrary, if the diuersitie of the time and other circumstances be considered: the Church also hath not at all times nor in all places vsed one forme and manner of election: not in the Apostles time, as it hath bin declared: wherefore the Church is neyther hurte, nor oppressed, if the godly Magistrate alone do appoynt in it Bishops, and take such order for admitting other inferioure Pastors, as shall be thought to him most conueniente: Neyther is God displeased with them for so doing, if they seeke his glory therein, the godly peace and quietnesse of the Church, and haue respect to the end of the Apostles in appointing ministers. But he is greatly displeased with those, that make a necessitie where none is, and trouble the Churches with their owne deuises, and make contention for externall matters.

It is



It is not necessarie that the people should haue  
interest in the election of ministers, but the con-  
trarie is conuenient.

*Chap. 8. the. 1. Diuision.*

*Io. Whitgifte.*

**N**owe that you haue offered all your authorities and reasons, to proue that the people ought to haue interest in the electing of their ministers, & that I haue sufficiently (I trust) answered the same: Lette it not be troublesome vnto you, if summarily I collect my reasons that moue me to thinke the contrarie.

1. And fyrst I will proue that there is no certayne forme of electing prescribed in Scripture, but that the same is left free for the Churches to appointe, as shall bee thought most conuenient for their states and tymes.

2. Secondly, I will shewe, that there hath bene greate diuersitie from tyme to tyme, vsed in the Church, touching elections, and that the people at all tymes, and in all places, haue not bene admitted therunto.

3. Last of all, I will sette downe the reasons why the people haue bene debarred from such elections, and why they ought still so to bee.

Touching the fyrst, these be my reasons.

1. Chryst (whose factes and deedes we ought especially to followe) did of himselfe alone, without the consent of any call, and chose his Apostles, and lykewise the 70. disciples whome he sent to preache. *Mat. 10. Luke. 10.*

2. The Apostles Acts. 1. altered this maner and forme: for they presented two, and the one of them was chosen by lotte.

3. In the. 6. of the Acts, they cleane altered this also: for the people presented seven to the Apostles, and they were all chosen withoute lottes, the Apostles also layde on their handes vpon them.

4. In the. 14. of the Acts this forme is lykewise changed, for Paule and Barnabas ordeyned ministers in euery cite, without eyther presentment by the people, or casting of lottes.

5. In the. 13. of the Acts it is manifest, that Paule and Barnabas were sent onely by the Prophetes and Doctours, without any consent of the people, eyther giuen or required: reade the beginning of the Chapter, it is playne inough of it selfe.

6. Paule sent Timothie and Titus, and gaue them authoritie to ordeyne other: *1. Tim. 5. 2. Tim. 1. Tit. 1.*  
So that it is certayne, that here is no prescripte maner and forme appoynted, to be obserued for euer: seeing that the Apostles themselves did not bynd or tie themselves to anye suche rule: which both M. Bullinger, Zuinglius, and Beza, doe lykewise confesse, as I haue before declared. And therefore M. Caluine (as I tolde you before) sayth, that of that example in the first of the Acts no certayne rule can be gathered of electing and choosing ministers. And M. Beza is of the same iudgement both for that example Act. 1. and the other also of Deacons Act. 6. as I haue lykewise declared before. And in that booke of confession and. 5. Chapter, he hathe this saying worthe to be noted: Bycause the multitude is for the most parte ignorant and intractable, and the greater parte doth oftentimes preuayle agaynst the better, not in a popular state lawfully appoynted, are all things committed to the vnbridled multitude: but certain Magistrates are appoynted by the consent of the people, to rule and gouerne them: if this wysedome be in worldely affaires, muche more is a moderation to be had in those matters, wherein men be oftentimes blynded. Neyther is there any cause why any man of sounde iudgement should exclaime that in such matters there is no place for policie, except he can shew this policie wherof I speake, to be repugnant to the word of God, whiche I thinke he can not: Hitherto M. Beza: and he speaketh of the electors of Ministers. And a little after he sayth, that wee must not alwayes looke what the Apostles did in Ecclesiasticall policie, *Idem.*



The people not al-  
ways ad-  
mitted to  
the ele-  
ction.

The end of  
the Apostles  
in ecclesiasti-  
call pollicie,  
must be regar-  
ded, and not  
their deedes.  
*Ibidem.*

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## The defense of the answere

Traft. 3.

or in the gouernment of the Church, seeing there is so great diuersitie of circumstances, that a man can not without preposterous zeale reduce all things in all places, and tymes, to one and the same forme: but it is sufficient, if respect be had to their ende and purpose, whiche is not variable, and that maner and forme vsed whiche leadeth therevnto. &c.

Wherupon also I conclude, that in the Scriptures there is no certayne forme pre-  
scribed of electing ministers: and that the doings of the Apostles in that matter, are  
not at all tymes of necessitie to be folowed: but it is sufficient to respect their ende  
and purpose, that is, that there be meete ministers: and therfore M. Beza sayth, No  
man may here prescribe any certayn rule, but if the conscience be good, it is an easy mat-  
ter to determine what is moste expedient for tyme, place, and other circumstances.

### Chap. 8. the second Diuision.

That the  
people were  
not alwayes  
admitted to  
the election of  
ministers.

*Eusebius.*

*Zuinglius.*

*Cyprian.*

*Concil. Ancy.*

*Antiochen.*

*Laodicen.*

*Can. Apost. 1.*

2 Touching the seconde, that is for the diuersities of elections afterwarde vsed in  
the Church, and that the people were not alwayes admitted to the same, I referre  
you to that whiche hath ben spoken before, out of Eusebius and Zuinglius, of the As-  
postles appoynting of James to bee Bishoppe of Hierusalem: of Cypri *lib. 1. Epist. 4.*  
where he plainly confesseth, that, electing by the people was not then generall, in  
that he sayeth, *Et ferè per prouincias vniuersas tenetur*, and dothe the contrary himselfe in  
choosing one Aurelius without the consent of the people *Lib. 2. Epist. 5.* Lykewise of the  
18. Can. of the Councell of Ancyane. 18. Canon of the Councell of Antioche. 12. and  
15. Can. *Con. Laodicensi*: All which Canons and Councels I haue alleadged before.

In the fyrste of the Canons attributed to the Apostles, it is decreed that a Bi-  
shoppe shoulde be ordeyned of two or thre Bishoppes: and the Greke worde is  
*χρητορευεσθω*.

*Can. 2.*

In the seconde of the same Canons, the ordeinyng of Priestes, Deacons, and o-  
ther clerks is comitted to the Bishop alone, & the greke word there is *χρητορευεσθω* lyke-  
wise.

*Can. 35. 36.*

In the 35. or 36. of the same Canons, it plainly appeareth, that Bishops were cho-  
sen without the consent of the people.

*Concil. Nicen.*

*Can. 4.*

*Antioch. 19.*

In the 4. Canon of the Councell of Nice, the election of Bishops is appoynted on-  
ly to Bishops.

It appeareth plainly in the 19. ca. *Con. Antircheni*, that only the Metropolitane and o-  
ther ministers had interest in the ordeyning and apointing of Bishops.

*Eus. li. 6. ca. 8.*

*23.*

*Hieronymus*

*Epist. ad Ne-*

*potian.*

*Distinct. 62.*

*Nulla.*

It is manifest by Euseb. *lib. 6. cap. 8.* and 23. that Origen was admitted and ordeined  
minister only by Bishops.

Hierome in his Epistle *ad Nepotianum*, in the wordes before recited, signifyeth that  
the election of Priestes doth pertaine to the Bishop.

Gratian *distinct. 62.* hath this Canon made by Leo who was Bishop of Rome. *Nul-  
la ratio sinit. &c.* No reason permiteth that they should be accompted amongst the Bishops,  
which are neither chosen of the Clerks, nor desired of the people, nor consecrated of the  
Bishops of that prouince, with the iudgement and allowance of the Metropolitane. The  
Glosse expounding what this is to be desired of the people, saythe, that it is to giue te-  
stimonie vnto them. And no man denieth but that suche as are to be admitted into the  
ministerie, ought to haue a testimonie of their lyfe & conuersation, and that it should  
be lawfull for any man to except againste them, if there be iuste cause: but yet the  
iudgement not to rest in the people.

*Distinct. 63.*

*Laici.*

*Tom. 2. Con.*

And *distinct. 63.* there is this lawe, *Laici nullo modo se debent insinere electioni*, The laye  
people ought by no meanes to thruste themselues into the election, or to meddle with the  
election. There are certain Canons collected out of the greke Synodes by Martin Bra-  
caren. *Episco.* and they are to be founde to. *Conci. 2.* the fyrste of the Canons is this, the  
whiche Gratian also hath *distinct. 63.* *Non licet populo. &c.* It is not lawfull for the peo-  
ple, to make the election of them which are preferred to priesthoode: but it is in the iudge-  
ment of the Bishops, that they should proue him, which is to be ordeined, whether he bee  
instructed in the word, and in faith, and in spirituall conuersation. The same may be also  
proued by the 2. and 3. Canons folowing



The people not always admitted to the election.

In the same distinct. there is this Canon taken oute of the. 8. generall Councell. *Consecrationes & promotiones. &c.* This holie and generall Councell agreeyng with former Councells, hath decreed and enacted, that the consecrations and promotions of Bishops should be made by the election of the Cleargie, and by the decree and Colledge of the Bishops.

Theodoret *lib. 4. cap. 5.* sayth, that when Auxentius being an Arian, was deputed of the Bishoprike of Millain, Valentinian the Emperour called together the Bishops, and willed them to place such a one in that bishoprike, as he might safely commit himself vnto. &c. and when as they desyzed the Emperour that he himself would chose one whome hee thought meete, the Emperour tolde them agayne, that it were much better for them to elect one, bycause they were best able to iudge of his metenesse. And although the people, being diuided tumultuously requested the Bishops, some for one, some for another, and at the length all desired to haue Ambrose, yet it maye evidently appeare, that the interest of the election, was in the Bishops, and the confirmation and allowyng of the same in the Emperoure. And in that the Bishoppes woulde haue committed the whole matter to the Emperour, it may appeare, that it greatly skilleth not who doo chose, so that suche be chosen as be fit for the place.

In the. 63. distinct. of Gratian, it is also to be seene, that sometyme the election and allowyng of Bishops was wholly giuen to the Emperour, as we may reade in the decree of Adrian the Pope there mentioned: and in the decree of Leo the first, where he sheweth, howe that the dissensions, heresies, and schismes that were in the Church, was the cause why that both the election of the Romain Bishop, and of other also was committed to the Emperour.

Whereby it is evident, that the people haue not at all tymes, nor in all places had interest in the elections of ministers. I knowe that Gratian in the same distinction sayth as muche in the behalfe of the people, but therby we maye gather, that this election hath bene variable, and from tyme to tyme vsed according to the place, tyme, and persons. For further prooue hereof, I coulde recite the varietie that now is, and heretofore also hath bene, euen in reformed Churches, but to auoyd tediousnesse, I referre that to euery mans owne searche.

This is mooste certaine, that the forme prescribed in the second Admonition, and in this Replie of L. C. also, if it be considered, will appeare to haue in it *nihil Apostolicum*, nothing Apostolicall, but to differ as muche from any forme that was then vsed, as this doth that we retaine in the Church of England at this day, and a great deale moze.

### Chap. 8. the. 3. Diuision.

The reasons why the people haue bene seclused from such elections, and so ought to be, are these.

1. First, the meruailous contentions that haue bin in suche kinde of elections, by the sinister affections of the people, being easily moued to diuision and partes taking, vpon euery light occasion. Examples wherof there be infinite alimoste in euery election, as it may evidently appeare to euery one, that hath but lyghtly runne ouer any Ecclesiastical historie.

When Damasus was chosen Bishop of Rome, there was one Vrsicinus a Deacon sette vp against him, and the contention was so vehement betwixte them, and the rage of the people so intemperate, that they fell from voyces to blowes, in so much that there was many slaine, euen in the place of election.

What sedition was there moued in the election of Boniface the second, when Dioscorus contended with him for the Bishoprike, the people were so deuided, that the contention could not be ended but with the death of Dioscorus.

The lyke brawle was in the elections of Conon, Sergius, Paulus. 1. Constantinus, and almost in euery election made in that seate: as it is evident in suche stories, as especially entreate of the liues of the Bishops of Rome.

The lyke sturre there hath bin in other places also, especially after that the churches

why the people haue bene, & now ought to be debarred from the election. Contention about the election of ministers.

Plat. in vita Danas.



ches were deuided with heresies and sects. At Constantinople, after the death of Alex-  
ander their Byshop, there was a maruellous bypore for his successor, some desiring  
to haue Paule a Catholike, and some Macedonius an Arrian: this contention was so bea-  
hement, that the whole citie was disturbed and many slaine on both parties, yea euen  
the Emperours officer that was sent to appease it. *Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 4. & 7.*

The strife that was in the same place, after the death of Atticus, (Philip, Prochis,  
*Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 4. & 7.* and Sifinius, struing for the Byshopricke at one time) Socrates testifieth *lib. 7. cap. 26.*  
the same both he wryte also to haue bin betwixt Philip and Prochis, after the depriua-  
*Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 26.* tion of Nestorius *lib. 7. cap. 35.*

After Endoxius remoued from Antioch to Constantinople, there was in Antioch  
*Lib. 7. cap. 35.* great strife for a successor, as the same Sozo theweth *lib. 4. cap. 28.* where he addeth these  
*Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 28.* wordes: as in such things it commeth to passe, that ther are diuers contentions and seditions  
betwixt the Cleargie and betwixt the people.

Socrates *lib. 5. cap. 9.* declareth the like tumultes to haue bin aboute the election of  
Flavianus: and he addeth, *atque ita Antiochena ecclesia deuot, non propter fidem sed propter Epis-*  
*copos scinditur.* And so the Church of Antioch is agayne deuided, not for matters of faith, but  
for their Byshops.

I declared befoze out of Nazianzene in his funerall oration at the buriall of his fa-  
ther, what great trouble and daunger was at Cesaria in his time, about the election of  
their Byshops. The same also I noted out of Augustine *Epist. 110.* it was the cause why  
*Augustin. tom. 2. ep. 110.* both he and his predecessor in their life times, did prouide to themselves successors, as  
it is there manifest.

Socrates *lib. 6. cap. 11.* declareth what contention there was at Ephesus, about the elec-  
*cap. 11.* tion of their Byshop, the people being deuided into sundry factions, in somuche that  
Chrysostome was himselfe enforced to appoint vnto them one Heraclis his Deacon.

The same Authoure *lib. 7. cap. 7.* testifieth the like contention to haue bin in Alexan-  
*Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 7.* dria, whilst some desired Timothie an Archdeacon, othersome Cyrill.

Euagrius *li. 2. ca. 5.* wryteth thus: *Cum autem hic Proterius &c.* when this Proterius was pla-  
*Euagrius li. 2. cap. 5.* ced in the Byshops seate of Alexandria, there arose a greate and intollerable tumult among  
the people, which were tossed with diuers sentences: for (as it often falleth out in such cases)  
some would haue Dioscorus agayne: others sturke stoutly to Proterius, so that many incu-  
rable mischiefes were committed. For Priscus the Rhetorician writeth, that the gouer-  
nour of Thebes came the same time to Alexandria, and saw the people wholly to set them  
selues agaynste the magistrates, and that when the garison of souldiers woulde haue kepte  
backe the sedition, they beate them backe with stones into the temple, whiche was in times  
past called the temple of Serapis: then the people comming thither with speede, tooke the  
temple and burned the souldiers quicke. But whe the Emperour vnderstoode herof, he sent  
thither two thousand new souldiers, who hauing a prosperous winde & passage, arriued the  
sixt day after at the great citie of Alexandria, and so raged against the wiues and daughters  
of the men of Alexandria, that much more mischiefe was now wrought than before.

To what further inconuenience this intollerable contention came afterwards, the  
same Euagrius wryteth *cap. 8.* where he also describeth the manners and conditions of  
*Euagrius li. 2. cap. 8.* the people at large, and declareth how easely they are moued to contentions and tu-  
multuous dealing, how willingly led by any factious person that pzetendeth liberty, &c.  
In the end he sheweth how villanously and cruelly they murdered Proterius appointed  
to be their Byshop.

What should I speake of that hurlyburly that was in Millaine befoze the election  
of Ambrose, whereof Theodo. speaketh *lib. 4. cap. 6.*

I shal desire y learned reader to peruse Chrysostome in the 3. booke that he wryteth *de*  
*Chrysost. lib. 3. de sacerdotio.* sacerdotio wher he speaketh of this matter plentifully, & declareth y maruelous partia-  
litie & the vntollerable contentions that y people vsed, & was y cause of, in such elections.

If I were disposed to heape by examples, I could fill a large volume, but these (be-  
ing almost in the best time of the Church, vnder Christian Princes) manifestly de-  
clare what intollerable inconuenience ensueth such elections, as are committed to the  
people, especially in these matters.



The people not al-  
ways ad-  
mitted to  
the elec-  
tion.

The election  
of ministers  
by the people,  
an impedimēt  
to the ciuill  
magistrate in  
ecclesiasticall  
matters.

2 My seconde reason is, that if suche elections should be committed to the people, the ciuill Magistrate (who hath the chiefe gouernment of the Church, and to whome the especiall care of religion doth apperteyne) should not be able to procure such reformation, nor such consent and agreement in matters of religion, as he is, when he hath himselfe the placing of Bishops, and such as be the chiefe of the Cleargie: for the people (who are commonly bent to nouelties, and to factions, and most ready to receyue that doctrine that seemeth to be contrary to the present state, and that enclineth to libertie) would vsually electe suche as would feede their humours: So that the Prince neyther should haue quiet gouernment, neyther could be able to preserue the peace of the Church, nor yet to plant that religion, that he in conscience is perswaded to be sincere. As for the authoritie of disallowing their elections, which you giue vnto him, it is but an intollerable trouble, and besides that he shall not vnderstand their doings: or if he doth, yet may he not depriue them of their libertie in choosing, so that you make his authoritie in effect nothing. Moreover his Churches and whole kingdome shoulde be filled with Anabaptists, Libertines, Papists, Puritanes, and an hundred sects mo, or euer he were aware: for who will complayne of him, whome the people do phantasie, be he neuer so vnnimete a person?

3 My thirde reason is taken out of your owne booke fol. 25. where you say that the Archdeacon may not be iudge of the aptnesse and ablenesse of the Pastor, because, he is inferiour to the Pastor, both in calling and gifts: which if it be true, then surely may not the people haue any thing to do in the election of the Pastor, being in all respects much moze inferiour vnto him, than the Archdeacon is: for to haue interest in electing, is to be admitted to iudge of his meetnesse and aptnesse, that is to be admitted.

If the people  
should choose,  
the inferiour  
in gifts shuld  
be iudge of  
the superiour.  
Pag. 25. lin. 3.

4 It would be a cause why many Churches shoulde be longer destitute of their Pastors than is conuenient, for if an vnnimete man were chosen, and an appeale made to the next Pastours, and from them to the next Synode prouinciall, and then the parishioners that will not yeeld, excommunicated, and after excommunication complained of to the Prince, and then driuen to a new election and in the same peradventure as wayward as they were before: whilst I say, all this were in doing (besides the maruellous schismes, contentions, brawlings, and hatred, that must of necessitie in the meane time be among them) two or thre yeares might some be spent: for all these things cannot be in due order well done in lesse time) al which time the parishes must be destitute of a pastor, & burne with those mischiefs that I haue before recited.

Popular elections a cause  
of long want  
of pastors. &c

5 It would make the gouernment of the Church popular, which is the worst kind of gouernment that can be. For it is true that M. Caluine saith, cap. 20. *Instit. Procluius est a regno. &c.* The fall from a kingdome into a tyrannie is very redy, and the change from the gouernment of the best, into the factions of a fewe is not much harder: but the fall from a popular state into a sedition, is of all other most easie.

Popular election a cause  
of a popular  
gouernment.

6 The people (as I haue said before) through affection and want of iudgement are easily brought by ambitious persons to giue their consent to vnworthy men: they are soon moued by the request of their friends, and of such as they eyther feare or loue, to do any thing, as may appeare in sundry things committed vnto the of great importance: yea sometime when by oth they are bound to deale without al affection, or partialitie.

The people  
easily led by  
affection.

7 By this meanes they would thinke to haue their pastor bound vnto them, so that they would take it disdainfully to be repproued by him, according as his duetie would require. Again the pastore considering their good will in preferring of him, would not so freely reprehend them, nor willingly displease them.

A hindrance  
to the Pastor  
in doing his  
duty.

8 To conclude, the people are for the most part rude and ignorant, carelesse also in such matters, and moze meete to be ruled, than to rule: for as Chrysostome describeth, *Populus est quiddam tumultus. &c.* The people is a certaine thing full of tumult and sturres, consulting and rashly compacted for the most part of folly, oftentimes tossed with variable and contrary iudgement, like to the waues of the sea. &c.

The people  
vnfit to be  
iudges in such  
cases.  
Chrys. 2. in. 10.

These and a great number more reasons may be alleadged, why the people are to be secluded from the election of their Pastors: and yet do I not so utterly seclude them from such elections: but that if they haue any thing to object agaynst him that is to be or

be or



be ordeyned, they might be heard: which order is prescribed in the booke of making ministers: and that is asmuche as can be required. Althoughe I doe not condemne those Churches, wherein this is safely committed unto them: for I only speake of the present estate of this Church of Englande.

The reason why I doe thinke the Bishops to be the fittest to have both the allowing and ordeyning of such as are to be ministers, I have expessed in my answere to the Admonition. And they are not as yet by better reasons confuted.

Of ministers hauing no pastorall charge, of ceremonies vsed in ordeining ministers: of Apostles, Euangelistes and Prophetes. *Tract. 4.*

Of ministers admitted, a place being not voyd. Chap. 1. The first Diuision.

The Admonition.

The seuenth. Then none admitted to the ministerie, but (u) a place was voyd afore hand, to which he should be called. *Act. 1. 25.*

Answere to the Admonition. Page. 47. Sect. 1. 2.

**T**O proue this you cite in the margin the first of the Acts, wher it is declared howe Mathias was chosen in the place of Iudas, to make vp the number of the. xij. Apostles. Surely this is but a slender reason: Mathias was chosen into the place of Iudas, Ergo, no man must be admitted into the ministerie, excepte a place before hande be voyde, to the which he should be called. Euery meane sophister will laugh at the childishnesse of this argument.

Mathias was chosen to be an Apostle, and not to any certaine cure, and therfore this example proueth nothing.

T. C. Page. 42. Sect. 4.

The reason is of greater force than you woulde seeme to make it, for as the. xij. place was to Mathias, so is a certain Church vnto a Pastor or Minister, & as the Apostles ordeined none vnto that place before it was voyd, so ought not the Bishop ordeyn any vntill there be a Church voyde and destitute of a pastor. And as the Apostles ordeined not any Apostle, further than they had testimonye of the word of God, as it appeareth that S. Peter proceedeth by that rule to the election, so ought no Bishop ordeyn any to any function, which is not in the scripture appointed. But there are by the word of God, at this tyme no ordinarie ministers Ecclesiastical, which be not local, and tyed to one congregation, therfore this sending abroad of ministers whiche haue no places, is unlawfull. *Act. 1. 25.*

*Io. Whitgifte.*

As theye reason is farre from good reason, so are your similitudes farre from prouing the same: & the Logitians say, *Soluitur similitudo, ostensa dissimilitudine.* First, there is great difference betwixte the office of an Apostle, and the office of a Pastor, as you must needs confesse. Then is there also difference in the number: for the Apostles whiche were chosen of Christe to be witnesses of his Resurrection, were twelue, and therfore the number certain: but the number of Preachers and Pastors is not limited, but the moe the better: Thirdly, there was one chosen in the place of Iudas, that the Scripture might be fulfilled as Peter saith *Act. 1.* but there is no such thing in the election of Pastors & other ministers. Moreover it was the twelfth place in number that Mathias was chosen vnto, and not any locall place, such as pastors take charge of. Therfore except you can make a certayn number, and no certain number: a local prescript and definite cure, and a generall charge without prescription of any certain place, all one, or at the least verie like: this argument, Mathias was chosen into the place of Iudas: ergo, no man muste bee admitted into the ministerie, excepte he haue a Cure, muste



musse of necessitie be a very childishe and sonde argument. And how ofte shall I tell you, that to reason *à facto ad ius*, of an example to make a generall rule, is a very vnskillfull kinde of reasoning, excepte there be some generall rule and commaundement according to that example.

But was not Paule added to the number of the Apostles, though there were no place voyde? Were not also Barnabas Act. 14. Epaphroditus Phil. 2. Andronicus and Junia, Rom. 16. called Apostles? I might therefore as wel reason thus, Paule, Barnabas, &c. were called to be Apostles when there was no place voyde, Ergo some maye be called to the preaching of the Gospell, though they haue no certayne cure. But let vs see how you will iustifie this assertion, that there are no ordinarie ministers ecclesiasticall, which be not locall, and tyed to one congregation, &c. For I utterly denie it, in that sense that you speake it.

Some admitted to the ministerie, a place beeing not voyde.

### Chap. 1. the 2. Division.

T. C. Page. 42. Sect. 5.

And that it may the better appeare, that those functions doe onely remaine, which are appointed to one certayne place, and that the Reader maye haue the clearer and playner understanding of all this matter, all the whole ecclesiasticall function maye be well deuised: first into extraordinary, or those that endured for a time, and into ordinarie, which are perpetuall. Of the first sorte are the Apostles, and Euangelistes, which the Lord bled for a time, as it were, for chiefe Foundations, and principall buylders of his Church, as well to laye the foundations of Churches where none were; as also to aduance them to such forwardnesse and height, untill there might be gotten, for the finishing of the buylding and house of the Church, sette pastors, Elders, and Deacons. And that beeing done, they went from those places into others, which thing may be perceived by the continuall storie of the Actes of the Apostles, and by diuers sentences which are founde in the Epistles of St. Paule. And therefore also when the Churches haue bin by Antichrist euerrased from the foundations, God hath stirred by Euangelists, euerr immediately by his spirit, without any calling of men, to restore his Churches agayne: of which sorte was Master Wickliffe in our Countrey, M. Hus, and Hierome of Prague in Bohemia, Luther and Zuinglius in Germany, &c. And after this sort God may at his good pleasure worke, when he purposeth to set in his Gospell in any nation, where the whole face of the earth is covered with the darknesse of ignorance, and want of the knowledge of God.

### Io. Whitgife.

Althoughe you can not warrant by the Scriptures this distinction of ordinarie and extraordinary ecclesiasticall functions, yet I thinke the Apostolicall function was extraordinary, in respect that it had for the time certayne especiall properties, as to beare witnesse of the resurrection of Christ, and of his assention, which they dyd see with their eyes: also to plant & to found Churches: Likewise to go throughout the whole worlde. These I say were temporall and extraordinary, and so was the Apostleship in this respect, but yet ordinarie in respect of their chiefe function, which was to preache the Gospell, and to gouerne the Churches which they had planted. Likewise Euangelistes haue an ordinarie function, neyther is there any cause why it should be called a temporall office, but onely in respect of writing the Gospell, for there is none that thinketh the office of preaching to be eyther extraordinary or temporall.

In what respect the Apostolicall function was extraordinary.

But I pray you let me aske you one question, why should not the office of Seniors be as well extraordinary and temporall, as the office of an Apostle, or an Euangelist? for as you say: that the Apostleship and Euangelistship remayned, untill there might be gotten for the finishing of the buylding and house of the Church sette Pastors, &c. So say I, that the office of Seniors and Elders might remayne in the Church, untill there were Christian Princes and Magistrates, by whome the people of God might be kepte in peace and quietnesse, and the Churches of Christ more perfectly gouerned. And wel assured I am, that there are as good reasons for this, as there are for the other. For as in the place of the Apostles, Euangelistes, &c. are succeeded Bishops, Pastors, Doctors: so I may say, that in the place of Elders and Seniors, are come Christian Princes and Magistrates.



Ministers  
hauing no  
pastorall  
charge.

What part of  
the Apostles  
function re-  
mayneth.

As for this parte of the Apostles function, to visite suche Churches as were be-  
fore planted, and to prouide that suche were placed in them, as were vertuous  
and godly Pastors: I knowe it remayneth still, and is one of the chiefe partes of  
the Bishops function, as shall hereafter moze at large appeare.

I graunte that Master Hus, Hierome of Prage, &c. were stirred bp enen by God,  
to preache his truthe, and open the doze of his woꝛde agayne, yet were they cal-  
led to some function of the Church before, althoughe that function were for the  
moste parte, wicked, and the Church almost wholly corrupted with superstition and  
erroꝛs: But why you shoulde rather call them Euangelistes, than Apostles, Pro-  
phetes, Pastors, or Doctors, I knowe not: especially seeing some of them had or-  
dinarie charges.

### Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 43. Sect. 1.

Of this sorte of extraordinarie functions, are the Prophets also, which besides a singular dex-  
teritie, and readinesse of expounding the Scriptures, had also the gifte of telling things to come,  
whiche, because it is not nowe ordinarily, I thinke there is none will demie, but it is an extraordi-  
narie calling, for the other two of the Apostles and Euangelistes, it shall appeare moze at large  
hereafter (by occasion giuen by M. Doctor) that they are but for a time.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Act. 11.

Prophetes in  
some respects  
ordinary.

Act. 13.

Act. 15.

1. Cor. 14.

If you meane Prophetes, in the respecte of the gifte of telling thinges to come,  
suche as Agabus was, then be they temporall, but yet ordinarie for the tyme when  
in they were: But if you meane Prophets in respecte of their dexteritie and readi-  
nesse in expounding the Scriptures, suche as Barnabas was, and Simon, Lucius,  
&c. and Saule. Likewise suche as Judas and Silas. Actes. 15. and suche as the A-  
postle S. Paule speaketh of. 1. Corinth. 14. I see no cause why eyther the calling  
shoulde be extraordinary, or the office and gifte temporall, excepte you haue a libertie  
to make temporall and perpetuall, ordinarie and extraordinary, what you please.  
But seeing you woulde haue all thinges proued by Scripture, I pray you proue  
this that you haue sayde, eyther of the Apostles, Euangelists, or Prophetes by the  
Scripture, seeing you teache that of them, which sameth to be contrary vnto the  
Scripture.

### Chap. 1. the. 4. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 43. Sect. 2.

The ordinarie and continuall functions of the Church are also deuided into two partes, for  
eyther they are they that gouerne or take charge of the whole Church, as are those, which are cal-  
led Elders, or they which take charge of one parte of the Church (whiche is the poore of euery  
Church) as are those which are called Deacons. Those agayne that be called Presbyteri, which  
we tearme Elders of the Church, and haue to doe with the whole Church, are eyther those,  
whiche teache and preache the woꝛde of God, and gouerne too, or else whiche gouerne onely, and do  
not teache or preache. Of the first kinde are Pastors, and Doctors. Of the second are those, which  
are called by the common name of Elders, or auncientes. Of all this ordinarie function I shall  
haue occasion to speake, and of euery one shall appeare that (whiche I haue sayde before) that they  
are no vncertaine and vndefinite ministeries, but suche as are limited vnto a certayne Church  
and congregation. And first of all, for the Pastor or Bishop, whiche is here mentioned, whiche  
name soeuer we consider of them, they doe soorthwith, as soone as they are once eyther spoken, or  
thought of, unple and inferre a certayne and definite charge, beeing as the Logicians tearme them,  
actiuall relations. For what shepheard can there be, vnlesse he haue a flocke: and howe can he be  
a watchman, vnlesse he haue some citie to looke vnto: Or howe can a man be a master, vnlesse he  
haue a seruant: or a father vnlesse he haue a childe: Howe if you wil saye that they haue a  
charge, and they haue flocks, and cities to attende and watche vpon, for a whole thire, or prouince,  
or realme are their flocks, and their Cities, and their charges.

Io. VVbite



## 10. Whitgiste.

This diuision also is of your owne inuenting: neyther haue you any mention of Seniors, (as you call them) or of Deacons in that fourth Chapter to the Ephess. whiche you would haue to be so perfecte a rule of ecclesiasticall functions. As for Pastors and Doctors, you knowe that diuers bothe auncient and late wyters, as namely Hierome, Augustine, Chrysostome, Ambrosius, and Bucer, &c. do confounde them, and the reason that Hierome vseth can not be well denyed, because the Apostle sayth not as he dyd before of the other: *alios Pastores, alios Doctores*, some Pastors, and other some Doctors, but he ioyneth them together, and sayth: *alios Pastores & Doctores*, some Pastors and Doctors. Whereouer I see not howe you can iustifie your diuision of Seniors by the woꝛde of God, as I shal further declare in that place, where you more largely speake of them: In the meane time, I see no reason why your vnpreaching and vnmistring Seniors, shoulde haue any perpetuities in the Church, more than Apostles, for the cause that I haue before alleadged: neyther haue you yet proued, that the Deacons office is onely to prouide for the poore: you haue examples to the contrarie, as I haue declared in my Answer. To be shorthe, I vnderstande not howe you can make Doctors, gouernours of any seuerall parishes and Churches, except you will make them Pastors.

But bicause you onely speake here, and proue nothing, I will differre a further answer, vntill I heare more sounde argumentes.

You saye, a shepheard can not be, vntill he haue a flocke, &c. all which is true: but he is also a shepheard that hath no flockes, and he is a shepheard, that hath a generall care and oversight of many shepheards, and many flockes. For he that hath many flockes, and many shepheards, may haue one master shepheard to see that all the rest doe their duties, and that the sheepe be kepte in good order. And though euerie seuerall Citty haue seuerall watchemen whiche watche by course, yet maye there be one that hath an especiall care ouer all, and is appoynted to see the rest do their duties: So one master maye haue many seruantes, one father many children. Wherefore if you vse this reason to improue the office of a Bishop, it lacketh might: if to proue that a Pastor muste haue a flocke, no man dothe denie it: but if to conclude, that no man maye preache, vntill he haue a certayne flocke, there is no sequele at all in it: for first you muste proue that the onely office of a Pastor is nowe remayning in the Church, and that no man can be minister of the woꝛde and Sacraments, except he be a Pastor of some certayne flocke, for that doe I constantly denie.

## Chapter. 1. the. 5. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 43. Sect. 3.

First of all in your reading ministers that is untrue, for they goe not to reade in all Churches, but tarrie till they be hyed in one. And therefore when the Bishop hath layde his hande of them, they are no more Ministers, than before his hande came vpon them, bicause they haue no charges, and therefore the patrone or person that hireth them to reade, and setteth them a worke are their Bishops, and make them ministers, and not the Bishop of the Diocesse.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

These be but woꝛds grounded vpon this false principle, that none oughte to be admitted into the ministerie, but such as haue a certayne cure and charge, which you are neuer able to proue, cyther by Scripture or good reason: but the contrarie is manifest by bothe.



Chapter. 1. the. 6. Division.

T. C. Pag. 43. Sect. 4.

Secondly, for those that preache to haue a whole Diocesse, or Province, or Realme to be their flocke, or Citie to attende vpon, is contrarie to the policie or good husbandrie of all those that woulde eyther haue their Citie safe, or their flockes sounde. For who are they, whiche woulde appoynte one for the watche of a thousande towne or cities, when as all they, whiche loue their safetie, woulde rather haue for euery citie many watchemen, than for many cities one? What is he, that is so watchefull and circumspecte, whose diligence and watchefulnesse, one citie assailed with enemies, will not wholly occupie and take vp? What is he, whose sighte is so sharpe, that he can see from one ende of the Diocesse, or Province, or realme, to the other ende thereof? What is he, that will committe the keeping of twentie thousande sheepe to one man, that looketh for any good or increase of them? How shall all these heare his whistle, howe they can not knowe him? howe shall they followe him, when they can not see him goe before? howe shall he heale their diseases, when he can not possibly knowe them? But some man will saye, that these are humane reasons, and likelyhoodes, whiche may be ouerthrowne with other similitudes: These notwithstanding are Analogies drawne from the nature of those things, whiche the Ministers are likened vnto, and are of the mosse parte vled of the holy Ghost him selfe expressely.

Io. Whitgiste.

It is a great poynte of good husbandrie and policie also, to haue, besides the severall shepherdes ouer severall flockes, and sundry watchemen ouer sundry Cities, diuers other to fede the sheepe, as occasion serueth, and to admonishe the watchemen and the Cities of their duties: else why dyde the Apostles after they hadde planted the Churches, and placed Shepherdes and watchemen ouer them, so diligently afterwarde bysite them, and so carefullie loke vnto them, as we reade Actes. 14. 15. 18? Was the watche thinke you the worse kepte, or the sheepe the negligentier looked vnto? The policie that Darius vled Daniel. 6. when he appoynted a hundred and twenty gouernours ouer all his Realme, and ouer them thre to ouerse them, and take an accompte of their doings, is greatly commended: and why maye not this policie be necessarie in the Ecclesiasticall state also? But you here runne smotherly away with the matter, and suppose that there may not be for severall Cities, and severall flockes, severall watchemen and shepherdes, bicause there be some that haue a generall care ouer many flockes and Cities. If a thousande Townes or Cities haue a thousande watchemen appoynted vnto them, to haue the particular care ouer them, and also one, two, or moe to haue a generall care bothe ouer the watchemen, and ouer the Cities also, doe you not thinke that all shall be in better order, and in muche moze safetie?

Similitudes  
are but weak  
arguments.

But your similitudes sayle maruellously in sundrie poyntes, whiche I muste admonishe you of, bicause you glorie so muche in them, and thinke that you haue reasoned strongly, when you haue vled the weakest kinde of argument that can be, to proue any thing: for as the Logicians saye, *Similitudo rem illustrat, sed non probat*: A similitude maketh a matter playne, but proueth it not. And it is easely ouerthrowne by shewing the unlikelyhode: In this the similitude agreeth, that as euery Citie muste haue a watchman, and euery flocke a shepherde, so euery Church or Parishe muste haue a watchman or a Pastour: and as the watchman and shepherde his office is to watche and to fede, and to haue a necessarie care ouer their charges, so muste also the Spirituall watchman and shepherde haue a care ouer the people committed vnto them. All this is true, and neyther proueth nor improueth any thing that is in question. I mighte as well saye, that if the Citie be well watched, and the flocke carefully looked vnto, though it be not by the watchman or shepherde him selfe, but by his meanes and procurement, there



there can be no iuste faulte founde with eyther of them. Likewise, that when the shepheard hath brought his sheepe into a pasture, where they maye bothe be sure from all daunger, and haue meate sufficient, then his presence is not so necessarie for them, so that he doe sometymes visite them. Also that there is no one watchman, that eyther dothe or can watch continually, but muste of necessitie haue his rest, so that some other supplie his absence: and likewise, that there is no master shepheard, but that he hath some vnder him, eyther hore, or man, to supply his absence whylest he is aboute other matters. To be shorte, that one shepheard hath care ouer sundrie merues sheepe, sundrie flockes of sundrie Townes and Parishes, &c. Dypers other suche similitudes of shepherden and watchmen mighte I also vse, to proue many thinges contrarie to your meaning. I mighte also shewe vnto you the dissimilitude betwixte a tempoall shepheard, and a spirituall shepheard: unreasonable sheepe that can not fede them selues, or by any meanes prouide for them selues, nor haue any charge to looke to them selues, and reasonable sheepe, suche as God hath endued with knowledge, to whome he hath lefte his worde, whiche conteyneth in it sufficience to saluation, whome he hath charged to reade it, and to heare it: who shall also answer for them selues, &c. Finally, what difference there is betwixte tempoall meate and drinke, whiche is soon digested, and therefore dayly to be renewed: and spirituall foode whiche continueth, and whereof he that hath once sufficiently tasted, shall not hunger or thirst, &c. These I saye, and a greate number of other dissimilitudes coulde I bring, to ouerthrowe all that you can buyde vpon these similitudes.

I mighte further saye, that in the Prophetes, and other places of the Scriptures, Kinges and mightie Princes that haue ample and large Dominions, be called bothe shepherdes and watchmen, as namely in Jeremy. 23. Ezechiel. 34. &c. and therefore all those your reasons mighte aswell be alleadged agaynst them, and of them also mighte you saye, What is he, whose sighte is so sharpe, that he can see from one ende of the Diocesse, Province, or Realme, to another? For these names be as common, and as vsuall to Kinges and Princes, as they be to Ministers of the worde and Bishops. And truly if these similitudes sinke once into the peoples heades, and be applyed vnto ciuill gouernment, (agaynst whiche they bee as forceable, as agaynst the ecclesiasticall) they will as easily, and farre more easily stirre them vpp to seeke alteration in that also.

Jerem. 23.  
Ezech. 34.

### Chap. i. the. 7. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 43. Sect. 4. 5.

But that there be no controuersie lefte in this poynte, what is (\*) a flocke? S. Paule defineth it playnely, when he saythe: appoynt Pastors, or Elders, or Bishops (for these wordes are indifferently vled) throughe, not euery Shyre, or Province, or Realme, but throughe euery Citie, or Towne. And least that any man shoulde heere take occasion to conclude, that then it is lawfull for one man to bee Bishoppe or Pastor of a whole Citie, suche as London, or Yorke, &c.

(\*) No man doubteth what a flocke is, and yet you haue inuented a straunge definition.

S. Luke in the Actes dothe declare the meaning of this place, where he sayth that they appoynted Elders throughout euery congregation, so that if the Citie or Towne be great, and the professours of the Gospell in it, be more than will make conveniently a congregation, then there muste bee, by the rule of God (\*) more Pastours and Bishops. Wherevpon it appeareth that bothe no Pastour or Bishoppe oughte to bee made without there be a flocke, as it were a boode place for him, and that a flocke is not a Realme, or Province, or Diocesse (as we now call a Diocesse) but so many as may conveniently meete in one assemble or congregation. And that this is the meaning of S. Paule, it appeareth by the practise of the Churches from tyme to tyme, whiche haue bothe decreed agaynst, and founde faulte wth these swandering and rourng ministeries.

(\*) You haue no worde of God for this, and the practise of the primitive Churches doth cōfute it, as it is proued Tract 8.



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## The defense of the answere

Tract. 4.

Io. Whitgifte.

Tit. 1.

It is manifest that S. Paule willed Titus to appoynte *presbyters* (so that woode he vseth) in euery Citie, so dothe he also saye. But what can you hereof conclude? What sequele is there in this argument: Sancte Paule willed Timothie to appoynt Ministers in euery Citie, Ergo, there muste be none admitted to the ministerie of the woode, but suche as haue some certayne cure: or therefore one man maye not haue the oversighte and direction of many cures: In deede if S. Paule had sayde to Titus, thou shalt appoynte no Ministers of the woode, or Seniors, but to a certayne cure, or admitte none to preache the Gospell, except he haue some one place certainly appoynted vnto him: then your reason had bin something. But now it hath no thew of any argument.

The place Act. 14. tendeth to the same purpose, neyther is there one woode there to proue that suche maye not preache the woode, as haue no certayne charge committed vnto them: but the contrarie rather: for Paule and Barnabas, though they vnto appoynte in euery Church Ministers, yet vnto they preache themselves also. And I heare no reason yet, why bothe these maye not be true, that euery Church shoulde haue a Pastour, and yet that some may be admitted to preache the woode, that haue no senerall churches. This I am sure was vsuall in the Apostles time, and it is now most profitable, neither is there one title in the whole scripture against it. And you your selfe haue bin in that case euer since you were preacher, and remayne so still for any thing that I knowe.

### Chap. 1. the. 8. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 44. Sect. 1.

The Conneell of  
Calcedon may-  
med.

(\*) You stil stum-  
ble vpon Hiero-  
me in steade  
of Musculus.

The great Councell of Calcedon decreed that no Elder or Deacon, or any other in the eccle-  
siastical order shoulde be ordeyned *απὸ λαϊκών*: that is, losely, and as it were let goe at ran-  
don whether he himselfe willed, which he also interpreteth by and by more playnely, when he ad-  
deth, that he shoulde not be ordeyned *ἐν μὴ ἰδιῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης*: that is,  
vnlesse it be specially in a congregation of some citie or towne. And in the Councell of Urban (as  
Gratian reporteth, distinction. 70.) it was decreed that the ordination, that was made without  
any title, shoulde be voyde, and what that meaneth, is shewed by and by, when it is sayde, and in  
what Church any is intitled, there let him alwayes remayne. And this is also (\*) S. Hierome his  
complaynt, in that men were ordeyned vnto the ministerie, when they were chosen by no Church,  
and so wente rounde about, hauing no certayne place. And therefore thus, that none oughte to  
preache, vnlesse he haue some pastorall charge, oughte not to haue bene so straunge a thing vnto  
you, as you make it, if eyther the Scriptures, or the Councels, or the auncient Fathers,  
hadde bene so well knowne vnto you, as eyther your name requireth, or you take vpon  
you, whyche dare so boldly pronounce, that there can be shewed no texte of Scripture for  
the matter.

Ad Nepot.

Io. Whitgifte.

You are notable in falsifying and corruptly alleaging of the authorities of Fa-  
thers and Councels, and a singular grace you haue, bothe in ascribing that vnto  
them, which they haue not, and in otherwise reporting that which they haue:  
as you doe now in this place deale with the Councell of Calcedon: so you say,  
that Councell decreed that no Elder or Deacon, &c. shoulde bee ordeyned *απὸ λαϊκών*:  
that is, losely, &c. And you adde, that he interpreteth this more playnely, when he addeth that  
he shoulde not be ordeyned *ἐν μὴ ἰδιῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης*: that is, vnlesse it be  
specially in a congregation of some citie or towne. But you haue craftily lefte out that  
which maketh agaynst you, and playnely openeth the meaning of the Councell, which  
is this, *ἢ μαγίστρου, ἢ μοναχίου, &c.*

The



The whole Canon is this, *Nullum absolute ordinari debere presbyterium aut Diaconum, nec quemlibet in gradu ecclesiastico, nisi specialiter in ecclesia ciuitatis aut pagi, aut in martyrio, aut monasterio, qui ordinandus est, pronuncietur. Qui vero absolute ordinantur, decreuit Sancta synodus, irritam haberi huiusmodi manus impositionem, et nusquam posse ministrare ad ordinantis ignominiam.* Wherby it is plaine, that the meaning of the Councell is to haue none admitted into any Ecclesiasticall degree, except he haue some thing to lye vpon, and not that he must of necessity haue some cure: for then would not the councell haue sayd *aut in martyrio, aut monasterio*, for these be no pastorall charges: neither yet woulde it haue added *aut Diaconum aut quemlibet in gradu ecclesiastico*, Deacons or any other in ecclesiasticall degree: bicause euery one admitted in *aliquem gradum ecclesiasticum*, into any ecclesiasticall degree, is not admitted to a cure. Wherfore the glosse in Gratian doth well interpret the meaning of this Canon, when it saith that none is to be ordeined *sine titulo*, without a title, *ne dicatur mendicari in plateis infelix clericus*: least it be saide, an vnpastorie clerke beggeth in the streates: and further addeth this, *colligitur etiam hic, ex eo quod dicit, sine possessionis, argumentum, quod si quis habet patrimonium sufficiens ordinari potest sine titulo*: an argument may also here be gathered, in that it sayth (or of possession) that if any haue sufficient patrimonie, he may be ordeined without a title. But these wordes, *sine in martyrio sine in monasterio*, do manifestly declare that the Councell would haue none admitted to any Ecclesiasticall function without some way of liuing, either of some benefice, Monasterie, Colledge, Chappell, his owne possessions, or such like: as the practise of the Church vnder the Pope is at this day. And yet if any man should say, that out of this Canon there can be nothing gathered, but onely this, in what places those that are called to the ministerie are to be admitted and ordeined, I knowe not howe you could answer it, for the wordes of the Canon admit that sense most properly.

That decree of Urban hath the same meaning, and that which followeth, of remaying continually in that Church, in the which he is intituled, doth but signifie that he must be assured of his lyuing, wherunto he is intituled during his life: for the same Canon doth permit one man to haue two Churches, but yet that he ought not to be *canonicus prebendarius*, but onely of one Church wherof he is intituled. But I can not but marueile that you will vse the testimonie of this Councell of Pope Urban, which was holden at the least an. 1090. after Christ, even in the most corrupte time, when an Antichrist had fully possessed the sea of Rome, in the which Councell among other things (a) he confirmed the actes of Pope Hildebrand against Henrie the Emperour. This Urban also was the confirmer of the superstitious orders of the (b) Cistercian friers, and (c) Carthusian Monkes, he likewise deposed (d) Deacons that were married, from their orders: And (e) forbad (by the Councell of the traitterous Archbishop Anselme) that any Clarke should receiue *beneficiorum inuestituram*, or any Ecclesiasticall dignitie, of any Prince or lay man, but (f) onely of the Pope. And that you may yet further vnderstand what a worthele patrone you haue gotten for your cause, this Urban was he that was autho (g) of the Canonically houres, commonly called our Ladies Prayer.

Certainly Hierome sayth no such thing in that Epistle, you are disposed to father that of him that he neuer spake. His complaint was that much cost was bestowed vpon Churches in adorning and decking of them, and little regarde to the choise of Ministers, meaning that they had more care to haue gorgeous Churches than good Ministers. But what is this to your purpose?

Thus haue you proued neither by Scripture, nor by Councell, nor Doctor (truely alleaged and vnderstanded) that none maye preache, vntill he haue some pastorall charge, and I still affirme that you haue not one terte of Scripture soundyng that way, where there are to the contrarie sundry examples, as I haue alleaged.

### Chap. 1. the. 9. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 77. Sect. 2.

If you had bled more reasons, I would haue answered them, what  
C. iiii. certaine

Dist. 70. Neg.  
minim.

(a) Volaterr.  
& Bale.  
(b) Platina:  
in vita Urb. 2.  
(c) Volaterran:  
& Cent. 11. ca.  
10.  
(d) Distinct. 32  
eos qui.  
(e) Mattb. pas  
rifi. in vita  
V Villi. 2.  
(f) Cent. 4.  
(g) Polid. de  
inuent. lib. 6,  
cap. 2.



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## The defense of the answere

Tract. 4.

certaine cure had Paule, Barnabas, Philip, Epaphroditus, Andronicus, Lunius, & yet they were not of the twelue Apostles. It is a straunge doctrine to teache that a man may not preache out of his owne cure. It is moze straunge to say, that it is not lawfull for him to preache, except he have some pastorall cure, beyng of him selfe able to liue, and not minding to be burdensome to the Church. If you seeke for any text in the scripture to confirme this doctrine, you can finde none: if you seke for examples to the contrarie, you shall finde plentie.

T. C. Pag. 44. Sect. 2, 3, 4.

But you aske what place Paule and Barnabas had appoynted them. What meane you thereby to conclude, that because Paule and Barnabas the Apostles had no place appoynted them, therefore a Pastor or Bishop should not? When this is one difference betwene the Apostle and Bishop, that the one hath no certaine place appoynted, and the other hath. But I thinke I smell out your meaning, which is, that we may make Apostles also at these dayes, and that that function is not yet ceased, for otherwise your reason is nothing worthe. Likewise also you aske of Philip, which was an Evangelist. And so you thinke that these running Ministers are lawfull, because they are Apostles and Evangelistes, against which I shall haue occasion to speake shortly after in the 50. Page. But if a manne be able to liue of hym selfe, and minding not to be burdensome to the Church, it seemeth unreasonable, that he may not goe aboute and preache throughout all Churches.

Wyd you neuer reade any learned disputation, and that of learned writers in our dayes aboute this question: whether (although it be lawfull) it be expedient that a man beyng able and willing to liue of hym selfe, ought to take wages of the Church, for inconueniences which might ensue of taking nothing? I doe but aske you the question, because you make so greates a wonder at this, for I will not take vpon me here the defense of it, because I will not multiply questions.

And why I praye you maye not that manne that is so able, and will be content to liue of hym selfe, why I saye may not he teache and be the Pastor of some Church? Doe you thinke that for hym forbearing the wages of the Church, he may breake the (a) lawes & orders that God hath established?

(a) What lawes & orders, where are they established.

P. Martyr vpon the 1. Cor. 9. thinketh it more expedient for one to take wages of the Church although he be able to liue of him selfe.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

It is a good reason to proue that there may be preachers of the worde, which haue no certaine cure, and both cleane ouerthrowe your former answere to the place Acto. 1. for Paule and Barnabas were not chosen into any vacant place as Manthias was, and therefore that reason is no reason. I doe not say a Bishop or Pastor should not haue a place appointed vnto them (for I know Bishops and Pastors haue their cures limited) but this I saye, that some may be preachers and Ministers of the worde, which haue no certaine cure. Neyther is this true that all suche as be admitted to the preaching of the word, be either Bishops or Pastors.

Against Apostles and Evangelistes we shall vnderstande what you haue to saye, when we come to that place.

You aske me whether I euer read any learned disputations, &c. I mighte aske you the same question, for you utter no great reading here, only you alleage Peter Martyr vpon 1. Cor. 9. where he speaketh little of this matter. For the question is not whether a man hauing a Pastorall cure, and sufficient of his owne to lyue, may cease to take the ordinarie stipend of his Church or no, which is that, that Peter Martyr handleth in that place, and wherof he maketh this resolution, that he should doe that therein, that maye most profite the Church, and further the Gospell, and yet to be most expedient to take the accustomed stipend, although S. Ambrose Lib. 1. off. cap. 36. and diuerse other be of the contrarie iudgement. But this is our controuersie, whether a man hauing sufficient to lyue of by him selfe, may not be admitted to the preaching of the Gospell, excepte he haue some Pastorall cure. S. Paule in that Chapter gloryeth that he toke nothing of the Corinthians, & Peter Martyr in the same place sayth that Paule would take nothing that he might the more freely reprehend.

P. Martyr in 1. Cor. 9.

You aske me also why that man, that is so able, and will be content, may not teach, and be the Pastor of a Church, &c. I answere, that he may and if he will. But I aske you agayne, what



what if he be perswaded that he shall doe more good, by going to suche places, where there is greater want of preaching: What lawe or order is there established by God to the contrarie: where is that lawe or that order: Set it truly downe, and I yelde vnto it: else can I not but dissent from you, saying I see manifest examples in the Scripture to the contrarie: and eue your owne example, also in your owne person, which ought to haue moued you to a publike confession, if you haue all this while vsurped an vnlawfull vocation: as certainly you haue done, if this your assertion be true.

## Of Ceremonies vsed in ordeyning Ministers.

### Chap. 2. the first Diuision.

#### The Admonition.

But now Bishops (to whom the right of ordering Ministers both at no hand apperteyne) doe make, 60. 80. 100. at a clappe, and sende them abroad into the countrey lyke masterlesse men.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 47. Sect. 3.

That the ordering of Ministers doth apperteyne to Bishops properly, which you here utterly denie, I haue proued before: they be beste able to iudge of mens abilitie to that function. It is their especial charge to see that there be meete Ministers in the Church, and therefore good reason that they should haue the chiefe stroke in ordering of them: & yet in that businesse they trust not themselves alone, they haue other godly and learned ministers to assist them in examining suche as are to be admitted: they also require a testimoniall of life and conuersation from that place, wherein those that are to be Ministers haue bene latest and longest remaining.

Ordering of ministers pertaineth to Bishops.

Page. 48. Sect. 1. 2.

If such numbers as you say be admitted at one tyme, and sent abroad lyke masterlesse men, that is the faulte of the person, not of the law: neyther is it a sufficient cause to debarre any learned, godly and meete man from the ministerie, able to lyue of him selfe, or hauing any other Ecclesiasticall liuing, as prebend, felowship in some colledge of eyther vniuersitie, or suche like, though he haue no Pastoral charge and cure, neyther shall you euer be able to proue, but that a man disposed and able to doe good in the Church of Christ, may be admitted into the ministerie, although he haue no ecclesiasticall liuing at all.

I milike runnagates and masterlesse men, and such as are compelled to seke by and downe to get them seruices as well as you: and I hope the redresse thereof is already determined.

T. C. Page. 44. Sect. 4.

For the rest conteyned in those Pages touching the ordeining of Ministers or Bishops I haue before spoken at large.



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

You haue not answered to the most of this, that is in this portion confained, and especially touching ordaining of Bishops and ministers.

*Chap. 2. the second Diuision.*

Admonition.

The eighth. Then after last triall and vocation they were admitted to their function, by laying on of the hands of the company of the (vv) elder ship onely.

1. Ti. 4. 14.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 49. Sect. 1. 2.

Of laying on of hands.

Of tryall and vocation I haue spoken before. To proue laying on of hands. &c. is alleaged the first of Timothy the fourth Chapter, this is but a ceremonie, and it is now bled: for the Bishop and other learned and graue Ministers there present, doe lay their hands upon such as are admitted into the ministerie.

Now if you would knowe what is here ment by seniors, you may learne if you please of Oecumenius a learned and olde writer, who expoundeth this place of Timothy on this sort, *πρεσβυτέρους τὸν ἐπισκόπον* *πρὸς Παύλῳ*. By seniors he meaneth Byshops: and so sayth the Chrysostome in like manner.

T. C. Pag. 44. Sect. 5.

(a) An vntuthe, for Chrysostome maketh a many self distinction.

Oecumenius and Chrysostome say, that by Elders he meaneth Bishops (a) not thereby to senneth those that had the government of the Church together with the pastor and minister of the worde, which were called *quintus*, as you seeme to meane: but to put distinction betweene those which are Elders by age, and Elders by office, besides that it is before alleaged, that it maye be, that the pastor or Bishop by in the name of all the Elders lay on his hands upon him that was ordeyned. And lastly, you knowe, and can not deny, that S. Paule in one or two places conformeth the Bishop and the Elder.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Chrysost. in 1. Tim. 4.

Beza.

The wordes of Chrysostome, and of Oecumenius be euident, as you might haue perceyued, if you woulde haue taken paynes to reade the places. For the wordes of Chrysostome be these: *ὁ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἐφ' ἡντιούθα, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐπισκόπων*: He speaketh not here of Elders, but of Bishops, *ὅτι γὰρ οὐ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνοῦν*: for certaynely the Elders did not ordeyne the Bishop. Howe say you, be not these wordes playne, that he meaneth Bishops, and not other Ministers? And M. Beza in his notes upon this place sayth thus: *Presbyterij. i. ordinis presbyterorum, quo nomine probabile est eorum omnium illorum significari, qui verbo laborabant in Ephesiorum ecclesia*: Of the eldership: that is to say, of the order of Elders, by whiche name it is likely, that the companie of them, whiche laboured in the worde in the Church of Ephesus, are signified. *Acto. 20.* Wherby it is certayne that he secludeth your vnmistring Seniors.

*Chap. 2. the third Diuision.*

Admonition.

A slanderous vntuthe.

Howe there is (neither of these being looked vnto) required an Albe, a surplesse, a bestiment, a pastorall staffe.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 49. Sect. 3:

In the booke nowe allowed of making Deacons & ministers, and consecrating of Bishops, there is neyther required Albe, Surplesse, bestiment, nor pastorall staffe: reade the booke from the beginning to the ending. And therfore this is a false and vnttrue repozte.

Jo. Whitgiste



*To. Whitgiste.*

This is confessed by silence, and therefore here the Admonition conteyneth a manifest vnttruth, and wanteth a proctor.

*Chap. 2. the. 4. Diuision.**The Admonition.*

Beside that ridiculous, and (as they vse it to their new creatures) blasphemous saying, receiue the holy Ghost.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 49. Sect. 4. & vlt.

To vse these wordes (receiue the holy Ghost) in ordering of Ministers, which Christ him selfe vsed in appoynting his Apostles, is no more ridiculous and blasphemous, than it is to vse the wordes, that he vsed in the Supper: But it is blasphemie thus outrageously to speake of the wordes of Christ. The Bpshoppe by speaking these wordes doth not take vpon hym to giue the holy Ghost, no more than he dothe to remitte synnes, when he pronounceth the remission of synnes: but by speaking these wordes of Christ, receiue the holy Ghost, vvhose synnes so euer ye remitte, they are remitted, &c. he dothe thew the principall duetie of a Minister, and assurth hym of the assistance of Gods holy spirite, if he labour in the same according-lye.

You call them his new creatures, these be but wordes of scurrillitie, to be hissed at, not to be answered.

T. C. Page 44. Sect. vlt.

To say that the Bpshop may as well say (receiue the holy ghost) as to say the wordes vsed in the Supper, or to say that the synnes of those, which do beleue are forgiven, is *his Aie πασών*, as farre as Yorke and London. For there are commaundementes to the Ministers to doe that, which they doe, and heere is none: and there the Minister both not commaunde that the bread be the bodie of Christ, but he sayth that it is. Neither doth he commaunde that synnes should be forgiven, but pronounceth in the behalfe of God, that they are forgiven. It is not lawfull also, that he with the congregation should make a prayer for the assistance or encrease of God his giftes vpon hym, that is ordeined, but to commaunde that he should receiue it, is merely lawfull. For these wordes (receiue the holy ghost) are the imperative mode, and doe expressly signifie a commaundement. And so the Bishop may as well say to the sea when it rageth and swellith, peace, be quiet, as to say receiue the holy Ghost. And if you thinke it so good reason to vse this in the making of ministers, because you vse the wordes of our Saviour Christ, why may not you as well blow vpon them as he did: For seeing that our Saviour Christ confirmed his word there with a Sacrament, or outward signe, and you thinke you must therefore do it, because he did it, you are muche to blame to leaue out the outward signe, or Sacrament of breath, wherby the faith of him that is ordeined, might be the more assured of such giftes and graces, as are requisite in this function. I heape not vpon here the iudgement of writers, you knowe, I thinke, it might easily be done, if I liked to follow that waye.

*To. Whitgiste.*

Christ vsed these wordes (this is my bodye) in the celebration of his Supper, but there is no speciall commaundement that the Minister should vse the same, and yet must he vse them, because Christ vsed them: even so, when Christ did ordeine his Apostles Ministers of the Gospell Jo. 20. he sayd vnto them, receiue the holy Ghost &c. which wordes because they containe the principall duetie of a Minister, and do signifie that God doth poure his spirit vpon those whom he calleth to that function, are most aptly



1. Tim. 4.

Cal. 1. Tim. 4.

aptly also used of the Bishop (who is Gods instrument in that businesse) in the ordaining of Ministers. S. Paule speaking to Timothie. 1. Tim. 4. saythe, Neglecte not the gifte that is in thee, which was given vnto thee by prophecie, with the laying on of the handes of the eldership. In which words the Apostle signifieth, that God dothe bestowe his giftes and spirite vpon suche as be called to the ministerie of the worde, whereof imposition of handes is a token, or rather a confirmation: and therefore sayth M. Caluine, that it was not a vayne ceremonie, because God dyd fulfill with hys spirite that consecration, which men dyd signifie by imposition of handes. And surely as that is no vayne ceremonie, though it be done by men, so these be no vayne words, though they be spoken by men.

Neither dothe the Bishop speake them as though he had authoritie to giue the holy Ghost, but he speaketh them as the words of Christ used in the like action, who (as I sayde before) dothe moste certainly giue his holy spirite to those whom he calleth to the ministerie. And surely if any patterne eyther in calling or ordaining of ministers is to be followed, this of Christ is to be followed especially: and it is not unlike but that the Apostles when they layde on their handes used the same words, because (as I haue sayde) laying on of handes is a signe, or rather a confirmation of the same. That which you speake of commaunding, is a mere cauil, you knowe in your conscience that there is nothing lesse ment.

To recite the words of Christ in the name of Christ, in the selfe same maner that Christ dyd speake them, is as lawfull in this action, as it is in the Supper, for the bread is not the ministers body, but the sacramente of Christ his body, and yet he sayth, Take and eate, this is my body: So in reciting Gods commandements we say, Thou shalt haue no other Gods but me: and yet we meane not that we are their Gods, but we speake the words of God in his person, and in the selfe same maner & forme, that he hath left them vnto vs. But it is now no maruayle though such as wickedly forsake their calling, doe also impiously deride and iest at the maner and forme thereof.

Christ when he sayde to the sea, peace, be quiet, shewed a myracle to confirme his diuinitie: but when he sayde, Receyue the holy Ghost. &c. he dyd institute a ministerie, which shoulde be used by man: and therefore there is no similitude betwixt these two. Christ when he breathed vpon them, dyd an action proper vnto him selfe, for he thereby signified that he had authoritie to giue vnto them his holy spirite, and that the same spirite dyd not only procede from the father, but from him selfe also: when he spake these words, he made a perpetuall promise, that all suche should receyue his spirite, as from time to time were by him called to the office of the ministerie.

I thinke you woulde surely vse some authoritie of wyters here, as you doe in other places, if you had any: but I suppose you haue not one that misliketh this forme, as it is used in this Church of Englande. I knowe they doe iustly condemne the foolish imitation of the Papistes, who followe Christ in breathing: But that there is any great misliking of these words, Receyue the holy Ghost (except only when they speake of the papisticall abusing of them) I can not perceyue.

## Of Apostles, Euangelistes, and Prophets.

### Chap. 3. the. 1. Diuision.

#### The Admonition.

The ninth. Then every pastor (x) had his focke.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 50. Sect. 2.

To proue this you alleage the. 20. of the Acts, the. 4. to the Ephe. the first to Titus, the. 5. chapter of the. 1. of Peter: which places declare

x  
Act. 10. 18.  
Eph. 4. 11.  
Titus. 1. 5.  
1. Pet. 5. 1.



clare that there were Pastors whiche had flockes: but they proue not that every Pastor had a flocke: neuerthelesse howe so euer you proue it, true it is that if he be a Pastor, he must haue a certain flock, for therein doth a Pastor differ from the rest of the degrees of ministers in Christs Church, mentioned in the fourth chapter to the Ephes. But you muste learne, that there bee not onely Pastors in the Church, but also Apostles, Prophetes, Euangelistes, Doctors, Ephes. 4. 1. Cor. 12. who all are called ministers, and haue their place in the Church of Christe, as it shall be proued if you denie it.

T. C. Pag. 45. Sect. 1.

This passeth all the diuinitie that euer I redde, that there are nowe Apostles, and Euangelistes, and Prophetes. You shall assuredly doe maruels, if you proue that, as you saye you will, if any denie it: I denie it, proue you it.

### Io. Whitgifte.

When haue you not redde muche diuinitie: for if it be true that the Apostle Saincte Paule in the fourth to the Ephesians dothe make a perfecte platforme of a Church, and a full rehersall of the offices therein conteyned (as you say he dothe) then can I not vnderstande howe you can make those offices rather temporall, than the office of the Pastors and Doctors. And forasmuche as you so greatly contemne authoritie, and woulde haue all thinges proued by Scripture, lette mee heare one worde of the same, that dothe but insinuate these offices to be temporall. The place it selfe seemeth to impose a continuance of these functions, vntill the coming of Christe. For he sayeth: He therefore gaue some to be Apostles, and some Prophetes, *Ephes. 4.* and some Euangelistes, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the gathering together of the Sainctes, for the woorke of the ministerie, &c. vntill wee all meete together in the vnitie of faithe and knowledge of the sonne of God vnto a perfecte man, and vnto the measure of the age and fulnesse of Christe, &c. I am perswaded that you can not shew any lyke place, whiche dothe so playnely impose the abrogatynge of them, as this *1. Cor. 12.* dothe make for their continuance. I haue besyde that place to the Ephesians, the twelfth of the firste to the Corinth. and the. 14. where he speaketh of Prophetes, as of perpetuall ministers in the Church of Christe.

I knowe that there were certayne thynges in the Apostles, whiche were proper vnto themselves, as they calling, whiche was immediatly from God, their commission to goe into the whole worlde, the power of working miracles, to bee witnesses of the Resurrection and of the Ascension, &c. but to preache the worde of God in places where neede requireth, (though the same be not peculiarly committed to them) or to gouerne Churches alreadye planted, I see no cause why it shoulde not be perpetuall.

Lykewise the office of the Euangelist, if it be taken for the writing of the gospel, *(a) Bull. in. 4.* then it is ceased. But if it be taken for preaching to the people playnely and simply, as *ad Ephes.* *(a) Bullinger* thinketh: or generally, for preaching the gospel: as *(b) Musculus* supposeth, *(b) Musc. Tit.* in whiche sense also Paule sayde to Timothy. *2. Timo. 4.* doo the worke of an euangelist. Or for preaching more feruently and zealously than other, as *(c) Bucer* sayeth: then I see no cause at all why it may not still remaine in the Church. *(c) Bucer in. 4.*

Forouer Prophetes, if they be taken for suche as haue the gifte of foretelling things to come, then be they not in all tymes of the Church: but if they be suche as Saincte Paule speaketh of. *1. Corin. 14.* such (I saye) as haue an especiall gifte in interpreting the Scriptures, whether it be in expounding the mysteries thereof to the learned, or in declaring the true sense thereof to the people: I vnderstande not why it is not as perpetuall as the Pastor or Doctor.

¶

Thus



Ambrose.

Bucer in. 4.

Ephe.

Fol. 42. sect.

vls.

P. Martyr.

Caluine.

Bullinger.

Confess. Hel-  
uetica.

Thus you see that I haue bothe Scripture and reason on my syde: and to the ende you maye perceyue that I am not destitute of the consent also of learned men in thys matter, I will sette downe the opinions of one or tise. Ambrose vpon these wordes *Ad Ephe. 4. Et ipse dedit quosdam quidem Apostolos. &c.* sayeth thus: The Apostles are Bishops: Prophets be interpreters of the Scriptures, althoughe in the beginning there were Prophetes, as Agabus, and the foure Virgins Prophetesses, as it is in the Actes of the Apostles. &c. yet nowe interpreters bee called Prophets, Euangelistes bee Deacons, as Philip: for althoughe they bee no Priestes, yet maye they preache the Gospel without a chaire, as both Stephanus and Philippe before named. Bucer vpon the same place sayth that there bee Euangelistes nowe, and you your selfe fol. 42. confesse, that thus, Jerome of Prague, Luther, Zuinglius, &c. were Euangelistes. Peter Martyr in his Commentaries vpon the, 12. to the Romaines sayth, that the Apostle there describeth those functions and gites, whyche are at all tymes necessarie for the Church: And in that place the Apostle mentioneth Prophecyng. M. Caluine in his *Institut. cap. 8.* doth confesse, that God hath stirred vp Apostles or Euangelistes since that tyme of the Primitiue Church, and that hee hath doone so lykewyse euen nowe in thys tyme.

M. Bullinger vpon the place of the fourth to the Ephe. sayeth, that the woordes bee confounded, and that an Apostle is also called a Prophete: a Doctor, an Euangeliste, a minister, and a Bishoppe: and a Bishoppe, an Euangeliste, and a Prophete. &c. To bee shorte, it is thus written in the Confession of the Churches in Heluetia, The ministers of the newe Testament bee called by sundrie names: for they are called Apostles, Prophetes, Euangelistes, Byshoppes &c. And (speakyng of Prophetes) it sayeth: The Prophetes in tyme paste, foreseeing thynges to come, were called Seers, who were expounders of the Scriptures also, as some bee euen nowe a dayes. Euangelistes were wryters of the historie of the Gospel, and Preachers also of the gladd rydings of Christe his Gospel: As Paule bidde Timothie doe the worke of an Euangeliste. &c. So that to saye, that there is in the Church Apostles, Prophetes, and Euangelistes in suche sense as I haue declared, is no straunge diuinitie, to suche as bee diuines in deede. But let vs heare your reasons.

### Chap. 3. the. 2. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 45. Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4.

And that you maye haue some thyng to doe more, than peraduenture you thoughte of, when you wrote these wordes, I will shewe my reasons, why I thinke there oughte to be none, nor can be none, vnlesse they haue wonderfull and extraordinarie callings. It must first be vnderstanded that the signification of this worde Apostle, when it is properly taken, extendeth it selfe not only to all the ministers of God, beeing sente of God, but to the Embassador of any Prince or noble man, or that is sente of any publike authoritie, and is vled of the Scripture by the trope of Synecdoche for the twelue, that our Sauioz Christ appointed to go thoroughout all the worlde, to preache the Gospel, vnto the which number was added Saint Paule, and as some thinke Barnabas, whiche are seuered from all other ministers of the Gospel by these notes.

First, that they were immediatly called of God, as S. Paule to the Galathians, proueth him selfe to be an Apostle, because he was not appoynted by men. Gal. 1.

Then that they sawe Christe, whiche argument Saincte Paule vseth in the. 9. 1. Cor. Am I not an Apostle? haue I not scene Christe?

Thirdly, that these had the field of the whole world to tye, whereas other are restrained more particularly, as to a certaine plough lande, wherein they should decupie themselves: wherupon it followeth, that as we conclude against the Hope truly, that he can be no successour of the Apostles, not only because he neyther teacheth, nor doth as they did, but because the Apostles haue no successours, neyther any can succede into the office of an Apostle: so may we lykewyse conclude against those that woulde haue the Apostles now a dayes, that there can be none, because there is none, vnto whome all these three notes doe agree: as that he is both sent of God immediatly, or that he hath scene Christe, or that he is sent into all the worlde.

### Io. Whitgiste.

M. Caluine vpon the sixteenth to the Romaines sayeth, that this worde Apostle, in proper and vsuall signification, dothe onely comprehend that first order whiche Christe



Chryste in the beginning did appoynt in his twelue disciples, whiche is directly con-  
trarie to your saying.

I graunt that in suche respectes as you now put downe, there bee no Apostles:  
although Matthias was not immediatly called by God, as it appeareth Actes. 1.  
and you befoze haue confessed: neyther can you proue by the Scripture, that War-  
nabas was so called, but the contrarie rather dothe appeare in the. 11. of the Actes,  
and yet he was an Apostle. Saint Paule in the firste to the Corinth. 9. doth not saye  
that he sawe Chryste, to proue that he was an Apostle, but to declare that he was in  
that respect nothing inferior to the reste of the Apostles. I haue befoze declared in  
what sense I say that ther be Apostles in the church: neyther is it a matter so strange  
seeing that M. Caluine sayeth as muche in the place befoze recited: *Quamquam non ne-  
go, quin Apostolos postea quoque, vel saltem eorum loco Euangelistas interdum excitarit Deus, ut*  
*nostro tempore factum est*, Although I doe not denye, but that God hath afterwarde also  
stirred vp Apostles, or at the least Euangelists in steade of them, as it is doone in oure  
dayes.

### Chap. 3. the 3. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 45. Sect. 5.

And although some Ecclesiasticall wyters doe call sometymes good ministers successors of the  
Apostles, yet that is to be vnderstanded because they propounde the same doctrine that they did,  
not because they succeeded into the same kind of function, which they could not do. S. Paule doth  
vse this word sometimes in his proper and native signification, for him that is publicly sent from  
any to other, as when he speaketh of the brethren that were ioynd with Titus, whiche were sent  
by the Churches with reliefe to the poore Church in Ierusalem and Iury, and where he calleth  
Epaphroditus an Apostle. But that is with addition and not simply, as in the first place he calleth  
the brethren the Apostles of the Churches, that is, not the Apostles of all Churches, or sente to all  
Churches, but the Apostles which certayne Churches sent with the reliefe to other certayne chur-  
ches: and Epaphroditus he calleth not an Apostle simply, but the Apostle of the Philippians, that  
is, which the Philippians sent with reliefe to Paule, being in prison at Rome, as it appeareth in  
the same epistle.

2. Cor. 8.

Philip. 2.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The wyters of the Magdell. historie call Epaphroditus an Apostle in the same sense  
that they call Paule, and the rest of the Apostles: M. Caluine thinketh the name of an  
Apostle to be taken in that place generally, *pro quolibet Euangelista*: for any preacher of  
the gospel. Ambrose saith: *erat eorum Apostolus a Paulo factus, dum illum ad exhortationem*  
*eorum mittebat ad eos*: he was made their Apostle of Paule, when as at their request he sente  
him vnto them. And Theodoret in plaine wordes doth call him an Apostle, because he  
was byshop of the Philippians. If these say true, as no doubt they do, the is not Epa-  
phroditus called an Apostle only in that signification, that you say he was. In that he  
calleth them Apostles with an addition of the Churches, not of all Churches, he con-  
firmeth my saying, for it argueth that there may be Apostles though they haue com-  
mission but for one kingdome or prouince only, as Epaphroditus was the Apostle of  
the churches of the Philippians, because he was sent vnto them to preach. Thus doth  
both Ambrose, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Caluine, and others write.

Epaphrodi-  
tus an Apost.  
Cent. 1. lib. 2.  
cap. 7.  
Caluin. in. 2.  
Philip.  
Ambrose. in  
Philip. 2.  
Theo. 1. Tim. 3.  
& Phil. 2.

### Chap. 3. the fourth Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 46. Sect. 1.

And as for Andronicus and Junius whiche are by you recited: belike to proue that we may  
haue more Apostles, because it is said of S. Paule that they were famous and notable amongst the  
Apostles, it cannot be proued by any thing I see there, whether they had any function ecclesiasticall  
or no. For S. Paule calleth them his kinsfolke, and fellowe prisoners, and doth not saye that  
they were his fellowe labourers: and a man maye be well notable and famous amongst the  
Apostles, and well knowne vnto them, whiche is no Apostle. And if the Apostles woulde haue  
had this order of the Apostles to continue in the Church, there is no doubt but that they woulde  
haue

Rom. 16.

(T. C. sheweth  
off a direct an-  
swer with this  
(belike.)



Andronicus  
& Iunia Apo-  
stles.

(a) Cent. 1. lib.  
2. cap. 7.

(b) Caluine in  
16. Rom.

(c) Beza in 16.  
Rom.

Bull. in. 16.  
Rom.

Martyr in. 16  
Rom.

Gualter in. 16.  
Rom.

haue chosen one into James his roome, when he was slayn, as they did, when they supplied the place of Judas, by choosing Matthias, and so euer as they had dyed, the other would haue put other in their places. So it appeareth that this function of the Apostles is ceased.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The foresayd authors of the Booke called (a) *Magdelburgica*, do also reckon these two among the Apostles, even as they do Paule & Barnabas. (b) M. Caluin upon that place to the *Romaines* sayth, that the name of an Apostle there doth extende to all those whiche teache not one Church onely, but many. &c. and seemeth to accompte Andronicus and Iunia such. (c) M. Beza in the same place writeth thus: *Inter Apostolos. &c. i. quorum nomina inter Apostolos viget, vel qui & ipsi sunt insignes Apostoli, sic enim accipitur interdum hoc nomen in genere pro his, qui Christi nomine funguntur legatione*, That is, whose name is famous among the Apostles, or whiche are themselves notable Apostles: for so is this name sometime generally taken for those, which are sent in embassage in the name of Christe. Bullinger doth think y they wer in the number of the. 72. disciples. Peter Martyr upon that place, They are called notable amongst the Apostles: not bicause they were of the colledge of the twelue Apostles, but bicause (as it is credible) they had spread the Gospell through manie places, and had planted many Churches. And a little after speaking of your interpretation, he sayeth, This sense doth not displease me, if the wordes themselves bee not contrarie therunto. So that he seemeth to doubt whether the wordes will beare your interpretation or no. Gualter and Bullinger also suppose it not to be onely that, that they were the first planters of Christian religion at Rome. And I can reade of none that doubteth whether they had any function Ecclesiasticall or no, as you do.

I brought them in before pagina. 47. to proue that some may be chosen to preach the worde whiche haue no certaine cure, and you to auoyde a direct answere, haue shifted them of to this place, and now you say, that belike I bring them in to proue that we may haue more Apostles, which thing in dede they proue manifestly, but I brought them in to declare that a man may be admitted to preach, though he haue no certaine cure, and to that you haue not answered.

There is nothing expessed in Scriptures, whether the Apostles did chose any into the roome of James or no: but I am perswaded they did not, neyther was it necessarie. For who euer sayd, that there muste continually be twelue Apostles, and neyther more nor lesse?

I tolde you before out of M. Caluine, that this worde Apostle, in his proper and vsuall signification comprehendeth only the twelue Apostles appoynted by Christe. Wherefore in this signification there are now no Apostles, neyther was there anye since that tyme: but it signifieth also generally such as preache the Gospel in sundry places, and although they go not through the whole worlde, as the twelue did, yet are they not bounde to any one place certainly. And according to this signification, there both hath bene and are Apostles.

### Chap. 3. the. 5. Division.

T.C. Page. 46. Sect. 2. 3.

You aske further, that if a man shoulde not preache before he haue a pastozall charge, what they will answere vnto Philip and Epaphroditus, whether your meaning is belike, that although they be no Pastours, yet they may be Euangelists, whiche goe aboute the countrey here & there. But this office is ceased in the Church, as the Apostles is, sauing that sometyms the Lozde doth rase vp some extraordinarily, for the building vp of the Churches, whiche are falne down, and pulled vpp by the foundations, as I haue shewed somewhat before. And that it is ceased, it may appeare by these reasons.

First, for because all those that the Scripture calleth precisely Euangelistes (which are only Paulus, Barnabas, & Titus) had their callings confirmed by miracle, and so it is like that Titus and Barnabas, and Paulus, and if there were any other, had their vocations after the same manner confirmed, but there is no suche miraculous confirmation now, therefore there is no suche voca-

Act. 8. 39.  
1 Tim. 1. 18.

Io. Whit.



I haue declared both befoze by Scripture, reason, & other authoritie, that though in oure  
the name of an Euangelist bee chaunged, yet the office remaineth. The Scripture  
no where calleth Timothie an Euangelist, onely. 2. Ti. 4. S. Paule willeth him to doe  
the woork of an Euangelist, whiche is, to preache the Gospell. But of this matter I  
haue at large spoken in an other place.

It passeth to see howe boldly you doe abuse the Scripture. Where doe you  
reade that eyther Timothie or Philippe, were ordeyned or confirmed Euangelistes, by  
miracle? There can be no such thing imagined: in the. 39. verse Acts. 8. the wordes  
be these: And as soone as they (that is Philippe and the Eunuche) were come oute of the  
water, the spirite of the Lorde caught away Philip, that the Eunuche sawe him no more  
&c. Was this the miracle that confirmed Philip an Euangelist? Lorde God what  
meane you? This was rather done to confirme the Eunuche: As for Philip it is ma-  
nyfest that befoze this miracle he was an Euangelist: for in the same chapter we reade  
that befoze this tyme Philip had preached in Samaria, and conuerted them, being be-  
foze seduced by Simon the sozcerer: and that he had also baptised them. Wherefore he  
had conuerted the Eunuch, and baptized him befoze this miracle was shewed: wher-  
foze it could not be a confirming of his Euangelistship.

That in the. 1. Ti. 1. vers. 18. insinuateth, that dyuerse Prophecies had gone be-  
foze of Timothie, whereby it was reuealed that he shoulde bee a worthy Mini-  
ster of the Church, or as Caluine sayeth, which had commended him to the church:  
although there be sundry interpretations of that place moze lyke to bee true than  
that. But howe proueth it that hee was made an Euangelist, by miracle? First Ti-  
mothie was nowe a Bishop, as hereafter is proued. Secondly, here is no mention  
made of any calling to an Euangelistship. Thirdly, a Prophecie is not a miracle. Last  
of all, though this were true bothe in Philip and Timothie (as it is in neyther) yet  
dothe it not followe, that whosoener is called to be an Euangelist, must also be con-  
firmed by miracle, for particular examples make no generall rule: Timothie was  
ordeyned minister of the Gospell, *per impositionem manuum*, by the laying on of han-  
des, 1. Ti. 4. 2. Ti. 1. And therfoze his vocation was ordinarie, and needed no such con-  
firmation by miracle.

1. Tim. 4.

2. Tim. 1.

## Chap. 3. the. 6. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 46. Sect. 4.

Heb. 7.

Howe agayne, if there shoulde be any Euangelist, who shoulde ordeyne hym? you will saye  
the Bishop. But I saye that can not be, that the greater shoulde be ordeyned of the lesse. For  
the Euangelist is a higher degree in the Church, than is the Bishop or pastor. And if he be so,  
why hath he not his estimation here in the Church above the Bishop or Archbishop eyther: for  
the Archbishop is but a Bishop, or why doth not he ordeyne Bishops as Timothie and Titus  
did, which were Euangelistes, being one poynt of theyr office, as Eusebius declareth?

Euseb. li. 3.  
cap. 27.

## Io. Whitgifte.

You doe but trie my pacience in so often offending in the petition of the principle:  
For neyther can you proue an Euangelist to be an higher degree in the Church than  
is a Bishop, neyther is it true that Timothie and Titus were Euangelistes, and not  
Bishops, and in that poynt haue you all the writers both olde and newe, stories and  
other, one or two only excepted, flatly against you, besides the euident reasons that  
may be collected out of the Scripture.

I know not to what purpose you quote the. 7. to the Hebrynes, except it be for this  
texte: The lesse is blessed of the greater: in whiche place blessing is not taken for or-  
deyning or consecrating: for Melchisedech did no suche thyng to Abraham. But it  
is there taken as it is Numer. 6. where the Priestes are commaunded to blesse the  
people, and therfoze serueth not your turne for any thing here spoken.

Heb. 7.

Numer. 6.

A. iij.

I vnder



Uaine quo-  
tation.

I vnderstand not to what ende you quote Eusebius in his third booke, and. 27. Chap-  
ter. For there is not in that place one worde spoken of an Euangelist, or any part  
of his office.

### Chap. 3. the. 7. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 46. Sect. 5.

Againe, if there be in every Church a Pastor, as S. Paule commaundeth, what should the E-  
uangelists do: for either that pastor doth his dutie, and then the Euangelist is superfluous, or if  
he do it not, then he is no lawfull pastor, and so ought he to be put out, and an other to be put in his  
steade. And where the pastor doing his dutie can not suffice, there the Scripture hath giuen him  
an ayde of the Doctour, which for because his office consisteth in teaching doctrine, to this end that  
the Pastor myght not be driuen to spende so much tyme in propounding the doctrine, but myghte  
haue the more tyme to employ in exhorting and behoorting, and applying of the doctrine to the ty-  
mes and places, and persons: it is manifest that he also is tyed to a certaine Church. For how  
could he be an ayde, vnto the pastor, to whose helpe he is giuen, but he were in the same church  
where the pastor is: And that the Euangelistes office hath bene so taken as a function that en-  
dured but for a tyme, it may appeare first by that which Eusebius writeth speaking of Pante-  
nus: for saith he, there were vntill that tyme Euangelistes, &c. which was aboute the yere of  
our Lord. 162. Wherby he giueth to vnderstand, that aboute that tyme they ceased, and that in  
his tyme there was none, when notwithstanding there were Bishops or Pastors, and Elders  
and Deacons. And Ambrose saith, that there be no Apostles, but those whiche Christe himselfe  
did appoynt: wherby it appeareth, that of all the Ecclesiasticall functions that preach the woorde  
there are but the Pastor and Doctour only left vnto vs, and the same also restrayned to particu-  
lar charges.

Lib. 5. cap.  
10.

Li. 1. offic. 1.

### Io. Whitgifte.

But what if there be not in every Church suche a Pastor, neyther can be, is the  
Euangelist then necessarie: you must of necessitie confesse that, for the people muste  
not be deprived of the worde, when by suche meanes they may haue it. Howebeit,  
though euery Church had his Pastor, and euerye pastour dyd his dutie, yet might  
preaching by other doe good, as well for the confirmation of the Doctrine, and the  
more frequent preaching, as also for that it pleaseth God sometymes to worke  
that by one, that he dothe not by an other. But what Scripture haue you to proue  
that the Doctour is added to the Pastour, as an ayde, or that the Doctour is tyed to a cer-  
taine place: you haue no licence to coyne newe Scriptures, and in the olde I  
am sure you can not fynde it. As for youre bare worde, it is but a verie bare  
proue.

Ambrose in  
4. Epb.

I tolde you befoze, that Hierome, Augustine, Chrysostome, Musculus, and dyuerse  
other vppon good reason confounde Pastour, and Doctour, and thynke them to bee  
but diuerse names of one office. And whereas you saye, that the Doctours office con-  
sisteth in teaching doctrine, to this ende, that the Pastour myghte not be dyuen to spende so  
much tyme in propounding the doctrine, &c. I woulde gladly knowe whence you learne  
that. Ambrose sayeth, they be suche as see good rule kepte in the Church, or suche as  
teache children.

Lib. 5. cap. 9.

Eusebius wordes speaking of Pantenus be these: There were as yet at that tyme  
manie Euangelistes, whyche were prest and readie to this, that they myght wyth a god-  
lie zeale accordyng to the Apostles example, promote and plante the woorde of God.  
Whiche proue, that there were then Euangelistes good store, whyche were zeal-  
ous, &c. But there is no mention made of any ceassing of their office: it rather pro-  
ueth a continuance of the same, being so long after the Apostles tyme. There is  
nowe no suche Euangelistes as goe from kyngdome to kyngdome, or thorough the  
woylde, because the miraculous gifte of tongues is nowe ceased. Neyther is anye  
nowe lawfully called to any suche Ecclesiasticall function, but by man, and therfore  
they must goe no further than his authoritie extendeth that hath called them.

Ambrose sayeth truly, if he should say that there are no Apostles but such as Christ  
himselfe appointed, if we speake properly and vsually (as I haue befoze declared) but  
that is no hinderance to any thing y I haue affirmed. And yet surely y wordes of Am-  
brose sound nothing that way, for Ambrose abasing and disabling himselfe saith thus:

Non



*Non igitur mihi apostolorum gloriam vendico, quis enim hoc, nisi quos ipse filius elegit deus.* I therefore challenge not to my selfe the glory of the Apostles: for who can do this, but they whome the sonne of God did choose? And what can you hereof conclude? He saith afterwards also, that he doth not challenge to himselfe the circumspection of Pastors, yet was he then a Bishop, as it is in that place evident. Gladly would you haue some authoritie for your purpose, if you could tell where to find it.

## Of the residence of the Pastor. Tract. 5.

### Chap. 1. the first Diuision.

T. C. Page. 46. Sect. 6.

Now that I haue proued that there are no Euangelists, Prophets or Apostles, and that the ministeries of the word, which remaine, are limited vnto certayne places: I will take that whiche you graunt, that is, that the Pastor or Bishop ought to haue a speciall flocke. And demand of you, wherefore he should haue it? Is it not to attend vpon it? And can he attend vpon it, vniuersally he be resident and abiding vpon it? But he cannot be abiding vpon it, if he go from place to place to preach where he thinketh necessarie. Therefore being Pastor or Bishop of a congregation allotted vnto him, he may not go from place to place to preach where he thinketh good, much lesse to haue a mastership of a colledge in one corner of the land, a Deanry in another, and a Prebend in the thirde, and so be absent from his pastozall charge in such places, where eyther he preacheth not, or needeth not to preach, those places being otherwise furnished without him. For then how is this difference kept betwene the Pastor and other ministers, that the one is tyed to a place, and the other is not. For if you say, that it is in that he shall preach more at his flocke, than at other places, I answere that the Euangelists and Apostles did tarrie longer in one place, than in another, and taught some congregations yeares, whē they did not other some moneths. And therefore they say nothing, which alleadgē for the nonresidence of Pastors, that St. Paul called Timothy and Titus from Ephesus and Crete, for first they were Euangelists and no Pastors, then they went not of their owne heads, but called of the Apostle, which was a chiefe gouernoure of the Church. And thirdly they went not, but hauing other sufficient put in their place, as it appeareth in their seuerall epistles, so that if that place make any thing, it maketh not to proue the non residence, but rather whether a minister may be translated from one Church to another.

A digression from the matter to the person.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Your reader, if he iudge indifferently, cannot but acknowledge this, that you so confidently speake of prizes, to be but a vaine bragge and nothing so.

There is no man that denieth but that a Pastor ought so to attend vpon his flocke, as he may be well able to do his duetie towards the same, and with a good conscience answer his doings before the chiefe Pastor, to whome he shall giue his accompte. In the meane time if he be godly, if he preach among them as often as he is perswaded to be convenient, if he haue a care ouer them, that they be not destitute of that, whiche is necessarie, if he haue such as are honest, learned, and diligent to supply his absence, he may be bolde to say to his vniuersall iudges, *tu quis es, qui iudicas alienum seruum, proprio domino stat, aut cadit.* VVho art thou, which condemnest another mans seruant: he standeth or falleth to his owne Master. Whether a Pastor hauing a flocke, may also preach out of his owne charge, is another question. And although it be by you demped, yet because your words without proufe weigh not much, I will (for the auoiding of confusion) speake nothing thereof in this place, but this only, that as the opinion is strange, so is it most vntreue, and not to be iustified eyther by Scripture, aunciente fathers, or reasons.

How a Pastor ought to be resident.

Rom. 14.

But (oh T. C.) who seeth not the mark, you shote at? who perceyueth not how you slide from the matter to the person? To what ende do you here recite a mastership of a colledge, a Deanry, a Prebend, but that your meaning is to note some one particular man, whome (because he hath withstoode your erroneous and contentious doctrine, hath not exalted you, as it is wel knowne you haue desired, hath executed those lawes vpon you, whiche (for the auoiding of manifest and wilfull periurie) you oughte to haue executed of your selfe) you seeke by all meanes possible to deface. Is this conscience? Is this *præbere te beneuolum magistro, non solum dum in eo vixeris, sed etiam postea pro virili.* The Lord forgive you, and giue you grace to know your selfe.

Why T. C. slide from the matter to the person.

The oth of the fellowes of Tri. Col. in Cam.

W. iij.

If he



If he that hath this mastership, Deanry, Prebend & benefice, neglect his due tie in any one of them, if he do not that, that both Gods lawes and mans lawes require of him, if he be a loyterer, if he seeke his ease, if he be not able to giue an accompt of his doings when he shall therevnto be called, then let him susteyne both the shame, and the blame also.

The Pastor  
may be absent  
upon occasion

The Pastor is not so tyed to any place, that he may not from the same be bodily absent upon occasiō, as I am ready to proue by sufficient both reason and authoritie, when I shall be urged therevnto. The examples of the Euangelists and of the Apostles do verifie the same, for they fully instructed the churches, wherein they preached, in all things necessary to saluation, though they did not continually remayne with them, but now and then visit them. And therefore the Pastors may so do in like manner.

Timothie be-  
ing a Pastor  
was absent  
fro Ephesus.

In y treatise  
of Archbys-  
shops, &c.  
Tract. 8.  
Caluine.

Touching Timothie and Titus (whome you so oft without any kind of proue de-  
nie to be Pastors) I haue spoken else where at large: notwithstanding because your  
two to bolde asseuerations may appeare what they are, I will in a few words euen in  
this place declare, bothe that Timothie and Titus were Pastors, and that their ex-  
amples do euidently proue that a Pastor may be upon occasions absent from his  
flocke. And so, this time I will be content with that only, that M. Caluine writeth tou-  
ching the same matter, referring the reader for further proue, to that, that I haue in  
more ample manner written of the same. M. Caluine, 1. Li. 1. doth call Timothie Pa-  
stor of the Church of Ephesus. And in the, 1. Li. 4. expounding these words, *ne domum quod*  
*in te est.* &c. he saith that the holy ghost had by oracle appointed Timothie to be receyued  
into the order of Pastors. And, 2. Li. 4. that he did excell vulgare and common Pastors,  
meaning that he was an excellent Pastor, endued with more singular and notable  
gifts, and of greater authoritie, than the common sort of Pastors be. And in the same  
Chapter speaking of Paules sending for Timothie from Ephesus to Rome, he sayth,  
that there was no small cause why Paule sent for Timothie from that Church, whiche he  
ruled and gouerned, and that so farre off: heereby we may gather (saith he) how profitable  
conference is with such men: for it might be profitable to all Churches, whiche Timothie  
might learne in a small time: so that the absence of halfe a yeare, or of one whole yeare, is  
nothing in comparison of the commoditie, that commeth thereby. Whereby it is mani-  
fest that Caluine both took him to be a Pastor, and also excuseth his absence. So that  
the example of Timothie maketh much for the purpose: The like may be said of Titus,  
and of sundry other in the scriptures.

Lawfull cau-  
ses of the pa-  
stors absence.

Now if the Apostle being a chiefe gouernoure of the Church might call Timothie  
and Titus so farre from their cures, and that for no great, nor yet common matters  
of the Church, but for his owne priuate businesse, as it appeareth, 2. Tim. 4. then I  
trust you will also thinke it lawfull, that suche as be rulers and gouernours of the  
Church, may do the like. There is no man that writeth so exactly of *Non residence*, but  
he confesseth certaine necessary causes of absence, as if it be for the commoditie of the  
Church, whereof he is Pastor, or for the commoditie of the whole church of that king-  
dome, or for the commoditie of other particular churches in the same, or for necessitie,  
or upon commaundement of higher authoritie: in all these and such like cases the ab-  
sence of a Pastor is lawfull, and it is *presentia* rather than *absentia*, if you will beleue  
learned writers. Now if you will demaund of me who shal allow these causes, I an-  
swer, no one priuate mā, of what calling soeuer he be, but the magistrates, to whome  
the gouernment of the Church is committed, if they allow the absence, and the Pa-  
stor satisfie his owne conscience, there is no man of God, no good conscience, no mo-  
dest spirite, that dare presume to iudge him, much lesse to condemne him.

Ca. in. 2. Ti. 4.

Timothie oft  
absent from  
Ephesus.

That he ought in his absence to prouide a sufficient deputie, I confesse, and that  
example of Tichichus doth proue that, for he was Timothies deputie, and not his suc-  
cessor, as you seeme to insinuate. M. Caluine saith that S. Paule sent Tichichus to Epe-  
sus, whē he sent for Timothie to Rome, in the meane time to supplie his absence: So that  
he was but Timothies deputie. Moreover it is manifest that Timothie was oft ab-  
sent from Ephesus, twice with Paule at Rome, and that he returned thither againe  
this last time, as well as he did at other times, as both M. Caluines words befoze men-  
tioned



tioned do declare, and I also have evidently proued in that place, where I proue that  
mothe to be Byshop of Ephesus.

Tract. 8.

### Chap. 1. the second Division.

T.C. Pag. 47. Sect. 1.

But I will neuer weary my penne to confute those, whome their owne consciences are too  
strong for, and confuteth euery night when they go to bed: for that were nothing else but to reason  
with the beelie, that hath no eares to heare, or with the bakke that hath no eyes to see. Those that  
thinke that they haue charges of their owne, yet may go from place to place where they thinke  
it necessary, and that it shalld not where they preach, so they preache: must consider, that if they  
thinke that God is the authoure of their placing in their flockes, then that eyther their abode there  
is needefull and expedient, or else that God did not see well and cleerely, what was meete to be done  
in placing them ouer that congregation, and appoynting that that congregation shoulde hang and  
depend vpon them, for their nurrishment and good government.

\*This is to fir  
mens conscien  
ces as God.

### Io Whitgiste.

A soze iudgement and presumptuous: will I say *tu quies, &c.* who art thou whyche  
condemnest, &c. The rest of that section is builded vpon the petition of the principle,  
for there is no man (I thinke) that so regardeth preaching in other places, that he neg  
lecteth it in his owne. But I am fully perswaded, y God hath so called no man to one  
place, that he hath restrayned him from doing good in other places also: and I constant  
ly beleue, that in the mo places he laboureth and doth good, the more his seruice to be  
accepted vnto God. And it is a token that he is truly called when he hath an hartie  
desire to profite many.

The Pastor  
may preach in  
mo places.

All congregations of Christians are deare vnto God: wherefore he doth not so  
much incline to any one, that he woulde haue the other altogether neglected. And  
therfore if there be but one good man placed in a whole shire, I thinke that he is there  
placed to do good in the countrie round about him, and that he ought to do so, because  
they be all sheepe pertaining to one folde: but yet so must he labour generally, that he  
haue an especiall care of his owne particular floche.

### Chap. 1. the 3. Division.

T.C. Page. 47. Sect. 2.

And you see that if I woulde follow those noble metaphores of watchmen and shepherds,  
which the scripture vseth to expresse the office of a minister with, what a large field is opened vnto  
me. For then I coulde shew you how that cities besieged, and flockes in danger of the wolues are  
watched continually night and day. And that there is no cite so safe and so continually besieged,  
nor no flocke subject to so manyfold diseases at home, or hurtfull and deuouring beasts abroad,  
and that without any truce or intermission, as are the churches, the shepherds, and watchmen  
whereof are Pastors or Byshoppes.

Luke, 24

### Io Whitgiste.

I haue shewed before what your metaphores of watchmen and shepherds can proue:  
what dissimilitudes there is betwixt them and spirituall watchmen and Pastors. I  
thinke your meaning is not, that the Pastor shoulde preach both night and day, or that  
there is no continual watching, but continual preaching. If I were disposed so to  
lie with you in your metaphores, I coulde say vnto you that watchmen must of neces  
sity oftentimes haue their deputies, or else that there must be many of them, and so  
watch by turnes. I coulde also say, that as soon as the watchman hath told the cite of  
the enemies approaching, and hath discerued them vnto it, he may depart from his sta  
tion and take his rest.

Tract. 4. cap. 1.  
diuis. 6.

The meta  
phores of  
watchmen and  
shepherds.

Likewise that the watchman hath least to do, when his enemies are mightiest, especi  
ally when they haue invaded the cite: for then are the soldiers to drive them away  
by force. Wherefore by these metaphores this onely can you proue, that the Pastors  
ought to admonish their flockes of their enemies, discerie them in time, and will them  
to be vigilant. The enemies are knowen, the armour is certaine, the citizens reason  
able,



nable, toheresore if they neglect the Admonitions given in due time and order, if they be not vigilant, their bloud be vpon their owne pates, the watchman hath done hys duetie. The like in all respects may be said of shephards and sheepe.

Luke. 2.

To what purpose you haue quoted in your margin the. 2. of Luke. I knowe not, except it be, because it is there said, that the shepheards were watching their shepe in the night. The which how you can apply to your purpose I would gladly learne, for these shepheards went from their sheepe, and left them in great daunger.

### Chap. 1. the. 4. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 47. Sect. 3.

But I will leane that to their considerations, and will shew that the partes and duties of the minister be suche and so many in his owne flocke, that if he were as wise as Salomon was, as great in counsell as Joseph, as well learned as S. Paule, as actiue as Josue, which fought so many battayles in small space, yet al were little enough or too little, to perfourme to the ful that, which his charge requireth of him. Of the Pastors therefore is required not only the preaching of the word, and ministring of the sacraments, whereof, the preaching of the word, & ministring of the sacrament of baptisme, ought to be continually, and as oft, as the Church may conveniently assemble, the other sacrament of the Lord his supper, although not so continually (for that the Church shall hardly haue so much leysure from their necessary affairs of this life, as that they may celebrate it as often as the other) yet so often, as that we remember, that too rare and seildome celebrating it, argueth a mind too much forgetfull of the vnspcakable benefite of our redemption, and argueth also that we are farre behind the primitive Church in zeale, which did celebrate it euery Saboth: I say beside the preaching of the worde, and ministring of the sacramentes, there is required of hym that he should admonish priuately, and house by house those that are vnder his charge.

20. Act.

### Io. Whigifte.

Certaine it is, that the charge of a Pastor is great, and that he, which doth the best, must confesse and say that he is but an vnprofitable seruant: and yet if he occupy hys talents, be they mo, or be they seuer, and gaine with them more or lesse, he hath a mercifull master, who will embrace him with mercie, and will accept of his seruice. And therefore, though he be much inferioure to Salomon in wisdom, to Joseph in counsell, to Paule in learning, and to Josua in actiue, yet may he be a faithfull seruant, and heare of his Lord and master, *Euge serue bene & fidelis. &c.* It is wel done good seruant and faithfull.

Math. 25.

If you should thus streightly deale with the Pastors, and leaue them no consolation, you should not follow our sauoure Christ his mildenesse and mercie.

But let the bitternesse of your speeches go, and let vs come to the weight of your reasons: you say that there is required of the Pastors preaching of the word, and ministring of the sacraments, & priuate admonition, & that the preaching of the word & ministring of the sacrament of Baptisme, ought to be continually: and priuate exhortations likewise, & therefore the Pastor may not be absent. Touching the preaching of the word I haue spokē before some thing, it must be according to conscience & discretion of the Pastor, who hath to consider what is best for that congregation, whereof he hath the charge, both for the often preaching, & for the manner of preaching also: The sacraments maye be administered by other, than by the pastor, as they were in the Apostles tyme. 1. Cor. 1. & Act. 10. Priuate exhortations must also be vied as occasion serueth, according to the discretion of the minister. But I meruaile that you saye, the ministring of the sacrament of Baptisme ought to be continually. &c. You knowe that in Victor his tyme it was celebrated but once in the yeare at Caister. And in Tertullians tyme at Caister and Pentecoste, and in many Parishes in Englande there is no such dayly neede of administering that Sacramente. To conclude, both the Sacramentes maye bee as well ministred by an other if occasion serue. And therefore of all other reasons this is the slenderest.

Saint Pauls meaning in the. 20. of the Actes, is not that he dayely went into their houses to exhort them, but that he did so as occasion serued.

Chap.

Baptism ministring but once in the yeare.



## Chap. 1. the fiste Division.

T. C. Page. 47. Sect. 3.

Now tell me howe this can be done profitably, without a diligent marking and looking into their manners: How can either publike preachings, or priuate admonitions haue their effect and working, vnielſe the word of God be applyed according to the diſpoſition or ſtate of that people, vnto which it is preached: And vndoubtedly hereof it cometh that the word of God is no more effectually in this realme than it is, for bycauſe it is preached hand ouer head, without knowledge and vnderſtanding the eſtate of the people. For ſo, oftentimes the promiſes and glad tidings of the goſpell of our Sauoure are preached vnto thoſe, that being before ſecure in their ſinnes, are after the hearing of the promiſes rocked into a dead ſleepe thereof, and they that are ouerthrowen with the conſcience of their ſinne, and confounded in themſelues, are by the ſharpenesse of the law, and hearing of the iudgement of God broken into peeces, & driuen to deſperation. And ſo likewiſe, the people are taught ſometimes how to leade their liues in honeſt conuerſation, when all that doctrine falleth to the ground, bycauſe they haue no knowledge of Chriſt, nor of faith in him: and to be ſhort, it is as much as if eyther the ſurgeon ſhould apply his plaſter, or the Phiſician his medicine, when they neyther know of the wound, or diſeaſe of their patients. But this knowledge of their eſtate, cannot be withoute a continuall abode amongſt them, therefore a continuall reſidence is neceſſary.

## Io. Whtgiſte.

The Apoſtles and other in their time, did not long continue in one place to learne the peoples manners, and yet did they muche proue them by preaching: neither is it ſo hard a matter to know the peoples manners and conditions, though a man be not perpetually reſident among them. A man may proue them by preaching, whome he knoweth not.

The word of God (his name be praiſed therefore) hath bin effectually in England, and numbers are by the ſame conuerted from ſuperſtition, blindneſſe, and ignorance, to the true knowledge of God. But this is an old and vsuall obiection of the Anabaptiſts againſt the Church of Chriſt, that in their Churches there is a manifeſt amendement of life, but in other Churches, which ſeeme to profeſſe the goſpell, there appeareth no ſuch fruite: & that the goſpel is preached, but no man the better. This I ſay, is the ſlaunderous ſpeech of the Anabaptiſts againſt thoſe Churches, from the which they haue deuided themſelues, and it is very oft vſed by you. The vsuall obiection of the Anabaptiſts.

You muſt thinke that there be Paſtors and Preachers in England, that vnderſtand the ſtate of the people, and know what diſcretion to vſe in their ſermons and exhortations, as well as you can teach them. But this is moſt true, that as you thinke none learned but your ſelfe, ſo do you alſo iudge all men to lacke both wit and diſcretion but your ſelfe. And here in this place haue you taken vpon you this cenſure moſt confidently, I will not ſay arrogantly.

In the end of this diuiſion you conclude thus, the knowledge of the eſtate of the people cannot be knowne withoute a continual abode with them: therefore a continual reſidence is neceſſary. You muſt proue the Antecedent, for it is falſe. The Apoſtle knew (ſo farre as it was neceſſary for him to knowe) the Romaines, the Corinthians, Galatians and other Churches to whome he wrote, and yet was he not continually reſident among them. And ſo did the other Apoſtles and Preachers, whiche were not reſident in any one place: and yet a preacher may do good in preaching among them, whome he knoweth not, for it is God that directeth him in his words and matter. And for as muche as he cannot but knowe that euery congregation conſiſteth of diuers mindes and affections, therefore (excepte he be voyde of diſcretion) he will ſo moderate and temper his ſermon or exhortation, that it may proue all, and hurte none, but ſuche as do not accordingly receiue it. And therefore bothe theſe propoſitions are falſe: that a man by preaching cannot proue ſuch, as he knoweth not: and that he cannot know them, except he be perpetually reſident with them. The Paſtor may know the eſtate of the people withoute a continual abode amongſt them.

Chap.



## Chap. 1. the sixte Division.

T.C. Page. 48. Sect. 1.

Moreover as in the law the priests were ready in the temple to answer to all the doubts & questions, that any of the people should come to aske: so the ministers in their severall parishes should be ready to dissolve the difficulties, that either one hath with another, or with himselfe, touching the conscience, for want whereof, the consciences of many, after doubtfull and dangerous wrestling with the devill, and with dispaire are strangled. And thereupon some hang or drowne themselves, some other putting away all care or conscience of sinning, and labouring to have no sense nor feeling of their sinne, close by the wounde unhealed, which after, either breaketh out more dangerously, or else every day more and more waxing senselesse, and without feeling, treasure up unto themselves the wrath of God against the day of iudgement. For although the iudgement of God both not for the time follow them so hard, as them, which through terroure of conscience vntaught and vnto comforted, kill themselves: yet their estate is neuer the lesse dangerous therefore, but rather more, for asmuch as by a longer line of sinne drawne out, they also pull vpon themselves a heavier condemnation. Which things when they see oftentimes before their eyes, that will consider it, it is easy to iudge that it cometh to passe a great deale oftner than we can see.

## Io. Whitgifte.

*Deute. 17.* You do not referre me to any place, where I might reade that the priests in the lawe were ready in the temple to answer all the doubts and questions, that any of the people should come to aske. &c. And I do not remember any suche place in the scripture, excepte you meane that, which is written in the. 17. of Deute. verse. 9. &c. where there is no suche attendance mentioned: but only the people are willed to bring their controuersies to the priests and the iudge. If you meane the. 12. verse of that Chap. where it is said of the priest that he standeth before the Lord to minister there, you haue also missed the quistion. For the meaning of that place is that whosoever presumptuously refuseth to harken vnto the Priest (so long as the priest is the true minister of God, and pronounceth according to his word) shall die. &c. The priest here had to do in ciuill and iudiciall matters together with the iudge: the priest was but in the chiefe place, where iudgement was heard, and not in euery particular congregation. Wherefore if you would conclude any thing of this place, it must be, that the Priest must be ioyned with the iudge, and haue to do in ciuill and iudiciall matters, and remaine in some chiefe place of the countrie where iudgements are to be heard. You can by no meanes hereof conclude, that euery particular congregation should haue a Pastor continually remaining with them.

*2. Tim. 3.**In. 3. Coll.*

There is not now any such general ignorance, but that there may diuers be found able to answer all such doubts, as you speake of sufficiently, though the Pastor be absent. The scriptures also are publickly red in euery mans house, whiche are as Saint Paule saith. 2. Ti. 3. profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be absolute, being made perfect in all good works: and as Chrysostome calleth them, they be an apothecarie his shoppe, where euery man may finde remedy for his diseases.

Moreover the sufficiencie of his curate may be suche, that he shall be aswell able to answer all suche questions, as if he himselfe were present. Neyther are those cases you put vsuall (God be thanked) and they oftentimes happen, where there is leasste cause to complaine of any absence of the Pastor.

## Chap. 1. the. 7. Division.

T.C. Page. 48. Sect. 1.

When as therefore the only preaching of the word of God being continuall, is a bond strong enough to hold the Pastor to his flocke, then the enquire of the manners & behauiour of his flocke, the private admonitions and consolations, the dissolving of doubts, when any riseth, as a three or foure sound cord ought much more to hold hym: so that he which shall breake all these things willingly and wittingly, cannot easily be thought to breake them as Sampson did his, by the strength of God, but rather by some other power not of God.



## 10. Whitgifte.

I would not haue any man to thinke, that I take vpon me to maintaine carelesse & slouthful pastors: I speake only of such as be vigilant, & occupie themselves profitably in the Church, visite their seuerall flockes, & teach them to the satisfying both of the parish, and of their owne consciences also: such I am perswaded, may do as much in all those points here by you mentioned, to the commoditie of their flocke being sometimes absent, as if they were continually present, besides the good they may do, to the whole Church generally, wherof they are also members and Ministers.

Carelesse and slouthfull pastors be not defended.

But I muse with what face you can thus seke to deface true pastors that do good in the Church, though not so much as you thinke they should do, seing you your self, and a number mo do no good at all in any place, but only range vp & downe, liue at other mens tables, disturbe the Church, & thinke that you haue done your duties, when you haue defaced all other mens doings. I am verily perswaded, that he which preacheth at his cure but one sermon in a yeare, offendeth God lesse, than you doe, that haue forsaken your calling.

Some men delight to deface good men, that doe no good themselves.

## Chap. 1. the eyght Diuision

T.C. Pag. 48. Sect. 1.

1. Tim. 4.  
John. 10.

Besides that S. Paul commaundeth that the pastor should be a paterne or example in al goodnesse, & holinesse of life vnto his flocke, & our sauiour Christ saith that when the shepharde hath led forth his sheepe, he goeth before them, but if the Pastor be not amongst his flocke, and haue not his conuersation there, they can not follow him. If they haue not the example before their eyes, they can not make the like vnto it. Therefore this commaundement also bindeth them to residence amongst their flockes. S. Peter willethe the Pastors of the Churches, that they shoulde feede the flockes. What flockes? Not every one, but those, which are committed to their faith or trust, or which dependeth vpon them. And S. Paule speaking to ministers or Bishops of Ephesus, willethe them that they should take heede vnto the flockes, ouer the which the holy Ghost had made them overseers, where he restraineth, as S. Peter did their oversight and watch vnto their particular flock. S. Paul saith that he toke it heauily that he was separated from them but a small time. If therefore the Apostle was away with griefe from them, whom he had taught, who his calling compelled to be away, and woulde not suffer to be alwayes there: what shall be thought of the Pastors, whose callings is to be with their flockes, & which are consecrated vnto them, euē as the Apostles were vnto the whole world: what I say shal be thought of them, that are away monethes & yeres?

Ad. 10.

1. Thel. 2.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

Christ is a paterne and an example to vs in all goodnesse, whome we muste followe, and yet we neuer saw him, but haue only heard of him by his word. S. Paule willed the Corinthians. 1. Cor. 4. & 11. and the Philippians chap. 3. to followe him, and yet was he not perpetually resident among them. A man may be thoroughly knowne touching his externall conuersation, of those with whom he is diuers times conuersant, although he be not alwayes abiding with them. I thinke there be Pastors very well knowne to their flockes both for their life and doctrine, and yet doe not continually remaine with them: you and I haue not bin long nor much conuersant together, and yet surely I suppose that I know you both touching your Religion, conuersation, and affectio, as well as if I had been twentie yeres companion in your chamber with you. And therefore this is no good argument, to say that the pastor muste be an example to his flocke, and therefore he must of necessitie be continually among them, for he maye so be, and that perfectly, if he be sundry times among them, and likewise if they heare of his good conuersation in place where he remaineth, when he is not among them.

A man may follow the example of him that is not alwayes present

The same answer serueth for that which is alleaged out of the 10. of S. John.

S. Peter. 1. Epist. Chap. 5. doth not onely exhort Pastors and such as be addicted to some certain place, but all other also to whom this word *presbyter* doth reach, as it may appeare in that he himself sayth *qui sum & ipse presbyter*, whiche am also my selfe an elder. Therefore it is an exhortation generall to al preachers and Ministers of the word, and not only proper to pastors: the words that followe be diuersly expounded: some say feede the flocke of God, which dependeth vpon you, some, which is committed vnto you, and othersome, as much as lyeth in you, which is the most common interpretation, & it is as much as though he should say, according to the Talent that God hath gyuen

1. Peter. 5.

¶

vnto



unto you. But how soever it be interpreted, the meaning is, that every mā labour in teaching, instructing, and governing the Church of Christ, and the charge committed unto him faithfully and diligently. Which exhortatiō of Peter may be obeyed of him that is not continually remaining in one place, if he do, as I haue said before.

The words of S. Paul Acts. 20. tend to the same ende. A minister of the word and pastoz must be diligent in his calling, not slouthfull, and ought to seeke by all meanes possible to profit the Church of Christ, and especially in such places, whereunto he is especially called: all this I graunt.

The place of S. Paule. 1. Thes. 2. is far from the purpose. For Paule declareth his singular good will and affection that he had to the Thessalonians: he doth not expresse any dutie of his ministerie, and therfore a learned man interpreting that place sayth, *hinc colligimus, quod sancti etiam se videre secundum carnem gestiunt*, hereof we gather, that the Saints also do gladly desire to see one another bodily. A man to expresse his singular affection towards his friend, will say, that it grieueth him to be out of his companie one houre. But how followeth this argument. Paule was desirous to be corporally present with the Thessalonians, and to remaine with them, Ergo a Pastoz must neuer be absent from his flocke: if it be lawfull to make such arguments, I will conclude any thing.

### Chap. 1. the 9. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 48. Sect. 1.

And in deede those that feede their flockes faithfully according to the commaundement of God, doe see what a great wisdom and mercy of God it is to appoynt every flocke his pastoz, & every pastoz his flocke. They can tell of a wonderfull loue, that God worketh in them towards they flockes, and in their flockes towards them. A greate encouragement vnto them, and as it were a prick to stirre by their dulnesse it is, when they see the blessing of God vpon their labours, and therof a maruelous care, and thought to turne all such things away, as shoulde hinder the increase of that blessing, which they can not haue any feeling or experience of, which are not conuersant with their flockes, besides a familiaritie betwene the pastoz and the flocke is profitable to this, that euery one maye be emboldened to come and demaunde to be satisfied of those things they doubt of, which they will neuer do vnto those, whome they are not by continuall conuersation acquainted with.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

How can you tell: you haue no such experience, for you neuer had flocke: or what boasting pastoz hath so bragged of himself: Peraduenture because some troublesome persons delighted with contentions and straunge opinions made much of him, & the rest gaue him some countenance, he thought they loued him, when as peraduenture it was nothing so. But be it true of those, whom you meane: I doubt not but there be flockes that haue that loue towards their Pastors, and Pastors that haue that loue towards their flockes (though they do not continually remaine with them) which ought to be in the Children of God, and which neuer will be remoued, deface you them as much as you can.

### Chap. 1. the tenth Diuision.

T.C. Pag 49. Line. 2.

And it is not nothing, that Aristotle disputeth against Plato his communitie, which would haue all thyngs common, and that all men indifferently shoulde haue care of all thyngs, and shoulde haue nothing, whiche he shoulde saye to be his owne. For therein Aristotle sheweth verie well, that that which was (\*) cared for of all men, was neglected of all, and cared for of none: so that the pre-  
 uation of wife or Childzen, or of any other possession, was then the best and surest, when as every man had a certaine possession committed vnto him, whiche he shoulde care for, and take charge of. And so the Lord his wisdom was for the better suertie and saluation of his Church, not to make many Ministers, which shoulde in common and indifferently take care of all, but ordeyned that the Church shoulde be diuided in diuerse partes, and that every one shoulde haue a peeces to care for, and to giue accompt for.

(\*) You speake  
contraries.

Io. V. Whitgiste.



*To Whitgifte.*

What hath Aristotle to do with non residence? Authoritie is scarce when his helpe is required. But what saith he: forsooth, that that which was cared for of all men, was neglected of all. I thinke that you report not Aristotles wordes truely: for as farre as I remember, he sayth that that which is common to all, is neglected of all. The other can not be true, for that which is cared for of all men, can not be neglected of all (for to care for, and to neglect, be contraries) but must of necessitie be well provided for, and looked vnto. But to what purpose do you alleage this? Bycause I saye that no man must so loke to his priuate charge, that he neglect the other partes of the Church: do I therefore say that there is no priuate charge, but all things are in common? It is the duetie of euery member in the common wealthe so to loke to his owne priuate affaires and businesse, that he neglect not the common state of his country: are all things therfore common? neither did Aristotle euer teach that a man should so care for his certaine possession, that he preferred not the common vtilitie before it: and so likewise Christ hath deuised to euery man a portion of his Church to care for, but yet not so, that he should thinke himself no longer bound to the whole, or that he must now cease from profiting the whole.

Aristotle not rightly alleaged.

A man hauing a priuate charge, ought to care for the whole.

*Chap. 1. the. 11. Diuision.*

T. C. Page 49. Sect. 1.

Now if any man will say, that in such great scarcitie of Pastors, it is good, that when a man hath trauailed in one place, & remoued them from superstition, & brought them to beleue in God through Christ, to go to another place, and assay also to draw them from Idolatrie: first I vrgē that, which I did before, which is the calling, wherein euery man must abide, and without the which no man ought to attempt any thing. Then I say, that it is as hard a prouince, and as painefull a thing vnto the pastor, as acceptable and precious a worke vnto the Lord, to kepe those, which are gotten: as to get those, which are not gotten: and that that saying is fulfilled here, if in any thing else, Non minor est virtus, quam querere, parua tueri.

*To Whitgifte.*

This obiection is of greater force, than you are able to withstande. For the same God, that hath called him to the one place, to plant his true Religion there, hath also called him to the other, that he may doe the like euen as he did the Apostles, Prophets and Euangelistes, and pastors also, who haue been euen immediatly after the Apostles time transferred from one place to another, for the greater commoditie of the Church: Neither can it be proued that any man should be so tyed to one place, that he may not be transferred to another to profit more.

It is true that the deuill most greuously assaulteth those, which haue embraced the truth, because now they are become his professed enimyes, & openly withstand hym: But they are sufficiently armed with faith, and with y word of God, so that although they be tempted, yet can they not be overcome. The other that remaine in ignorance he wholly possesseth, and because they haue yelded themselves vnto him, he doth suffer them to be quiet: therfore to deliuer such out of his seruitude and bondage, and so to arme & instruct them, that they are not only able to withstand, but to put to flight the deuill also, must of necessitie be both the hardest, and the most acceptable worke vnto God: except you will say that it is more commendable to helpe him, who is sufficiently armed, and able to resist, than him that is altogether vnarmed, and as it were vnder the foote of his enemy. Certainly the most acceptable worke vnto God is, to conuert sinners vnto repentance, and to heale such as be sicke, & therfore Christ himselfe sayd, that he Luke. 19. came to seeke that which was lost: and the parable of the lost grote, and of the Prodigall Luke. 15. sonne doth with might & maine ouerthrow your sayings: so do the whole dealings of the Apostles, and the whole course of the Scriptures.

*Chap. 1. the. 12. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 49. Sect. 2.

For we knowe that after that the Deuill perceyueth, that men are pulled oute of the power of

X.ij.

of



of darknesse, into the glorious light of the Gospel, he sweateth and laboureth by a thousand meanes to destroy them, and bestirreth himselfe more then, than in the time of their ignorance, and in steade of that one chayne of ignorance, and want of the knowledge of God, he layeth a thousand trappes for them, to snare them with. So that the continuall daunger that the Church is in, dothe as it were speake vnto the pastor in the comon prouerbe, *σπάρτην ἔλαχες κόσμος*: that is, looke diligently to that charge, whiche thou hast receyued. For if the watchman should forsake the citie, wherunto he is appoynted, and go, and watche in another, where he is not called, although he save that, if he loose the other, he shall not therfore escape the punishment of betraying the other citie, where he was placed watchman.

### Jo Whitgiste.

So it is: but all the diuels in hell can not preuaile agaynst them: therefore sayde S. Paule to the Eph. cap. 6. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to resist the euill day. &c. every Christian is in this case, yea the pastor himselfe: but wote you what Christ sayth, Job. 10. My sheepe heare by voyce, and no man shall take them out of my handes. The Scriptures, as Chrysostome sayth, be continuall scholemasters: and he that hath vnderstanding may therein learne howe to withstande Satan and all his assaultes. And therefore sayde the Apostle to the Coll. 3. Let the worde of God dwell in you abundantly, in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing your owne selues, in Psalmes and hymnes. &c.

Eph. 6.

Job. 10.

Chrysost. in

3. Colof.

Colof. 3.

The preacher  
is called thi-  
ther where he  
may doe most  
good.

If the watchman hathe sufficiently admonished the citie, and hathe ministred weapons vnto them, brought them out of the bondage of their enimie, and leaue some other behinde him to supply the rest, and then go to another citie to deliuer it also from the like slavery, if in the meane time the former citie be lost, or reuolted (which is not like) their bloud be vpon themselves, the watchman hath done his dutie. When Iosias had tolde Ieremie his offences, & shewed his message for the which he was sent, was there any more required of him? No: neuer I am perswaded, that wheresoener the preacher may do most good, thither is he called of God: neyther is this to forsake his station, but to followe his calling, and to do good.

### Chap. 1. the. 13. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 49. Sect. 3.

Touching the behalfe of God and his glory, if any man will say that they can not perish, which once haue beleueed, and therefore those may be left, and others attempted, I can say of those that are in ignorance and blindness, that they can not perishe that be elected, although they neuer haue the Gospel preached. And therefore we must walke in those wayes that God hath appoynted, to bring them to saluation, which is to feede them continually, and watche ouer them so long as they are in daunger of hunger, in daunger of wolues, in daunger of the enimies, within and without, which is so long as the Church is heere vpon the earth.

### Io. Whitgiste.

God forbid that any man should vse any suche kinde of excuses, to take away the meanes wherby God vseth to cal such as be his: but it is a comfort to the pastor, when he is in conscience perswaded, that he hath not omitted to open vnto his flocke those wayes and meanes, and that he ceaseth not still to admonish the of the same in time conuenient. S. Paul Act. 20. sayth to the Ministers of the Church of Ephesus, that he was free from the bloud of them all, and that he had opened vnto them the whole counsel of God. &c. and yet he had not bin muche with them: and after that time he thought that he should not see the most of them any more. Wherefore a man may do his dutie, and open all things and meanes necessarie vnto saluation, although he be not continually remayning in one place. Chrysostome expounding the place in the thirde to the Collof. Let the worde of God dwell in you. &c. after that he hath willed them to prepare them Bybles, and tolde them that it especially perteyneth to them to reade the Scriptures, he addeth: cast not all vpon our shoulders. You are sheepe, but yet reasonable, the Apostle hath committed many things vnto you. Those that are to be instructed muste not alwayes learne. &c. And agayne he sayth: *Habes oracula dei, nemo te docebit quemadmodum illa*: Thou hast the word of God, no man can teache thee like vnto it.

Act. 20.

Chrysost. in  
3. Col.

Chap.



## Chap. 1. the .14. Diuision.

T.C. Pag 49. Sect 4.

Upon all which things I conclude, that the residence of the Pastor is necessary, & to doubt whether the Pastor ought to be resident amongst his flocke, is to doubt whether the watchman should be in his towne, the eye should be in the head, or the soule in the body, or the shephard amongst his flocke, especially where the sheepe are continually in danger of wolues, as in the land of Iurie, from whence this similitude or maner of speech was taken, where they watched their flockes night and day, as I obserued before out of S. Luke.

## Io. Whitgiste.

The question is not whether the pastor ought to be resident or no, but of the time, the maner and kind of residence. No man must continually be absent, for that were altogether to neglect his flocke: neither is it required that he be continually present, for that can not be. But if he neglect not his duetie in preaching, & performe other things requisite, although he be sundry times absent upon the occasions before specified, yet is he not to be condemned, seying it often times cometh to passe, & such kind of men do most good, both in their Churches particularly, and in the Church generally.

Of the watchman and of the shephard I haue spoken before, and shewed wherein the similitude holdeth, & wherein it holdeth not: no one watchman is continually in his towne, neither is it possible that he should be: it is sufficient if the towne be watched, & the chiefe watchman neglect not his duetie: the shephard also is not alwayes present with his sheepe, but sometime he leaueth them alone, when he hath folded them, or brought them into a safe pasture, & sometimes he comitteth them to his seruant, or to some other to be kept in his absence. The similitude of the eye and of the soule in some pointes may be aptly applyed, but not in this of residence, for if either the eye be plucked out of the head, or the soule separated from the body, neither of them both can be restored again. But you must confesse that there be causes why a pastor may be absent from his flocke without any such vncurable danger: and therefore these similitudes in these cases of absence holde not.

T.C. Page 49. Sect. 5.

If any will hereby conclude that they haue no space giuen them to sleepe, to eate, to drinke, &c. they are cauals, which I will not vouchsafe to answer.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

A very modest, and short answer.

## Chapter. 1. the .15. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 49. Sect. vlt.

21. John.

Againe, if he will say, that then they may not go forth of the towne to do their necessarie businesse for their families, I desire them in the name of God, & they abuse not his graces, in deuising cloakes to couer their disorders, but that they would set before them the loue of Christ, which shalbe found to be so much, as they shall shew themselves diligent in continuall feeding their flockes, & to feare the iudgement of God, before whom no feined, or coloured excuse will stande. And so I trust they will make no longer absence, than must needes, and if vpon any occasion at any time they be some what longer, that the same be not without the leaue of their Churches, whose they are, and which they for the Lord his sake serue, & then also that in suche rare and necessary absence (\*) they prouide them of some able man to teach in the meane season, which the Church by hir gouernours will allowe of.

Here you ouerthrow all your former building.

(\*) Here you admit curates, which is contrary to your former assertion.

## Io. Whitgiste.

Yet such doubtles would be directly resolued, for they seeme something to trouble you. And in very deede they cause you to ouerthrow whatsoeuer you haue hether to gone aboute to build: for now you confesse that the Pastor maye be absente of his owne priuate busynesse: if he haue leaue of his Parische, and if he prouide some able man to teache in the meane season, &c. I pray you let me aske you a few questions: may not a man be as well absent for publike affaires, or at the commaundement of the Prince



Pag. 42. 6<sup>re</sup>.

or chiefe Magistrate, as he may be for his owne private businesse: Is not his flocke in as great daunger when their Pastor is absent with their leaue, as when he is absent without their leaue? or where do you finde it in scripture, that the Pastor oughte to aske leaue of his Parithe, when he hath occasion to be absent? Or howe shall he get an able man in the meane season, to teache his flocke, when as you affirme, that no man may be admitted into the ministerie, except he haue a certayne flocke committed vnto him. And that then it is not lawfull for him to preache out of his owne cure? These questions woulde be answered, and these contrarie speeches of yours reconciled, if it be possible. For undoubtedly they do not agree with your former talke.

## Of pluralities, or hauing moe benefices than

one. Chap. 2. the 1. Diuision.

### Admonition.

Then had euery flocke his shepheard, or else (y) shepheards: Nowe they do not onely runne fishing from place to place (a miserable disorder in Gods Church) but (z) couetously ioyne liuing to liuing, making shipwacke (&) of their owne consciences, and being but one shepheard (nay, would to God they were shepheards and not wolues) haue many flockes.

Act. 14. 23.  
z  
Esaie. 5. 8.  
&  
1. Ti. 1. 14.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 50. Sect. 3. 4. & Pag. 51. Sect. 1.

You say also that euery flocke had his shepheard or else shepheards. And to proue that one flocke had moe shepheards, you cite Act. 14. which maketh nothing for your purpose: yet I deny not but one flocke maye haue moe Pastors, for I see nothing in the worde of God agaynst it.

To be shorte, you say nowe they go fishing from place to place, and couetously ioyne liuing to liuing. &c. & being but one shepheard haue many flockes. If you meane by fishing from place to place, such as preache in diuers places, and not in their owne cures onely, your phrase of fishing is to light and scurrilous. When you alleadge any reason why men may not goe from place to place to preache, where they thinke it necessarie, you shall eyther be answered, or yeelded to. In the meane time I thinke it agreable bothe to Gods worde, and conscience.

Agaynst couetously ioyning of liuing to liuing you alleage the. 5. of Esay, which is farre from your purpose: for the Prophet speaketh there of suche as oppresse the poore, and will not suffer them to haue a place to dwell in: yet I do not allowe suche as couetously ioyne liuing to liuing, of what kinde or degree of men soeuer they be.

### Io. Whitgifte.

To the abusing of the. 14. of the Acts by the Admonition, nothing is answered by T. C. nor to the. 5. of Esay.

## Chap. 2. the second Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 51. Sect. 1.

But I see no cause why one good and diligent Pastor may not rather be credited with moe flockes, than a slothfull, unskilfull, or negligent with one. You thinke (I suppose) that there be dyuers parishes in Englande which might be ioyned in one, and so committed to one man, and why may they not be so in like manner, when they be distinct?

T.C.



T. C. Pag. 50. Sect. 1.

And heereupon also is ended another question that the Answerer maketh, whether one may haue many flockes, which is, whether one shepheard may be many shepherds, one watchman many watchmen. For if his residence be necessarie in one place, then he oughte to content hym selfe with one.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

My question is this: why one man may not aswell haue diuers parishes, when they be distinct, as he may when they be ioyned together: for the compasse, the number, and the distance of place, is all one: you confesse that the one may be, and the reformed Churches in Fraunce dyd so vse it, where (as I am credibly enformed, and you befoze seeme to affirme) firs Townes or mo were committed to one Pastor. This being lawfull, I see not why the other shoulde not be so in like maner: neither haue you answered to any one woorde in this parte.

Pa. 34. lin. 16.

*Chapter. 2. the. 3. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 51. Sect. 2.

I speake not this to encourage any man to take more vpon him than with a good conscience he may well discharge. And I woulde wishe you to absteyne from iudging too farre, when you see a man that hath mo liuings, vse himselfe vprightly and carefully in them all, and otherwise profitably to the whole Church.

T. C. Pag. 50. Sect. 2.

And whereas you woulde haue men charitably iudge of those, whiche take many liuings: surely if so be that he taketh many flockes, not to the intent to haue more liuing to mainteyne an ambitious pompe, or to satisfie a greedie desire of hauing more than trowghe, but to this ende, that he may bring in a more plentiful harvest vnto the Lorde: it were good that he woulde be content to take but that liuing of all his flockes, which he nowe hath of one, especially where one is able to keepe and mainteyne hym and his familie honestly. Else let him heare what (\*) Councels & others haue thought of those which haue more benefices than one.

(\*) you mighte haue spoken in the singular number, for any pluralitie you haue vsed.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

You keepe no order in answering my booke, but place and displace at your pleasure, onely to this ende, as it should seeme, that you woulde not haue your Reader perceiue what you omitted vnianswered. But I will followe you, and examine what Councels and other haue thought of suche as haue more benefices than one: for in this portion you vtter but wordes, and take vpon you to iudge mens intents and purposes, and to prescribe them their stipende.

*Chap. 2. the. 4. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 50. Sect. 3.

In the. 15. Canon of the Councell of (a) Nice, it is commaunded that no cleerke shoulde be placed in two Churches, and he addeth the reasons, wherof the first is, that it is a poynt of malchaundise, and of filthy gayne. The seconde, that (\*) no man can serue two masters. The thirde, that euery one ought to (\*) tarrie in that calling, wherem he is called.

(a) T. C. vseth a most corrupte Councell for his defense.

Mat. 6.  
1. Cor. 7.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

It shoulde seeme that you woulde gladly make men beleue, (and it is very like that you your selfe are also persuaded) that this Councell was the first Councell of Nice: mine contro-

T. C. allegeth the secdo Councell of Nice to deter mine contro- uersies.

E. iij.

For



The Canon  
of the seconde  
Council of  
Nicee tra-  
nsmitted.

Caus. 21. q. 1.  
Clericus.

For else why doe you in the next section place Damasus, and name the second tome of the Councils, when as Damasus was long time before this your Council of Nice, and the same Council is in the seconde tome of the Councils. Least therefore the Reader may be deceived, I let him to understand, that this Canon here by you alleaged, is a Canon of the seconde Council of Nice, holden about Anno. 795. 02. 781. and one of the corruptest Councils that ever was, wherein not onely praying to Saints, & adoring of Reliques, but also worshipping of Images, &c. was confirmed.

But yet let us examine this Canon of that Council. In the ende of that same Canon it is thus written: *Et hec quidem in hac regia ciuitate, in his autem quæ extra sunt locis, propter hominum inopiam permittitur*: And these things are to be vnderstanded in this regall Citie: for in those places that be without, it is permitted for the scarlike of persons. Wherby it is playne, that the meaning of the Canon is, that no one man should haue committed vnto him mo great cities than one: but that he might haue mo townes or villages committed to his charge, it is manifest by those words of that Canon that I haue rehearsed. And therefore Gratian himselfe dothe thus expounde that Canon: *Sed due ecclesie intelliguntur ecclesie duarum ciuitatum, in quibus nullus debet conscribi*: But by two churches are ment the churches of two cities, wherein no man ought to be appoynted. And for the p<sup>ro</sup>ofe thereof he alleageth this Canon of the Council of Calcedon: *Clerici in duarum ecclesiarum ciuitatibus conscribi non oportet*: A Clarke may not be appoynted in the Churches of two cities. And the Glosse vpon that place sayth: that one man may be intituled in two Churches, if the Churches be poore: or if the Bishop doe dispense and thinke it conuenient, or if the number of Clarkes be fewe: or if he be intituled to the one, and haue the other in commendā, or if the one be neere to the other. And the authoritie of this Glosse is as sufficient as the credite of that Council of Nice, if the Canon did not expounde it selfe. I omit the absurde allegation of the Scriptures to confirme this their purpose. For the place Mat. 6. is to be vnderstanded of contrarie masters: and that in the 1. Coz. 7. of the kinde of vocation, and not of the place. He that dothe his duetie in mo places, is lawfully called to them all, as I haue sayde before.

### Chap. 2. the. 5. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 50. Sect. 4.

(\*) An oversight,  
for it is in the  
first Tome.

And in the (\*) seconde tome of the Councils, Damasus in his fourth Epistle likeneth those that set ouer their charges vnto other, vnto harlots, which assume as they haue brought forth their children, by and by giue them to be nourished of others, to the intent that they might the sooner fill their inordinate lustes.

### Io. Whitgifte.

You are deceived: it is in the first tome of Councils, and therefore the more like it is, that you take the former Council to be the first Council of Nice: But such dealing is vsuall with you: if you had ment playnely, you would haue sayd, the seconde Council of Nice, and not simply the Council of Nice, whiche argueth either that you were deceived your selfe, or else sought to deceyue others.

Damasus al-  
leaged to a  
wrong pur-  
pose.

This place of Damasus is nothing at all to your purpose, which you might easily haue perceyued, if you had red that Epistle. For he onely there speaketh agaynst suche as were called *Chorepiscopi*, who were in degree inferior to Bishops, and yet did they despise to be counted no better than Priests. There were certayne Bishops in Damasus time, that gaue them selues wholly to idleness and pleasure, and committed their office to suche, as were called *Chorepiscopi*, as it is euident in that Epistle: neyther dothe he meane any other charge than consecrating of Priests, Deacons, and virgins, imposition of hands, blessings, erecting of aulters, dedicating of Churches, and suche like, whiche were taken properly to pertaine to the Bishop, and yet notwithstanding was by some Bishops passed ouer to such *Chorepiscopi*. This negligence of bishops in such matters Damasus cōdemneth, together with y<sup>e</sup> office of *Chorepiscopus*.

And



And this is the whole drift of Damasus in that Epistle, as it is most evident. And therefore sayth Leo (as Gratian reporteth) *Dist. 68. Hi (meaning chorepiscopi) propter insolentiam suam, quia officia episcoporum sibi usurpant, ab ecclesia prohibiti sunt*: These men for their insolencie, whereby they usurpe the offices of Bishops, are excluded from the Church. So that here is not one worde in this whole Epistle agaynst Curates, and suche as are left to supplie the Pastors absence. Whereouer you your selfe in the beginning of this page confesse, that a man being absent may leaue his Deputie in his place. But yet here you haue forgotten your purpose, that is, to proue that one man may not haue moe benefices: in whiche cause also it appeareth that you are destitute of proofes, being compelled to vse onely corrupt authorities.

### Chap. 2. the sixte Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 50. Sect. 5.

whether it were better that one diligent Pastor should haue many flockes, than a negligent and buskfull Pastor one, is not the question: for we say neyther is lawfull, nor ought to be done.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

You say much, but proue little. I thinke it muche better that one man haue diuers, than that any should be vntaught. For I speake of that time wherein there is not a competent number of preachers to be had for all places.

It passeth to see howe you haue dismembred my booke, euen of purpose to auoyde the answering of diuers things, and euen very here you haue omitted one principal poynt. For I aske also this question, why that Parishes being distincte, may not as well be committed to one man, as the same mighte be, if they were made all one, as you woulde haue them: for the distance of places, and the number of persons is not altered: onely the ease of the Pastor, and greater paynes of the people is procured. For whereas the Pastor before came to them, now we must they take paynes to come to him. But suche things you wil not vouchsafe the answering, because in dede you can not.

### Chap. 2. the .7. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 50. Sect. 1.

For who deuided Parishes: and who hath the authoritie to ioyne them: dyd not Dionisius a Monke, and Pope of Rome: for it is thus written of him, *Tom. 1. concil. Dionisius Monachus Papa presbyteris ecclesias diuisit, & conuicteria, parochias, & Dioceses constituit*: Dionisius a Monke and Pope deuided to Priestes Churches and Churchyardes, and appoynted Parishes and Dioces.

T.C. Page. 50. Sect. 6. 7.

Do you beleue that, whiche you set downe of Denis the Monke and Pope, that he deuised and deuided parishes: If you doe not, why woulde you haue vs beleue it: If the law doth condemne him that turneth a blinde man out of the way, or layeth a blocke before him, what dothe it him, which woulde put out the eyes of them that see their way already: I haue shewed, and the matter is playne, that the Lord deuided nationall Churches into parishes and congregations. So that if S. Paule haue not the worde of parishes, yet he hath the thing. And those that haue read stories, knowe that *Διοκισ* (whiche we call a Diocesse, and whiche conteyneth with vs numbers of parishes) was at the first, taken to be the same that parishes is, and vled a great while before Denis was borne, or monkerie begotten.

And as for Conuicteria or Churchyardes, if you meane those places that lye next round about the Churches, as they came in with the Monke, they mighte well haue gone out with him, for any profite epyther to the Church, or common wealth by them. But if you meane as the Greke word

Of the diuision of parishes.

Assertions without proofe.



So, de, which is there used, signifieth, a fitte place where the bodies of men sleepe, and are buried, attending the tyme of their rising by agayne in the laste and generall daye of iudgement, when these Churchyardes were in the tyme of the Lawe, and in the primitive Church in all times, when there was any outward pollicie of the Church, and especially when the Church had quietnesse and peace, that it mighte without daunger (\*) bury their dead in some certayne convenient place thereunto appoynted, which was, for feare of the infection commonly, as it maye be gathered, in the fildes out of the Towne, vnto the which vse and custome (if it mighte be done conveniently) it were wel that we were restored, both because it is more safe for the preservation of the Townes and Cities in their health, as also for that through the superstition, which hath becne of being buried rather in the Church, than in the Churchyard, in the Chauncell rather than in the Church, nearer the highe altar, than further of the remnauntes whereof are in a greate number of mens heartes yet, which mighte muche be helped by the bringing in of that custome agayne, of burying the dead in some honest place out of the towne thereto appoynted.

Luke. 7.  
Euseb. 7.  
lib. 13.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

That Denis  
denied pa-  
rishes.

Pol. Virg. lib.  
4. c. 9. de in-  
uent.

I haue tolde you my Autho<sup>r</sup>, and if you will not credite one witnesse, you shall haue more. Denis himselfe dothe testifie it in an Epistle that he writte to Seuerus a Bishop. Damascus sayth the same, so dothe Marianus Scotus, Platina, and others. Polido<sup>r</sup> Virgill dothe something playnely open the matter in these wordes: *Circiter annum Domini. 267. Dionisius tam presbyteris urbis Romae, quam aliarum gentium templa, cimiteria & parochias quas dicunt, diuisit: Praeterea Episcopis dioceses distribuit, mandauit, ut unusquisq; suis finibus ac limitibus contentus esset: Parochias (ut hoc demonstramus) nostri appellant singula templa Diocesis, & eorum territorium certis terminis distinctum. &c.* About the. 267. yere of our Lorde, Dionisius deuyded Churches, Churchyardes, and Parishes (as they call them) aswell to the Priestes of Rome, as of other nations: furthermore he distributed Diocesse vnto Bishops, and commaunded that euery one should content himselfe with his owne boundes and limites: our men call Parishes (that we may make this playne) the feuerall Churches of a Diocesse, and their territorie limited within certayne boundes. &c. Wherefore take heede least you cast dust in your owne eyes, & blind your selfe: for this of Denis is not denied of any that I can reade.

Where hath the Lord deuided nationall Churches into parishes and congregations? Why doe you not note the place? or where hath S. Paule the thing, though not the worde or name? or what stories saye, that *diocesis* was taken to be the same that we call nowe a parish? Here is muche spoken, but nothing proued.

How parishes  
are by man di-  
stinguished.

This Denis was Bishop of Rome about the yere of our Lorde. 263. which per- aduenture you haue not considered. But to put all this matter out of doubt, and to open that (the ignorance whereof maketh you so hotte in this matter) there was diuerse congregations and Churches in the Apostles time, but yet was there not any limitation of place, or certayne compasse of ground certaynely appoynted: for that was left to the discretion of man to enlarge, or to contracte, as it should be thought from time to time moste convenient: and who can once imagine or suppose that Christ, or his Apostles did appoynt the limittes of Diocesse or Parishes? or who knoweth it not, that it is in the power of suche as haue authoritie, to enlarge or diminish the Dioces or Parishes, as they shall see it expedient. I knowe nothing to the contrarie, but that the Parishes, whose bondes and limits be but one myle compasse, maye be made ten myle compasse, and contrarywise. It is well sayde of one, that *distributio gregum non extenditur, nunc coarctatur pro hominis arbitrio*: The distribution of a flocke is sometime enlarged, and sometyme made lesse, according to the iudgement of man. And this matter needeth not to seeme so straunge vnto you, for if you had bin so diligent a reader of the booke of Actes and Monumentes, as you boast your selfe to be, then mighte you haue read there, that the Councell of Nice dyd appoynt to certayne Bishops the limittes and boundes of their Provinces and Dioces. But what should I labour in a matter so manifest?

If by Cimiteria or Churchyardes those places be ment that be about the churches, where we vse to burie the dead (as it is moste lyke they be) then heare I no reason at all why



Why you shoulde in suche maner speake of them, excepte you will plucke doone whatsoeuer hath befozetyme bene appoynted, be it neuer so auncient, and the vse thereof conuenient and necessarie. There is no doubt but by Cemeteria are ment places of buriall, whiche because they haue bene (as you confesse) at all tymes certayne, especially in the peace of the Church, it is mete that they shoulde so still remayne. And for as muche as the places nowe vsed, if they were appoynted by Denis (as it is moste lyke) are fitly appoynted, and moste conueniently in moste places, you haue alleadged no cause as yet, why they shoulde be remoued, but the selfe same cause, thet maye be in lyke manner vsed to remoue the Church, and whatsoeuer else hath bene deuised by any man, be it otherwyse neuer so necessarie, conuenient, or comely.

But I will not followe you in these digressions, where you onely spende paper with wordes voyde of proufe. If you quote Eusebius. 7. Lib. 13. to proue that the place of buriall was in the fieldes, there can be no suche thing gathered of his wordes: and if you quote him to proue that the worde signifieth a place of buriall, you goe about to proue that, which no man denieth.

## Of Ministers that can not preache, and

of giuing licences to preache. Tract. 6.

Some may be Ministers that can not preache. Chap. 1.  
the. 1. Diuision.

Admonition.

The tenth. Then the Ministers were (\*) Preachers: nowe bare readers.

Philip. 2. 20.

25.  
Colos. 1. 7.  
Luke, 9. 1

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 42. Sect. 2. 3.

Your places of Scripture alleadged to proue that Ministers were then Preachers, proue not that all were then Preachers. The place in the seconde to the Philippians. 20. verse, is this: For I haue no man lyke mynded, vwho vvyll faythfully care for your matters. And in the. 25. verse: But I suppose it necessarie to sende my brother Epaphroditus to you, my companion in laboure, and fellowv soul-diour, euen your messenger, and he that ministred vnto me suche thinges as I vwanted. Colossians. 1. verse. 7. As ye also learned of Epaphras our deare fellowve seruant, vwhich is for you a faythful minister of Christ.

Unapt proofes  
of the Admonition.

Quorsum-hac?

Howe proue these places that all Ministers then preached: That of Luke, chapter. 9. proueth aswell that they cured diseases, as that they preached, and therefore out of that place you mighte aswell conclude that all Ministers oughte to be curers of sicknesses, aswell as preachers. This I wyte, onely to let you vnderstande your banitie and ignoraunce in quoting so many Scriptures, to so small purpose.

Jo. Whitgiste.

Ad hec ne verbum quidem: but onely to the place of the mynthe of Luke, and that out of place.

Chap.



Of Mini-  
sters that  
can not  
preache.

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## The defense of the answere

Tract. 6.

### Chap. 1. the .2. Division.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 52. Sect. vlt.

Fayth com-  
meth by rea-  
ding.

The Zui-  
fildians con-  
demne rea-  
ding of scrip-  
ture.

I wishe that euery minister were a preacher, but that beeing im-  
possible as the state is now, I see not how you can cōdemne reading  
ministers, seeing reading is necessarie in the Church, & fayth cometh  
aswel by reading the scriptures in the booke, as by rehearsing of the  
without booke. In the .31. of Deut. it is thus written: *Leges verba legis  
huius coram omni Israhel. &c.* Thou shalt reade the vvords of this booke before all  
Israhel. &c. S. Paule sayth in the .15. to the Rom. *Quaecunq; scripta sunt. &c.*  
Vvhatsoeuer is vvritten. &c. But I neuer heard reading of the scrip-  
tures, reading of prayers, reading of Homilies, taken out of the  
scripture condemned, but onely by the Authoꝝ of this booke, and  
by the Zuiinfildians.

T. C. Page. 50. Sect. vlt. & Pag. 51. Sect. 1.

If you should beget, and be a father of many bookes, and all your children like their eldest bro-  
ther, you would (without better aduise) shake many groundes of our religion. For heere agayne  
you wishe that all pastozs were able to teache, but that beeing impossible (as the state is now)  
you are content with Pastozs or ministers, that can doe nothing but reade. You throughout your  
whole booke make this a maruellous good estate, and alwayes turne the best side outwarde, and  
when men goe about to brge the deformities thereof, to the ende they mighte be remedied, then you  
lay open the shame and nakednesse of it, and make it greater, than it is in deede. For as I haue  
shewed before, the Church standeth not so muche in neede of your reading ministers, as you would  
make the worlde beleue. And although it be a great deformitie, and sore plague of the Church,  
whiche you here speake of, and confesse at binwares, yet you will let no man come neare to heale it.  
There be some make a gayne by sores, and sore legges, and therefore they haue a medicine to keepe  
their woundes alwayes greene, that they should not heale.

I hope you do not of purpose keepe the Church in this estate, but this I dare say, that the  
chiefe of your gayne, and of your honour, consisteth and is grounded in the ruines of the Church,  
and therefore I desire you to looke vnto it.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The causes  
of the lacke of  
able mini-  
sters.

I omit whatsoeuer you here speake agaynst my person, for I am purposed to ab-  
staine from requiting you in like sorte, onely I will answere for my selfe where you  
labour to slander me. The cause of lacke of a sufficient number of meete ministers  
in this Church, is neyther the religion professed, nor the gouernment that is vsed, nor  
yet the gouernours: But partly the crueltie of the times past, wherein numbers of  
meete ministers haue bin consumed: partly the vnwillingnesse of me in this present  
time, which haue not that zeale to enter into this calling, that is to be wished: and  
partly (nay chiefly & principally) you & your schismes, which haue caused some to cast  
off their ministerie wholly, some to forsake their pastozall charges, and yet to keepe  
their Prebendes and other luings: some to depzaue the ministerie, cōdemne it, and  
by all meanes possible alienate as many from it, as they can. And therefore nothing  
that I confesse of the scarcitie of meete & able ministers, derogateth any thing eyther  
from the doctrine professed in this Church, or frō the kinde of gouernment, or the Ma-  
gistrates: but rather cōmendeth the same, bicause notwithstanding al the former im-  
pediments, yet hath it a number of excellent ministers, & doth continually breed mo.

If any confession tende to the condemnation of any, it is of you & your adherents,  
who haue moze hindered & slandered the Gospel in this realme of England, than the  
Papists eyther haue done, or could possibly do. And I am fully perswaded, that one of  
the greatest deformities suffered in this Church, is lacke of discipline towarde you,  
who be so farre from healing any sore in the Church, that the moze you be suffered, the  
greater doe you wounde it: And in very deede the reformation you pretende, is no-  
thing but a meete confusion, or rather subuersion bothe of the Church and common  
wealthe also.



My honour and gaine is but verie small, yet it is moze, than I am wortie of, but I trust the tyme will come, when as such boyling affections vttered in so spitefull a maner, will be made manifest: and I pray God it be not imputed vnto you in that day. If my honour and gayne be other than may stande with the good and prosperous estate of the churche, I am readie to yelde it by whensoever I shall by due authoritie be required. In the meane tyme, God be iudge betwixt you and me.

### Chap. 2. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 51. Sect. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

But what if the estate of the Church be suche, as you speake of, that it will scarce yeeld three preaching Pastors and Bishops in some Diocesse, may you therfore make reading ministers? In deed if the Apostle had made this a counsell only, and no commaundement, that Pastors of churches should be able to teache, then your saying might haue bene bozne.

Tim. 1. 3.  
Tit. 1.

But sayng that S. Paule hath commaunded expessedly, that he should be able to teache, and to conuince the gaynsayers, I would learne of you gladly, what necessitie there is, whiche can cause a man to breake the morall law of God, to bring in a tradition of man. You may as wel breake any other commaundement of God for necessities sake, as breake this, being comprehended in the first table.

Ques. 6.

And to say that these that can only reade, must be tolerated in the Church as ministers, is to say because you can haue no Pastors in the Churches, you will haue idolls, for so will I not doubt to call them, although through ignorance of that whiche they do, some may be good men. But yet in respect of the place that they occupie, they are idolls, for they stand for that, and make shew of that whiche they are not, and admitt pou them as often as you will, the Lorde pronounceth that they shall be no ministers to him, which haue no knowledge.

But let vs heare your reason (a) there must be reading in the church, therfore there must be ministers, whiche can doe nothing else. Then we may reason thus to. There muste be breaking of bread, and distributynge of the cuppe in the Church, and pouring on water, therfore whosoever is able to breake a loafe of bread, or to lift a cup of wine, or to poure on water on the bodie of the chyld, may be made a minister.

(a) It is youre  
owne reason.

And did you neuer reade, there were readers in the Church, when there were no reading ministers? But of that of reading of the scriptures & prayers in the Church there will be a fitter place to speake afterward, where it shal be shewed how vniustly you surmise these things of them.

Touching Homilies shal be spoken moze hereafter, where further occasion is giuen.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Saint Paule. 1. Tim. 3. and Tit. 1. sheweth what qualities a Bishop or a Pastor ought to haue: but he doth not say, that if none can be founde, or not a sufficient number, in whome all these qualities do concur, that then the Church shal rather be destitute of ministers, than haue suche: for there were in his time that swarued from this rule, and yet was he glad they preached.

Of the ministers of this Church of England, though diuerse be ignorant, yet maye they by studie and diligente reayding of the Scriptures, Catechismes, Homilies, and other godlie and necessarie booke so profite in knoweledge, that although they bee not able publikely to preache, yet maye they bee able priuately to exhort, and otherwyse also by Reayding the Scriptures and Homilies, according to the order appoynted, greatly profite the people of God. But what should I contende with you in this matter? This Church of Englande in this poynt professeth nothing, that is not allowed by the generall Confession of the Churches in Helueria, from the whiche I thinke you will not dissent. That Confession as I tolde you before, hath these wordes:

Vve condemne all vnmete ministers, not indued with giftes necessarie for a shepheard that should feed his flock: howbeit we acknowledge that the harmlesse simplicitie of some shepherdes in the olde church, did sometimes more profite the church, than the greatesse exquisite, and fine or delicate, but a little to proude learning of some others. VVherfore we reiect not nowadays the good simplicitie of certain, so that they bee not altogether vnskillfull of God and his worde. There is nothing in that. 6. of Dze that serueth your turne. You say, that I reason thus: There muste bee reayding in the Church, therfore there muste bee Ministers that can doe nothing else. You knowe what is wyrtten Sapi. 1. Os quod mentitur. &c. The mouthe that speaketh lyes, slayeth the

Confess. Hel  
uet.



Of Mini-  
sters that  
can not  
preache.

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## The defense of the answere

Tract. 6.

oule. &c. I woulde it were not so usuall with you. My argumente is this, that for  
somuche as there can not be a sufficient number of preachers to furnish this church  
of England in al places, therfore there may be reading ministers, that is such mini-  
sters as by reading the scriptures & other booke appointed unto them, may profit &  
people & instruct them, for reading is necessarie in the Church. &c. This is my reason.  
That which you vse is a child of your own begetting, it is none of myne, as the Rea-  
der can not chuse but perceiue. The reason that foloweth of breaking bread and distribu-  
ting the cup. &c. is vled but for a iest, which ought not to be in serious matters, & ther-  
fore I leaue it to them that are disposed to laugh, when they should rather wepe.

Tract. 9. ca. 2.  
the 2. deniſion.

I know there were readers of olde in the Church, but they had not authoritie to  
administer the sacramentes, as our ministers haue, and of necessitie must haue, and  
lawfully may haue also, as it shall be hereafter declared.

### Chap. 2. the fourth Diuision.

T.C. Page. 51. Sect. 7.

(\*) Nay, it is by  
cause you can  
not, for you wat  
no good will.

I dooe not vse to maintayn the places, which are quoted, although they be truly alleadged, for  
the causes, which I haue before mentioned, but yet I can not but speake of this place of saint  
Luke, for feare of the daunger that may ensue. For if this be a good reason, & the place of S. Luke  
may not be vled to proue that preaching is perpetually annexed to the ministerie, because in the same  
place is made mention of curing of diseases, which is but a temporall thing, & followed the mini-  
sterie, but for a time, then the commandment of S. James, that the elders of the Church should  
pray for those that are sick, is now no commandment, because putting on of hands, and anoynting  
of them, that they might recover their health, hath no place, and by this meanes you wyl pull  
from vs as many places of the newe testament, as you did before of the olde.

James. 5.

### Io. Whitgiste.

You woulde no doubt mainteyn all their places, if you could: for the quotations be the  
substance of that booke, & the thing that most perswaded the Reader, which credited al  
things there witten without examination, & thought it must of necessitie be true, be-  
ing so confirmed by the scriptures. And surely you could not haue greatlier condem-  
ned the authozs of that Admonitiō, than in suffering so many quotations of theirs to  
passe without defense. For what wickednesse can there be greater, than to abuse the  
Scriptures in mainteyning of sects and errors.

Luke. 9.

The place of Luke is not answered: the words of the texte be these: and he sent  
them to preache the kingdome of God, and to cure the sicke. &c. No man liuing can  
conclude of this place, the one more, than he can do the other, & your words be but your  
owne: There be other places a number that be more generall than this, to proue  
preaching by: this was peculiar and proper to the disciples, as the whole circum-  
stances of the place declare, for they are also commaunded to take nothing with them  
in their iorney, neither stauces &c. No preach is perpetuall, but it can not be gathered of  
this place, that none ought to be admitted into the ministerie but such as can preach,  
because it was peculiarly spoken to the Apostles, as the other circumstances do proue.  
The commandement of Sainte James is generall, for he telleth what all sicke  
men ought to doe, and the ministers lyke wyse that resorte to the sicke, and therfore  
though the anoynting wyth oyle, whiche was a signe of the gift of healing, be ta-  
ken away because the gift is ceased, yet doth praying remaine still, and is perpetu-  
all, and not onely proper to some ministers of the Church, but common to all.  
Therfore the places be not lyke: the one being spoken peculiarly to the disciples,  
the other generally to all ministers.

### Of licences to preache. Chap. 3.

Admonition.

And if any be so well disposed to preache in their owne charges, they may not withoute my  
Lords licence.

Answer



Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 53. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

**Y**ou here finde fault that if a preacher be disposed to preache in his cure, he may not do it without my Lordes licence.

Not to preach without licence.

Where the word of God is professed, & Christian magistrates gouern, there it is mete that no man should take vpon him any function except he be by the Magistrate, (to whom it doth appertain) therunto admitted: And forasmuch as there be alwayes in the church hypocrites, heretikes, schismatikes, & other euil disposed persons, whiche study for nothing more than to disquiet the state of the church, & to occupie the people with their factions, it is necessarie that none should be admitted to preache in any place, without he be therunto licenced by the Bishop, who ought to haue a diligent care in that matter.

I suppose you are not of that mynd, that men maye nowe in this Church vnder Christian magistrates preache without licence: it hath alwayes bin the opinion of wise, learned, & godlie men, that since the Apostles tyme, none wer ordinarily called to the office of preaching, but such as were called of God by man: only Anabaptists, and some other secte of heretikes teach the contrarie.

T. C. Pag. 51. Sect. 8. 9. & Pag. 52. Sect. 2.

What dealing is this to bring me in suspicion of, which they neuer thought of, as though there were any word founded to this, & a man should put himself into the office of preaching, without the approbation of those men, to whom it doth pertaine.

(\*) A doubtful saying.

Their complaint is, that those which are ordeyned Pastors, and therefore to preache, can not do it without further licence: as if a man should be charged to doe a thing forthwith, and then he that chargeth him, bindeth him hand & foote, that he can not do it vntill he will lose him.

The bishops inlabeth him to teach, & point him a place to teach in, yet they will not let him teach, vntill he haue a further licence. If he be an heretic, or schismaticke, or suspected of any such thing, why is he admitted, or being admitted, why is he suffered to be so much as a reader in a church? And because you could not answer this, therefore you set by a fable of yours to confute. And thus you fight without araduer sale, and you make triumphes, where there is no victorie.

They will say vnto you, & not only vnder a goodly magistrate, but not in a time of persecution any man ought to take vpon him any function in a church, vntill he be therunto called by me, except he haue a wonderful calling, which is rare, & must be diligently examined by them, which haue it, least vnder pretence of the spirit of God, whom they make author of their calling, it fall out & it be but their own hebling affection that hath thrust the in: so far they are from the frensy of Anabaptists, which you by a confutation of, which they neuer affirmed, would seeme to staine them with.

### Io. Whitgiste.

This Replie consisteth partly of equiuocations, & partly of false suppositions. For where you say, & no man should put himself into the office of preaching, vnto the approbation of those men, to whom it doth appertain: you speak ambiguously, & therefore you must explicate what you mean by those to whom it doth appertain: whether & people & seniors, as you call them, or & bishops or & civil Magistrate, or such, to whom & civil Magistrate doth commit theudging of such matters. For & Anabaptistes confesse & they must be called of their churches, but they deny the authoritie of the civil Magistrate herein, & the authoritie of such also as he doth appoint to, & the purpose. Again, you here suppose, & no man may preache out of his owne cure, & therefore being once admitted to preache there, he needeth no further licence. Likewise you doe suppose that none may be admitted to preache, except he haue a cure: to be those, that hypocrites, heretikes, schismatikes, may be knowne forthwith, by being suspected, by and by remoued out of the ministerie: all which suppositions be vnto the, and therefore this Replie full of greate absurdities. Their meaning is playne, that though there be iuste cause, why the Bishoppe should inhibit them from preaching, bothe for theyr contentions, and also for their errors, yet would they preache whether the Bishoppe wylt or no, for the case is theyr owne. They were admitted to preache in theyr cures, and elsewhere, so long as they



as they bled them selues modestlye, quietly, and taught sounde doctrine: but after they began to denide the Church, and make contention in it, they were restrayned from preaching untill suche tyme, as vpon their submission and reformation, they shoulde be therevnto admitted agayne: *hinc ille lacryma*, this is the matter, and here to you answere, *ne gry quidem*.

## Of the apparell of Ministers. Tract. 7.

The causes why they refuse the apparell, examined.

### Chap. 1. the first Diuision.

T. C. Page. 52. Sect. 3.

The cappe, the surpise, and tippet, are not the greatest matters we strine for, which notwithstanding hath bene enforced to the Churches beyonde sea, to the ende that the iudgements of some might be the easer had agaynst vs. Howbeit we thinke it an attyre vnnecessary for a minister of the Gospel to weare, and the Surpise especially more than the other two, because suche hurtfull Ceremonies are so muche more dangerous, as they doe approche nearer the seruice, or worship of God,

### To. Whitgiste.

Yet in the beginning suche was youre pretence: neyther was there any thing else that you contended for: as it is well knowne to all men that had to deale with you, or hearde of you. I am certainly perswaded, that if the Churches beyonde sea did fully vnderstande your proceeding, together with the state of thys Church of Englande, that they woulde as bitterly write agaynst you, and as willingly condemn you, as euer they dyd the Anabaptistes. But to your reasons agaynst the apparell.

### Chap. 1. the second Diuision.

T. C. Page. 52. Sect. 4.

\*This assertion is contrary to your practise. Monumentes of idolatrie may be vsed if they haue any profite.

The causes why we are lothe to meddle with them, are not as many as are boorne in hande, because that we thinke any pollution is to sticke to the things themselves, as that the weaying of them had any suche power to pollute and make vncleane the vsers of them: Neyer yet only because the Papistes haue superstitiously bled them, but because they hauing bene abhominably abused by them, haue no ble nor profite in those thinges or endes, wherein and wherevnto they are now bled. And further, that they are also hurtful, being monuments of Idolatrie, where as to bring them in and establish them, it behoueth that there shoulde some manifeste profite of them appeare. For it is not enough to saye, it is indifferent in the owne nature, Ergo meete to be doone: but as the circumstances of the tymes and persons, and profite or hurte of our brethren doe require or not require, so muste it be doone or not be doone. For in these things whiche are called indifferent, God will haue the ble of them to be measured, that it be referred fyrste to his glorie, then to the profite of others.

### To. Whitgiste.

It is true that is commonly sayde: that suche as be in error neyther long agree with other, neyther yet with themselves. Some of you haue taught, that pollution dothe sticke to the things them selues, as that the weaying of them had power to pollute and make vncleane the vsers: and a number be caried away with that doctrine: else why do they refuse to come to our Churches, our sermons, yea to keepe vs companie, or to salute vs: why spitte they in our faces, reuile vs in the streetes, and shewe suche lyke villanie vnto vs, and that onely because of our apparell? Is not all this a manifest declaration that they thinke vs therewith to be so polluted, that what so euer mee speake or doe is polluted, in lyke maner, euen the worde of God and his sacramentes: and where haue they learned this, but of you and others your partners? I pheynlye what was the chiefe grounde of this opinion, howe bidde you moue the people to this extremitie, and what haue they yet to speake in the defense of theyr excessive raging: for sothe that thys geare came from the Pope, was inuented by

Antis



Antichriste, and therefore abhominable, and not to be used. This onely reason they haue, and this is the common place that you haue hitherto sette vpon. But now being conuincid by manifest reasons, and seeing the manyfolde absurdities, that wayteth vpon suche assertions, you passe ouer the matter as though you had neuer bene stayned with it, and saye the causes why you are lothe to meddle with them, are not as many are bozne in hand, &c. So that in effecte this is now by you confessed, that those thyngs whiche the Papistes haue superstitiously used, yea whiche they haue abhominably abused, if they haue any vse or profyte in those thyngs or endes, wherein and wherevnto they are now used, be lawfull, and not to be refused. And therefore we muste (I thinke) haue no more to doe wyth thys Argumente: The Pope inuented them, Ergo, they are not to bee used: but thys muste bee the question, whether they haue anye vse or profite in those thynges or endes, wherein or wherevnto they are now used. And this shifte is inuented to take awaye all obiections, whiche maye bee of Churches, of Bells, of Pulpits, and suche lyke.

The apparell  
not refused  
because the  
Papists vse  
it.

But let vs procede to the reasons. You haue not yet proued that they haue no vse, or that they profyte not in those things and endes, wherein and wherevnto they are now used: and therefore I will take that for no reason as yet: althoughe I haue sufficiently answered vnto it, where I haue spoken of Ceremonies, and in this treatise also that followeth of this matter.

Tract. 2.

You saye further that they are also hurtfull, beeing monumentes of Idolatrie, &c. Whereby you acknowledge that notwithstanding they bee monumentes of idolatrie, yet maye they be broughte in and established if some manifeste profite of them appeare, so that this also is graunted, that monuments of idolatrie may be broughte in and established vpon this condition, if they be profitable.

That which followeth in this portion of your replie touching things indifferent, I consent vnto, with this prouiso, that it is not euery mans part in the Church to iudge and determine, what the circumstance of the times and persons maketh profitable or hurtfull (for then should we neuer be quiet) but theirs onely, to whome the gouernment of the Church is committed: to the whiche prouiso if you do consent, we are in this matter thus farre agreed.

### Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 52. Sect. 4. 5.

Nowe, that they are not profitable and hurtfull, it also may appeare, if we consider them by all the kinds of men in the realme.

The Papistes are eyther stubbozne or weake, and in respect of both these, they cannot be but hurtfull. The weake I call those that haue made some steppe from poperie to the gospell, and of whome there is good hope that they may be fully gotten to the Gospell: but these are harmed by the vse of these vestiments, for they take occasion of falling at them, because they thinke that the sacraments get reuerence by them, and the ministerie is commended by such apparel wearing, and thinke that the sacraments want something of that they should haue, if they be not used: Wherevpon are hard oftentimes these voyces: I will not communicate vnlesse he weare a surplis. But this offence and occasion of falling is confirmed by the vse of these garments, therefore in respect of suche men, they are hurtfull.

### Io. Whitgifte.

All this is spoken without proufe, and it is very vnttrue that the weake Papist is hurt in any respect by wearing this apparell: they take such garments as things perteyning to comelinesse and order, and so ought they to do. Neyther did I euer in my life heare that these garments hindred one iote any from comming to the gospell. But admitte all this were true (as it is most vnttrue) why should it not as well by doctrine and teaching be remoued, as other superstitious opinions be in these things, whiche you can be content still to remaine.

These voyces, I will not communicate, vnlesse he weare a surplis, may sometimes come vpon iust cause, when the good subiect seeth the minister which ought to be an example



of obedience, stubburnly and wilfully ſetwe example to the contrarie: and ſometime it may come of waywardneſſe when men be diſpoſed to contende: but ſurely I doe not thinke that any man, whiche is perſuaded to communicate with vs in the Sacramentes, can thinke that they be eyther the better or the worſe for the external habit of the miniſter. They be diſſuaded from farre greater matters than that, and therefore it is not to be thought that they will ſticke in ſuch trifles. But admit it were ſo, is it not as greates an error to thinke that the Sacramentes bee polluted with the apparell, as it is to thinke, that they wante ſome thing, whiche they ſhould haue, if the apparell be lacking? Yes truly: and therefore to take away bothe the errors, I thinke it moſte conuenient, the apparell be bleſed, and theſe errors by doctrine to be confuted.

### Chap. 1. the fourth Diuiſion.

T. C. Pag. 52. Sect. 6.

A ſillie cauſe.

Agayne, although I haue knowledge, and knowe that the wearing of a ſurpliſſe is lawful for me, yet another, whiche hath not knowledge, is by my example edified or ſtrengthened to weare a ſurpliſſe, whereof he can tel no ground why he ſhould weare it, and ſo ſinnerly agaynſt his conſcience: and for this cauſe S. Paule concludeth, that that which a man may do in reſpect of himſelfe, may not be done, and is not lawfull to be done in reſpect of other.

### Io. Whitgiſte.

The weake are not offended, but they which accōpte them ſelues moſt ſtrong.

If to weare a ſurplis, were an offence to the weake, or if there were not manifeſt groundes in Scripture, (ſuche I meane as commaunde obedience to ſuperiours) to proue the wearing of the ſurplis to be lawfull, then were it ſome thing that you ſaye. But ſeeing ſuche onely be offended therewith as accōpte themſelues moſt ſtrong, and condemne other of infirmitie: ſeeing alſo that obedience to Magiſtrates in ſuche indifferent things, hath manifeſt groundes in ſcripture, and to doubt of obedience in ſuche matters, is in effect, to plucke the Magiſtrate his ſwoorde out of his hand, this reaſon hath not ſo muche as any ſimilitude of probability in it. Is there any miniſter of the Church, (for of ſuche only is the ſurplis required) that will rather be moved to weare a ſurplis, by the example of another, than by the conſideration of his due tie towards the lawe, and order of the Church, by due authoritie in a lawfull and indifferent thing appointed: you might make the ſame reaſon ſerue to plucke downe the Church, the Pulpit, the Welles, yea to ouerthrowe all orders, and all lawes in things indifferent, whiche all haue the ſame ground of obedience that the ſurplis hath.

Things indifferent change their nature being commanded or forbidden, Confess. Eccles. Belgio German.

In the Confession of the Dutche Church in London, whiche is allowed by the Church of GENEVA, and diuers other reformed Churches (whereof I haue made mention before) it is thus written of things indifferent: Things otherwiſe indifferent of themſelues, after a ſorte change their nature, when by ſome commandement they are eyther commaunded or forbidden, by cauſe neyther they can bee omitted contrarie to the commandement, if they be once commaunded neyther done, contrarie to the prohibition, if they be prohibited, as it appeareth in the Ceremoniall lawe. So that the ground why a man ſhould weare the ſurplis (being an indifferente thing as you confeſſe it to be) can not be unknowne to any, but ſuche as know not the ground of their obedience towards authoritie.

In what kind of indifferent things we ought to haue a reſpect of the weake.

It is true, that in ſome things indifferent a man muſt haue reſpect to the weakeneſſe of his brother, and abſteyne from doing that, whiche he might lawfully doe, rather than to offend his brother. But that is in ſuche indifferente things, as bee not by any lawe commaunded or forbidden, but leſte free to euery man to do, or not to doe: As, if to weare the ſurplis, were by no lawe commaunded, but leſte to euery mannes owne diſpoſition: then ſurely if there were any weake offended with the wearing of it, I oughte to abſteyne for the weake hys ſake: but being by



by lawfull authoritie commaunded to weare it, if I should refuse so to do, I should offend against the Magistrate, and against God, who by his Apostle hath given this commaundement, *omnis anima potestatibus*. &c. let every soule be subiect to the higher power &c. which is to be vnderstanded in all things, that are not against God. And therefore if any man be offended with me in so doing, the offence is taken it is not giuen. Rom. 13.

### Chap. 1. the fifth Diuision.

T. C. Page. 52. Sect. vlt.

Agayne for the stubborne Papists, they take herebypon occasion to speake euill of, and to blasphemize the truth of the gospel, saying that our religion cannot stand by itselfe, vntilse it leane vpon the staffe of their ceremonies, and perswade themselves that those were very well deuised by the Popes, that they that are their enemies to their religion, cannot be without. And herebypon they take occasion to hope that their other trumperie and baggage will in the end come in agayne, which causeth them to be more frozen in their wickednesse, and shut their eares vnto the truth, which possibly they would heare, if all hope of bringing in of their Poperie were cut off.

### Io. Whitgifte.

This is but a mere fancy: for first, it was brought into the Church before they Popes whome they hold vpon, inuaded that seate, as it is after wards declared. Secondly, they be not matters that they make any greate accompt of. Thirdly, they know fullwell, that we could be without them: and that we (but only for obedience sake) do not much esteeme of them. Wherefore this is an argument framed only vpon light coniectures. But be it all this were true, shall we for their fancie or sonde iudgement refuse to do that, which is lawfull, which we may do, and which we are bound to do? In making orders for the Church, must we enquire what their opinion wil be? Then plucke downe Churches. &c. for of them they make a greater reckoning, than they do of the surplisse, or any other such like matter. I thinke verely that there is not one Papist in England that doth take occasion vpon any thing reseyned in this Church, to hope that their other trumperie and baggage will in the end come in agayne: neyther is there any cause in respect of them, why they should so hope: and if they do, yet I doubt not but that they shall hoppe without that hope. But a man may imagine if he will that there is a man in the Pome, with a tre on his backe. &c. and you cannot let him.

### Chap. 1. the 6. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 53. Lin. 5.

And let it be obserued that throughout the realme there are none that make such clamours, and outcries, and complaints for these ceremonies, as they and those, that they suborne. They pretende I confesse, the Quenes maiesties Inunctions, and obedience vnto them, but who is so blinde as seeth not that they haue another meaning. For I appeale vnto the consciences of all that knowe them, whether they do it for any obedience towards hir maiestie, whose death should be a thousand times better newes vnto them, than hir graces marriage.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The more is the pittie, that they should haue suche iust cause of clamoring, and that those which should teach them obedience to God and their Prince, be examples to the contrary. A subtile and craftie Papist wil be glad of any cause of quarelling: the more circumspect therefore ought the minister to be, in taking heede lest he giue iust cause of the same. But there be honest, godly, and zelous men also that cannot abide suche disorder and contempt, whome peraduenture you would gladly straine with the note of Papistrie, as your manner is: and for my part I thinke it to be the part of all dutifull subiects to keepe lawes and orders appoynted, and to see other keepe them also, if they be therevnto called.

Surely he that is a Papist indeede, cannot wish well to hir Maiestie, but if he communicate with vs in the sacraments, heare the word preached, and come to our Churches, I will thinke and hope the best of him. But if he refuse so to do (as there be diuers such) so long as he so continueth, I must count him an enemy to religion, to the

The clamors of Papists should moue the ministers to more circumspection.



Church, and to the Prince, be he Papist, Anabaptist, or whatsoever. For he that in hart and in dede misliketh the religion, cannot like wel of such as mainteine the same.

### Chap. 1. the 7. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 53. Sect. 1.

There are also numbers of those, which haue all Antichristianitie in such detestation, that they cannot abide the least scrapple of it, and when they see the ministers weare them, they are greeued in their harts, and they beginne somewhat to feare, least this communicating with the Papists in apparell, should make some way to those which vse them, the easier to admitte other things, when they should be likewise commaunded. And these brethrens minds are not to be lightly greeued, and the ministers, if they thinke to profite them, must cut away all occasion, whereby they may haue an euill opinion of them.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The puritie  
which can a-  
bide no imper-  
fection, is  
diuinely.  
Caluin. aduer.  
anabap.

M. Caluine in his booke against the Anabaptists after he had spoken some thing against the Puritanes and Donatists, hath this saying woorthy to be noted: Here therefore we may be admonished, that when as vnder the pretence of the study of perfection, we can tolerate no imperfection, eyther in the body or in the members of the Church, that then the Deuill dothe make vs swell with pride, and dothe seduce vs by hypocrisie, that he might prouoke vs to forsake the flocke of Christ: knowing assuredly that he dothe obteyne the victory, when he draweth vs from the same. For seeinge yther remission of sinnes or health, is in no other place, although we outwardly beare the countenance of an Angelicall conuersation, yet if we do with such boldnesse separate ourselues from the Christian fellowship, we are become Deuils. If thys be to be feared in such as shew thys preposterous zeale agaynst that whiche is blame woorthy, what shall we thinke of those that vnder the pretence of zeale deface the minister, and the word that he preacheth, for doing that which is lawfull, and the whiche of duetie he ought to do. If the minister shoulde applie himselfe to please the people, and suche especially of whome you seeme to speake in this place, his greatest study had neede to be how to transfoyme himselfe dayly into a new shape. But most certaine it is that you study to much to please the people: And that is the occasion of so many nouelties, whereby they are most commonly delighted, *est natura hominis nouitatis anida.*

### Chap. 1. the eight Diuision.

T. C. Page. 53. Sect. 2.

Seeing that therefore this kind of Ceremonies in apparell, harden the harts of the Papistes, and cause them to be the stiffer in thir poperie, hinder the weake from profyting in the knowledge of the Gospell, greeue the minds of the godly, are occasion of an euill opinion vnto them of their ministers, we thinke that these ceremonies are to be remoued, as not only not profitable (whiche they ought to be) but hartfull, if not to the ministers themselves that vse them, yet to their people to whome they are commaunded by God to haue regard vnto, in these thinges that are indifferent in their owne natures. Now I will come to that, which you set downe.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Seeing that not one word of that is true: and if it were, yet the erreure and false persuasion of the minde rather to be reformed, than relented vnto, I see no cause why thys kind of apparell (being commaunded) ought not to be vsed, except you will leaue to euery man libertie to do what him list, or suffer the fancies of some to rule Prince, Councell, Bishops, Church and all.

That



That ministers were knowne in times  
past by distinct apparell Chap. 2. the 1. Diuision.

## Admonition.

1. Samuel. 9  
18.  
Mat. 26. 48  
Mat. 26. 73.

The eleuenth. In those days knowne (a) by voyce, learning, and doctrine: now they must be  
discerned from other by popish and antichristian apparell, as cappe, gowne, tippet, &c.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Page. 53. Sect. vk.  
8c. Pag. 54. Sect. 1. 2.

To proue that in those days ministers were knowne by voyce learning, and doctrine, you cite the ninth of the first of Samuells: and the 26. of Mathew. In all that ninth Chapter of Samuells, there is not one word that maketh for this purpose, except you meane this, that when Saule asked of Samuells where the Seers house was, Samuells answered againe that he was the Seer: If this be to be knowen by voyce, learning, and doctrine, the ignorantest minister that is, may soone be knowne by his voyce, learning, and doctrine: for if you aske him, where is such a man, he can answer you, I am he. In the 26. of Mathew the first place, vers. 48. is this, Now he that betrayed him, had giuen them a token, saying, vvhosoever I shall kisse, that is he, lay holde on him. The multitude that came with Judas, knew christ by Judas kissing of him, therefore, in those days ministers were knowen by voyce, learning, and doctrine. The second place in that Chapter alleadged, vers. 73. is this. They that stood by said vnto Peter, surely thou art also one of them: for euen thy speach bevvrayeth thee. Peter was suspected by his speach to be a Galilean, and therefore one of Christs Apostles, Ergo a minister was then knowen by voyce, learning, and doctrine. You may aswell of that place gather thus. Peter preached not Christ the, but denied him, Ergo, a minister must be knowen by denyng of christ. Lord God, what dare not these me alleadge for their purpose.

Wayne and  
childish alle-  
gations.

In argument  
retorted vpon  
the aduertary

I know that the chiefe tokens whereby a minister ought to be knowen is doctrine and learning: but you childishly abuse the scripture, and play with the same.

Now you say, ministers must be discerned from other, by popish and Antichristian apparell, as cappe, gowne, tippet, &c. Do you thinke that because a minister ought to be knowen by his voyce, learning, and doctrine, therefore he may not be also knowen by his apparell. John the Baptist had peculiar apparell, and was knowen by it: Christ had distinct apparell from other, for his coate had neuer a seame.

A minister  
may be know-  
en by his  
apparell.

T. C. Pag. 53. Sect. 3. 4.

The places alleadged by the Admonition, with others, which may be cited, howsoever you decide them are notwithstanding probable coniectures (\*) that neither Samuells, nor the Apostles, nor our Sauoure Christ did weare any distinct apparell from others, which liued in their times. For if Samuells being then the seer, had had a generall apparell, whiche was proper to the seers, it is not like that Saule would haue asked of him selfe where his house was. And if the Apostles had weore a severall apparell from the rest, they should not haue bin esteemed by so generall and vniuersall a note, as of speaking somewhat modestly, or as I may terme it, forthely, for it had bin a secret note to haue said thou art one of his Apostles, because none weareth this apparell but his Apostles, where there was a great number that spake Galilean lile, which were not of his Apostles, nor dis-  
ciples

(\*) They were  
quoted by the  
Admonition to  
proue that mi-  
nisters were  
known by  
voyce, learning  
and doctrine,  
and you trans-  
ferre them to  
apparell.



ciples neyther. But let these goe. You say our sauoure Christ had a seuerall apparell, because he had a cote without seame. Surely you might vse lesse scornfulnesse in rehearsing of other mens arguments, if for no other cause, yet for this, that they might take more pittie of yours.

For what an argument is this: our sauoure Christ did weare an vnder garment, which could not be well parted, but with the speyle or marring of it, therefore he wore a seuerall apparell from the rest. It is true, John Baptist had a seuerall apparell, and so had Elias, but to this end, that both by his vnmounted apparell, and straunge diet which he used of locusts and wild honey, the extraordinaries of his ministerie might be set forth, and the people the rather moued to enquire of his office, whome they sawe to varrie so much from the common customs of other men. But ministers now haue no such extraordinarie functions, therefore by that reason of yours, they shoulde not be seuered from other men, by any note of apparell. You say you know that the cheefe notes of a minister, are doctrine and learning, if you meane that the distinction of apparell must supply the rest, and that that also hath some force to commend their ministerie, the Prophets and Apostles of our sauoure Christ, left vs no (a) perfect patterne of a minister, nor no sufficient glasse to dresse him by, whereof (b) the most part neuer used any such seuerall apparell, and none of them haue left any commandment of it.

(a) A notable  
reason.  
(b) Vnto, as  
shall appeare.

### To, Whitgift.

The vnapt  
reasons of the  
Admonitors  
dissembled by  
C.C.

They be conjectures made, and mere conjectures, but without all shadowe of probability or reason: and if you will giue me leaue so to conjecture, I will proue any thing. But such slender conjectures argueth the slenderesse of your proofes. The Admonition bleseth those places to proue that ministers were then knowne by voice, learning and doctrine, which how they by you can conclude of them, I confesse, that I cannot imagine, excepte you will say, that Samuell said vnto Saule I am the seer: and they that stode by said vnto Dabir when they speach bewrayeth thee: therefore ministers were knowne by voice, learning, and doctrine: which is as much as though you woulde saye, Saule knew Samuell by Samuels owne report, and a welch man is knowne by his tong, or go, ministers are knowne by voice, learning, and doctrine: is not this a proper kind of reasoning: is this the reuerence due to the scriptures, thus habilly to abuse them?

But say you, if Samuell had had a seuerall apparell proper to the Seers, it was not like that Saule woulde haue asked of him where his house was: say, you shoulde rather haue sayde that it is like that Saule being a ruder, and brought by only in keeping of cattell, had neuer seene prophet before, and therefore could not know Samuell, what kind of apparell he had worn. And that this is true, that Saule did not know what a Seer meant, and that he did neuer see any before, it may appeare in the same chapter. And therefore saith P. Martyr upon that 18. verse of the 9. Chapter, Saule is so rude in the common wealth, and such a stranger from ciuill affaires, that he did not so much as know Samuell although he were both iudge of the people, and the magistrate, and Prophet, and the capitaine of the host.

P. Martyr.

4 Prophets  
knowne by  
a distinct  
apparell.  
Calme.  
Zach. 13.

Whitgift vpon the 23. of Math. proueth out of the 13. Chapter of Zach. that the prophets were distinguished and knowne from other men by a certaine and peculiar forme of clothes. And the very wordes of the first and fourth verse of that Chapter of Zacharie doth evidently proue it: for there the Lord saith, In that day shall the Prophets be ashamed, &c. neyther shall they weare a rough garment to gleeue. Upon the which wordes the note in the bible printed at Geneva is this: They shall no more weare Prophets apparell to make their doctrine seeme more holy: to the which also agreeth M. Calme vpon the same place, and addeth these wordes: This is the summe, that this kind of vesture was not reprobued in the said prophet, as some men vnadvisedly do wrest this place to condemne long gownes, and what soeuer doth not please their waywardnesse. &c. Whereby it is euident that the Prophets did weare, and were knowne by a peculiar kind of garment. If you enquire of the practise, we haue diuers examples: peacemen of Samuell whome we now haue in hand. For one thing that pertayneth Saule, that he whome the wytych had rayled, was Samuell, was the description of his apparell, 1 Sam. 28. There cometh vp an old man with a mantell vpon him. And Saule perceyued that it was Samuel, &c. It cannot be thought that Saule conceived this opinion, because he named an olde man, but because he added his mantell and kind of attire. We reade likewise of Elias, 2. Reg. 1. 4. 2. that he had a heavy or rough mantell agre-  
ing

1 Sam. 28.



ing to the description in the Prophet Zacharie, and a leather girdell wherby he was knowne of Ahazia: And this is by you confessed. Elizeus succedeth Elias both in office and besture: And John Baptist did not only represent Elias his spirit, but also his kind of garmente, for his rough garment of camels heare, and leather girdle are described by Saint Mathew cap. 3. I suppose now that the manifest scripture, the opinion of learned interpreters, and the practise of so many notable Prophets do sufficiently iustify my assertion, and are able to improue your probable coniectures, as you tearme them.

Touching Peter what kinde of apparell soeuer he did weare, the matter is not great: it is the fond reason of theirs that I reproue, which is totow childish, as I haue shewed before: and yet may it be supposed that Peter vsed all the meanes he coulde, not to be knowen, and therefore whether he cast off his vppermost garment, or changed it, it may be a question. Furthermore, it was in the night time: finally, he was suspected by a maid to be one of Christs disciples before he had spoken one worde, as it appeareth, Jo. 18. But to let al this passe, what kind of reasoning call you this? Peter was knowne by his voice, Ergo he was not knowne by his apparell: or this, Peter was knowne by his tong to be a Galilean, Ergo ministers must be knowne by voice, learning, and doctrine.

Here you let slippe without any defense at all, that which is alledged by the Admonition out of the 48. verse of the 26. Chapter of Mathew to the same purpose.

The Admonition saith a proctor

No man can deny but Chrestes apparel differed from the rest, and that this was a rare kind of habit, else would not the Euangelist Saint John cap. 19. haue made so particular mention of it: wherefore, that whiche I say is true, that euen then ministers of the Gospell might be knowne by their apparell, as Christ and John the Baptist: and therefore not to be so straunge a matter, that ministers should also now differ from other men in their apparell.

That which you speake of John Baptist confirmeth my saying, which is, that ministers of the Gospell were then also knowne by their apparell: and if vnwonted apparell did set forth John his ministerie, and moued them the rather to enquire of his office, why may it not haue the same vse now in like manner? But I haue vsed those examples only to shew the vanitie of the Admonition, which would make the Reader beleue, that in those dayes there was no distinction vsed in apparell.

Christ and his Apostles haue left a perfect patterne of a minister touching conditions, qualities, & office, so hath scripture done of a magistrate, and of a subiect also, of a master and of a seruant, &c. but shall there be therefore no distinction in apparell betwixte them: or no externall notes to discerne them by? what kind of argument cal you this, Christ and his Apostles haue left vs a perfect patterne of the ministers office, Ergo, the magistrate may not take any order for his apparell? Truly these be loose conclusions and (as you vse to tearme them) very pitifull arguments. Of the same force be these arguments: most of the Apostles and Prophets vsed no such seuerall apparell, Ergo, we may not vse any seuerall apparell. And againe, none of them haue left any commaundement of it, Ergo it ought not to be.

Loose conclusions of T.C.

The first reason hath thus many faults: first, the Antecedent is vnttrue, as I haue shewed before out of this Prophet Zacharie, and M. Caluine, &c. For the Prophets were discerned from others by a certaine kind of apparell, and it is not able to be proued but that the Apostles had seuerall apparell from the common sorte of men. Secondly, it is no good argument *à facto ad ius*: but it is much worse *à non facto ad non ius*, the which kind of argument Zuinglius diuers times reproveth in his treatises against the Anabaptists, as I haue oftentimes said. Thirdly, if some of the Apostles and some of the Prophets did vse seuerall apparell (as the Antecedent confesseth they did) though it doth not follow that we must do so: yet it euidently proueth that we may do so, being no commaundement in the scripture to the contrary.

The Antecedent of T.C. inferreth a consequent against himselfe.

Your seconde argumente is ouerthrowne by youre owne selfe. For Pag. 13. you saye, that many thynges are bothe commaunded and forbidden, of whiche there is no

The argument of T.C. overthrowne by his owne expresse assertion.



Caluin aduer.  
Anabap.

expresse mention in the word, which are as necessary to be followed and auoyded, as those whereof expresse mention is made: which if it be true, (as it is most vnttrue) then thinges of lesse importance and not so necessary, though they be not expessedly commaunded, yet may they be done. M. Caluine in his booke against the Anabaptists (for your arguments and theirs do maruellously agree, and be builded vpon the selfesame foundation) sayth thus: To dissolue that which God neuer dissolued, is in a mortall man a token of to much rashnesse and arrogancie. But let vs alwayes hold this, that then the authoritie of God is vsurped, when that is condemned, which he hath permitted: But the scripture mentioneth in no place that the vse of armour is forbidden vnto princes. &c. You may herby then perceiue, that M. Caluine doth not thinke this to be a sound argument, it is not commaunded: Ergo it is vnlawfull, except it can be shewed to be prohibited: wherefore if you will condemne a seuerall kind of apparell in ministers, you must shewe some commaundement or prohibition in the word of God for the same, else are you rashe, and arrogant, vsurping to your selfe gods authoritie as M. Caluine saith.

Pa. 13. Sect. 1

### Chap. 2. the second Diuision.

Answere to the Admonition. Page. 55. Sect. 1.

Eusebius saith, that S. John the Apostle ware on his head a lease or thinne plate like vnto a Bishops miter.

T. C. Pag. 53. Sect. vlt.

"But not once  
digested or an-  
swered.

For want of space, and to make a long booke, heere is S. Johns miter rehearsed thrise in one lease to the same purpose, and in the same words. And because it was not enough that M. Bulinger, and M. Martyr should speake of them, you haue presented them both, least you should haue seemed to haue brought nothing. If this be not coleworthe-twise sodden, I cannot tell what is.

### Io. Whitgiste.

It is so often rehearsed as you report, but by diuers authoys, to shew their opinions of one and the selfesame thing. M. Qualter and M. Martyr among other examples, vse this of S. John to proue that in the aunient Church there was a peculiar fashion of apparell for Priests. I recite their words as witnesses in this case worthy of credite, and by that occasion this example of John is the oftner repeated: but thys is a soze matter to moue such choler: you should quietly haue answered the reason, and left your heate of speach: but you haue done the contrary.

That the Magistrate may appoint  
a distinct apparell for Ministers.

### Chap. 3. the 1. Diuision.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 55. Sect. 1.

But what if none of the Prophets, what if none of the Apostles (which you are not able to proue eyther of the prophets or Apostles) were knowne by their apparell? May not therefore Christian magistrates in Christian common weales, for order and decencie appoynte a seuerall kinde of apparell, as well to ministers as to other states of men.

T.C.



T.C. Page. 54. Sect. 1.

You aske whether the christian Magistrate may enioyne a severall kinde of apparell to the Ministers. Eyther the cause is to weake, whiche you defende, or else it hath gotten an euill pasture, whiche would so gladly shifte it, and chaunge it with another. For this is an other question, whiche you speake of. For although that be graunted vnto you, whiche you demaunde, yet you can not conclude your cause. For albeit the Magistrate may commaunde a severall apparell, yet it followeth not that he may commaunde this kinde of Popishe apparell, and therfore what manner of argument is this of yours, the Magistrate maye commaunde a severall apparell, therfore he maye commaunde this. The Colledge walles will tell you (\*) that a man can not conclude from the whole to the parte affirmatiuely. So you see I mighte let you fishe and catche nothing, but I am neyther afrayde, nor ashamed to tell you the truthe of that you aske, so farre forth at least as I am perswaded. (a) I thinke therfore it maye be suche a kinde of apparell, as the Magistrate commaunding it, the Minister may refuse it, and suche it may be, as he may not refuse it. But whatsoeuer apparell it be, this commaundement can not be without some iniurie done to the Minister. For seeing that the Magistrate (b) doth allow of him, as of a wise, learned, and discrete man, and trusteth him with the gouernment of his people in matters betwene God & them, it were somewhat hard not to trust him with the appoynting of his owne apparell, and he is probably to be supposed that he hath discretion to weare his owne geare comely, and in order, that is able to teache others, howe they shoulde weare theirs: and that he shoulde be able to doe that by his wisdom, and learning, that others doe without learning, and great store of wisdom, and that he shoulde keepe order and decencie in apparell, which hath learned in the schole of Christe, whiche they doe that had neuer other scholemaster than common sense and reason. And if any minister be founde to faulde, in going eyther dissolutely, or to exquisitely and delicately, then the Magistrate may (c) punish him according to the disorder wherein he faulteth.

(\*) You mighte haue learned other Logike within the Colledge walles.

(a) That is as much to say, as if you like it, you may vse it.

(b) You may say the like of Iudges.

(c) Why may he not aswell appoynt him an order, as punish his disorders?

Jo. Whitgiste.

If you had noted my order, and delte sincerely, these wordes of yours might with lesse discrebrite vnto you, haue bin well forborne. For in this place I onely proue that the ministers may be distinguished from other by a severall kinde of apparell. And I aske the question whether a christian Magistrate may appoynt a severall kinde of apparell for order and decencie? Of this apparell whiche the Admonition calleth Antichristian, I speake a little after. Your so vsuall kinde of reasoning not *ad idem*, argueth but lacke of abilitie to and were the present purpose.

The question is incident to my cause: for if the Christian Magistrate haue authoritie to appoynt a severall kinde of apparell to Ministers, then it is also lawfull for Ministers to vse it.

You saye the Colledge walles will tell me, that a man can not conclude from the whole to the parte affirmatiuely. Although my argument is neyther *a genere*, nor *a toto*, but *ab oppositis rebus*, (so) it is this in effecte, the Magistrate may commaunde it, Ergo the subjects must obey it) yet not the Colledge walles (which be dumbe and can not speake) but the rules of Logike telleth me, that if by the whole you meane that whiche the Logicians doe call *Genus*, then an argument from the whole to the parte doth firmly holde affirmatiuely, if the whole be taken *vniversaliter*, vniuersally, as in this example, *omne animal est sensibile*, Ergo, *omnis homo est sensibilis*. *Omnis virtus est mediocritas*, Ergo *temperantia est mediocritas*: and so likewise the Magistrate hath authoritie to appoynt any kinde of habite for order or decencie, Ergo he maye appoynt this or that kinde of habite. If you meane by the whole, that whiche the Logicians doe properly call *totum integrale*, as you seeme to doe, then the rules of Logike tell you, that *ab omni toto ad partes* (excepte it be *a toto in modo*) the argument is good affirmatiuely, and not otherwise. I am not disposed to boaste of my knowledge in Logike, nor to winne any opinion therof to my selfe by defacing or contemning of other: But, I thank God, I haue sufficient to maynteyne whatsoeuer I haue wrytten, and to answer what you can replie to the contrarie. But who would haue thought that this spirit had bin in T.C. a man supposed to be so mortified, &c.

An argument holdeth from the whole to the part affirmatiuely sometimes.

You answered my question in deede: but as good neuer a whitte as neuer a deale the better. For in suche sorte you giue the Magistrate authoritie to commaunde some kinde of apparell to the Minister, that he can commaunde none vnto him,

The Magistrate's authoritie in appoynting apparell, abridged by T.C.



The magi-  
strate may  
appoynte  
apparell to  
ministers.

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## The defense of the answere

Tract. 7.

Whatsoever it be, without some iniurie done to the Minister: whiche is a verie straunge answere. For first it restrayneth the Magistrate from hauing authoritie to commaunde any kinde of apparell: for suche (you saye) it maye be, that the Minister maye refuse it: When dothe it accuse the Magistrate of doing iniurie, if he appoynte euen that kinde of apparell that he maye lawfully doe. For you saye, whatsoever apparell it be, this commaundement can not be without some iniurie done to the Minister. This is a verie nyce authoritie giuen to the Magistrate: but let the Reader well consider your wordes, and marke what authoritie you giue to Magistrates. One reason whereby you woulde proue that the Magistrate dothe the Minister iniurie, if he commaunde him to weare that kinde of apparell, whiche is lawfull to be commaunded, is this: the Magistrate dothe allowe of him as a wise, learned, and discrete man, &c. and therefore it were somewhat harde not to trust him with the appoynting of his owne apparell, &c. First, it is not true, that the Magistrate dothe allowe of him, &c. For you wyll haue him chosen by the Parithe, and the Magistrate can not knowe what kinde of Ministers euerie Parithe dothe chosse. Secondly, if the Magistrate allowe of him, it is vpon condition that he be obedient to his lawes. Thirdly, the Magistrate may be deceyued in him, and take him for another manner of man than he is. Laste of all, howe wise, howe learned, howe discrete soeuer he is, yet is it mete that he obey lawes, and be subiecte vnto good orders. May not other learned, wise, and discrete men, alleadge this for them selues also, and say, that they be able to gouerne themselves, what neede they lyke children be prescribed what to doe? And vndoubtedly at this day this is the voyce of diuers: and this lesson of libertie belike they haue learned of you.

Whereunto  
the assertion  
of the Replie  
is tendeth.

I doe moste humbly desire those that haue the care of this common wealthe, but to consider what lyeth hidde euen in these your wordes vttered in this place, they will then no doubt vnderstande that you seeke freedom from all lawes of Princes, and imagine that suche perfection maye be in men, that they shall not neede to be gouerned by ciuill lawes, but euerie man to be a lawe to him selfe.

And here your subtile dealing is worthy to be noted (whiche is very vsuall with you) in altering the case: for whereas the kinde of apparell is appoynted to be a distinction from other men, and an externall note of their calling, as it is in other sortes of men, as Judges, Sergeantes, Aldermen, &c. you (as though you knewe not this) make your Reader beleue, that the Magistrate in appoynting apparell dothe mistrust the Ministers discretion, in wearing his owne geare comes to, and in order: as if the meaning of the Magistrates commaundement herein, were, that Ministers shoulde not goe cyther dissolately, or disorderly, and not rather that all Ministers shoulde vse that forme of decent apparell, whereby they mighte in one vniforme order agree amongst them selues, and differ from other states of people in hir Dominions. If you ment vprightly, you woulde not so often deale in this order.

### Chap. 3. the. 2. Diuision.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 55. Sect. 1.

Judges, Sergeants, Aldermen, and Citizens are knowne by their apparell, and why maye not Ministers be so likewise? are they not vnder subiection? be they not subiect to ciuill lawes and ordinaunces? ought they not to obey their gouernours in all things not agaynst the worde of God?

T.C.



T.C. Pag. 54. Sect. 2.

And whereas you would proue that it maye be done with the Ministers, as it is done with Judges, Sergeantes, Aldermen, and Sheriffes, the case is not lyke. For as for these which be in office, their robes and gownes may as their maces and swordes, somewhat helpe to set forth the maiestie and moderate pompe which is meete for the offices of Justice which they execute, and consequently to helpe to strike a profitable feare into their hearts, which are underneath them, which hath, nor can haue no place in the minister, whose authoritie and power, as it is not outward, so can it not, nor ought not to borrowe any credite of those external shewes. And the Magistrate, or the Citie, may seeke some hono<sup>r</sup> of the Citizens, mustering as it were by numbers in one liuerie, which ought not to be looked for at the ministers hande, because he hono<sup>r</sup>eth and serueth the Magistrate another waye, nor can not also, considering that they are scattered throughe all the lande in every Towne, one, or not so many, as being put in one liuerie, should make any great shewe to the honour and commendation of the Towne, or Citie where they remayne.

*Io. Whitgife.*

I mighte as well answer for Judges, Sergeants, &c. as you doe for ministers, and saye that seeing the Magistrate dothe allowe them as wyse, learned, and discrete men, and trusteth them with the gouernment of the common wealthe, it were something harde not to trust them with the appoynting of their owne apparell: but so shoulde I reason fondly and seditiously: for it is meete that learned, wyse, and discrete men should be subiecte to lawes: and the wyser, the learned, and the discreter they be, the moze willing they are to obey the same. And this kinde of argument tendeth to nothing else, but to the animating of the subiects agaynst the Magistrate, and agaynst the lawes.

Thoughe the authoritie that the Minister oughte to haue, muste come especially by his doctrine, good conuersation, and by his calling: yet is no outward meanes (being lawfull) to be refused, whereby the same maye be helped: and he muste labour as muche as he can, euen by outward meanes (whether it be of conuersation, or of apparell, or any suche lyke thing) to commend his office and calling, and to procure reuerence vnto it.

The subiects  
animated as  
gaynst the  
magistrate.

A man mighte lyke wyse saye, that Princes, Judges, and Magistrates, are not to be reuerenced for their apparell sake, but for the authoritie committed vnto them by God: and yet is it meete and conuenient that they weare suche kinde of apparell as may externally commend their authoritie.

The apparell of Ministers declareth their modestie and grauitie: signifieth their calling and office: pertaineth to comelynesse and order: and therefore as conuenient to be prescribed vnto them, as any other kinde of apparell is to Judges, Sergeantes, or other ciuill Magistrates. And forasmuche as Ministers be members of the common wealthe, it is meete that they shoulde be subiecte to the orders of the same.

It is the hono<sup>r</sup> of the Prince to haue all the states and degrees of persons within his dominion in good order, be they in Citie, or in Towne, togither or separate: and therefore this is nothing that you say, the Magistrate or the Citie maye seeke some hono<sup>r</sup> of the Citizens, &c.

The Judge, wheresoener he goeth, ought to be knowne by his apparel, euen so the Minister: neyther can you shewe any good reason to the contrarie. M. Caluine vpon the 23. of Mat. sayth, it is meete that Doctors should in grauitie and modestie of apparell differ from the common sorte.

*Chap. 3. the 3. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 54. Sect. 3.

And so you see your question answered, whereby appeareth they are subiectes as other are, and to obey also sometimes, where the commaundement is not giuen vpon good grounds.



Io. Whitgiste.

It is answered in dede according to my expectation, but neyther according to the  
truthe, nor the duetie of a subiect.

The distinction of Apparell was appoynted

for Ministers before the Popes tyrannie.

Chap. 4. the. 1. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 55. Sect. 2. 3.

If you doubte whether a particular kinde of apparell differing  
from the lay men, were euer appoynted for Ministers in the Church  
before the Popes tyrannie, and whether in these dayes it maye be  
appoynted in reformed Churches, or no, heare the iudgement of  
master Bullinger, and master Gualter, in an Epistle written by the  
to master N. and master M. Their words be these.

Bullinger &  
Gualter.

That in the auncient Church there vvas a particular fashion of appa-  
rell for Priests, it appeareth in the Ecclesiasticall historie of Theodoret.  
lib. 2. cap. 27. and of Socrates lib. 6. cap. 22. No man is ignorante, vvhich  
hath but lightly redde ouer the monumentes of the auncient fathers, but  
that the Ministers vsed a cloake in their seruice. And therefore I sayde  
before, that the diuersitie of garmentes had not his originall of the Pope.  
Eusebius citeth out of the auncient vvryters, that saint Iohn the Apostle  
vvare on his head a leafe or thinne plate lyke vnto a Bishops myter. Pon-  
tius Diaconus vvitnesseth of saint Cyprian the Martyr, that vvhen he  
offered his necke to the executioner, he first gaue him his cappe, and the  
Deacon his vpper garment, and so stode appareled in vvwhite linnen. More-  
ouer Chrysostome maketh mention of vvhyte apparell of Ministers. **Her-  
therto Bullinger and Gualter.**

T. C. Pag. 54. Sect. 3. 4.

(a) The place of  
Theodoret fal-  
sified.

The place of (a) Theodoret cited by M. Bullinger, maketh mention of a golden Cope, and  
that vled by Bishops of Hierusalem, and solde by Cyrill a good Bishop, vvhereby he declared  
sufficiently his misliking of suche garments in the ministerie of the Sacraments. In the place  
the vvliche he citeth out of Socrates, there is one Synesius an Nouatian Bishop is sayde to  
haue worne vvhyte apparell, and therefore is reprehended as for too muche exquisitenesse and fine-  
nesse of apparell, and the Bishop of Durisne, in a letter he wrote, alleadgeth the same place as  
gainst the surplice, A man would hardly beleue that master Bullinger should vse these places to  
prooue a distinction of apparel amongst the Ministers: We are not ignorant but that a cloake hath  
beene vled of the Ministers in their seruice, but that was no seuerall apparell of the Ministers,  
but common to all Christians, vvich vvith chaunge of their religion, chaunged also their apparell,  
as appeareth manifestly in Tertullian de Pallio.

As for the Petalum that S. Iohn wore, I see not howe it can be proued, to be like a Bi-  
shops miter. For the cappe that S. Cyprian gaue the executioner, argueth rather that it was the  
common apparell, vvliche was customably worne, for else it woulde not haue done him so muche  
good. As for his vpper garment, vvliche he gaue to his Deacon, it was a token of his good vvill,  
vvliche he would leaue vvith him, as the practise hath beene seene vvith vs, and proueth nothing  
that it was any seuerall apparell. As for the vvhytelinnen garment, vvliche he suffered in, it can  
not seeme straunge vnto vs, vvich haue seene the holy martyrs of the Lorde executed in Smith-  
fielde and other places. And it is not to be thoughte that S. Cyprian had so small iudgement,  
that liuing in the tyme of persecution, he would by wearing of some notable apparell from the  
rest, as it were betray him selfe into the handes of his enemies, vnlesse all the Christians had  
done so too for clearer and more open profession of their saythe, and greater detestation of  
the contrarie Religion: as Tertullian and the Christians in hys tyme dyd, by the wea-  
ring of a Cloake, vvliche reason maye bee also alleadged of the Petalum of Sainte Iohn.  
It is true, Chrysostome maketh mention of a vvwhite garment, but not in commendation of it, Hom. 6. ad  
but rather to the contrarie. For hee sheweth that the dignitie of their ministerie, their pop. Antioch  
safetie chi.



Ecd. 9.

sa'tie and crowne was in taking heede, that none vnmeete were admitted to the Lordes supper, not in going about the Church with a whyte garment. And it is easily to be scene by (\*) Salomon in his Ecclesiastes, that to weare a whyte garment was greatly esteemed in the East partes, and was ordinarie to those that were in any estimation, as the wearing of blacke with vs: and therefore was no seuerall apparell for the ministers, or for to execute their ministerie in.

\*Scripture fondly  
alleged.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

The wordes of Theodozet be these; But the tale, which they had rayled of Cyrillus, did chiefly displease the (\*) Emperour. For whereas the most worthy king Constantine had for the honour of the Church of Hierusalem giuen vnto Macarius Bishop in the same citie, a holy garment (precious and wrought with golde) which he should weare, when he ministred the holy Baptisme, they reported that Cyrill solde it. &c. Here you see that Theodozet counteth it but a fable, that Cyrill should make any linche sale, and those that say he solde it, declare that it was not for any disallowing of the vesture, but for necessitie of the poore in the time of famine, as Sozo. lib. 4. cap. 25. testifieth.

Theod. lib. 2.

cap. 27.

\*Constantinus.

You deale with M. Bullinger as you doe with me, that is, you peruert his meaning and alleage that out of Socrates, that he ment not, & keepe that in silence, which maketh directly for this purpose. Socrates there sheweth howe Sycinius being a Ponatian, did weare white apparell, & when he was for the same repproued, he answered that it was no where written that Priests should weare blacke apparell, and had them proue by scripture, that priests ought to weare blacke apparell. Whereby it is playne, that ministers in those days did weare black apparell, & were therby knowne, and that Sycinius being an heretike refused so to do, vying the same arguments that you do, scilicet, that it is no where commaunded that Priests should weare suche kinde of vesture. Wherefore the story is aptly alleadged by master Bullinger, to proue a seuerall kinde of apparell, and it insinuateth what manner of men those be, that contemne the common order in suche matters, and loue to be singular like vnto Sycinius the Ponatian heretike.

Sozo. lib. 4.

cap. 25.

Lib. 6. cap. 22.

As for S. Iohn his Petalum, you heare what these learned men saye, who no doubt haue good grounde of their iudgement. Neyther woulde Eusebius haue made any mention of it, if it had not bin a kinde of apparell, whereby S. Iohn was knowne. The wordes of Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 31. be these: Iohn whiche leaned vpon the brest of the Lorde, being a Priest wore a leafe or thinne plate. Whereby it is evident, that this apparell was peculiar to S. Iohn in the respecte that he was a Priest. That Cyrilian his apparell was not vsuall and common for other men to weare, it may appeare by this, that the names of his apparell be expessed, for that whiche he gaue to the executioner is called *Birrus*, that is, a thinne plate, and that whiche he gaue to the Deacon was called *Dalmatica*, a garment with long sleeves: as for the white linnen, it is not there mentioned as any distinct kinde of apparell.

Euseb. lib. 3.

cap. 31.

The wordes of Chrysostome doe manifestly declare that then suche kinde of garment was vsed in the administration of the Sacramentes: neyther doe his wordes tende any thing at all to the disallowing of it, for they be spoken by the way of comparison, and negatives by comparison are not simple negatives (as I tolde you before) but by the way of comparison: and therefore when Chrysostome sayth, that the dignitie of their ministerie, &c. was in taking heede, that none vnmeete were admitted to the Lords supper, not in going about the Church with a white garment, he dothe not disallowe going about the Church in a white garment, but he sayth, that it is not in comparison of the other, so greatly to be regarded.

If Salomon in that place ment any suche matter, yet is it no profe at al for this that you alleage it for: there was a great nuber of yeres betwixt Salomon his time, and Chrysostomes, and all kinde of customes much altered, & therefore I intuell what you meane to bring in Salomon to proue that the white apparell vsed by ministers of the church in the administration of the sacramentes in the time of Chrysostome, was not seuerall, but common and vsuall apparell. But that the Reader may vnderstande your

T. C. doth alleage the scripture fondly & carelessly.



before the  
Popes ty-  
rannie.  
Ecclesi. 9.

carelesnesse in alleaging the scriptures, I will set downe the wordes of Salomon in that. 9. chapter and. 8. verse. At all times let thy garments be white, and let not oyle be lacking vpon thine head. In the which sentence, by the white garment is ment eyther innocencie of life, as Bellicane doth interpret it, or ioy & mirth, as some other thinke: but there can be nothing lesse gathered thereof, than that there was at that time any suche vsuall kinde of apparell. And to what purpose should he haue so sayde, if it had bin so? The Metaphores & figuratiue kinde of speeches that Salomon vseth in these booke, can not be vnknotwne to any. You do not trouble me with many quotations, but those that be, are passing strange. And surely I can not but maruell howe you dare be so bolde, as thus to abuse the scriptures.

Be it that this is the saying of belly gods (according to the note of the Geneva Bible, wherupon I thinke you grounde your assertion) to moue vnto mirth & pastime, bothe it therefore followe, that this was an vsuall kinde of Apparell in Salomon his time: Or if it were then, must it be also in Chrysostome his time? Or if it were so in his time, might it not also be vset of the ministers in the administration of the sacraments, as a comely and decent vesture, and differing from the rest? If I had the gifte of telling, that you are so excellent in, what spoote could I make with this, and a number suche like places?

### Chap. 4. the. 2. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 56. Sect. 1.

P. Martyr.

Johns apparell.

Peter Martyr likewise in an Epistle written to master Hoper, sayth on this sorte: I vwill not graunte that these diuerlities of vestures haue their beginniges of the Pope, for so muche as I reade in the ecclesiasticall historie, howe that Iohn the Apostle vvore at Ephesus, vvhere he dvvelled, a Bishops apparell, tearing it *Petalum, seu lamina Pontificalis*. As touching Sainct Cyprian the holy martyr, Pontius the Deacon vvriteth, that a little before he shoulde be beheaded, he gaue vnto him that vvvas appoynted to behead him, his vesture called Birrus, after he had put it off, and to the Deacons he gaue his other vesture called Dalmatica, and so stooode in linnen. Chrysostome maketh mention of the vvwhite vesture of the ministers of the Church. *Hac ille.*

T. C. Pag. 55. Sect. 1.

The reasons that M. Peter Martyr vseth, are the same before, and howe he hath also condemned them, it shall appeare, with M. Bucers iudgement of these thinges in the ends of the booke.

### 10. Whitgifte.

In the meane time you see howe these notable learned men agree in one truth against you: neyther are you able to shewe any contrarietie in this poynt vttered by him, or M. Bucer, as I trust shall then appeare.

### Chap. 4. the. 3. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 56. Sect. 2. 3.

Socrates.

Eustathius.

Socrates also in the seconde booke of his Ecclesiasticall historie sayth, that the father of Eustathius beeing Bishop of Cesarea, did deprive the sayde Eustathius his sonne beeing a priest, of his place and dignitie, because he wore apparell not comely for a priest to weare, nor agreeable to his order.

There



Therefore it is certaine that Ministers euen from the Apostles tyme haue had a distincte and seuerall kynde of apparell from other men.

T.C. Page. 55. Sect. 1.

Lib. 9. cap.  
45.

As for Eustathius his deprivation, because he dyd not weare apparell meete for a Minister, it maketh not to this purpose one whit. For I haue shewed that if any minister goe like a ruffian or swashe buckler, or in the brauerie of a courtier, that it is meete he should be punished according to the quantitie of the fault. And that it is so to be vnderstanded it appeareth manifestly by the counsell of Gangris, which did therfore confirme the same depouling, because he wore a straunger apparell, and the habite of a Philosopher, and caused all his fellowes to doe so. Therefore I maruaile what you meane to alleage this place. It is also alleaged of (\*) Nicophorus, in (a) neither of the places there is any Eustathius the sonne of Eustathius, but of Eulabius, or as Nicophorus readeth Eulathius. And therefore your conclusion is both vntreue and vncertaine, that since the Apostles times there hath bene a distinct and seuerall apparell of the ministers from the rest.

(a) No more is  
there in my an-  
swere.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The wordes of Socrates Lib. 2. chap. 43. be these: Eustathius the Bishop of Sebastia in Armenia was not admitted to make his defense, because he was depouled before of his father Byshop of Cesarea in Capadocia, for that he wore an vndecent garment. The canon of the Countell of Gangris: If any man thinketh it to auale vnto his holie purpose (to wete of continencie) that he weare a cloake, as if thereby he should attaine vnto righteousnesse, and reprehendeth, or condemneth them which weare the ornament called Byrrhus and the other common and vsuall garment, let him be accursed. Dist. 30. Both by Socrates and also by this Canon of the Countell it doth appeare that Eustathius and his adherentes were condemned for vsing a newe and singular kinde of apparell, from that which then was commonly and customably vsed of all Bishops. That in the conclusion of this Countell which is spoken of modest, simple, and decent apparell, agaynst that which is lose and dissolute, hath no collour of prouing any thing agaynst Eustathius his contempt and singularitie, neither doth it in any one word signifie, that he was not depriued for refusing to weare the ordinarie and accustomed apparell to Priests.

You saye, that in neither of the places, there is any Eustathius the sonne of Eustathius, but of Eulabius. &c. Gladly woulde you haue some thing to dally with, if possibly you could tell how. Are you not ashamed thus to deale? where doe I say that Eustathius was the sonne of Eustathius? had you not my booke before you? be not these my wordes: Socrates in the second booke of his Ecclesiasticall historie saith, that the father of Eustathius being Bishoppe of Casarea, did depriue the sayd Eustathius his sonne beyng a priest. &c. I neither name him Eustathius, nor Eulabius, nor Eulathius: Therfore my conclusion is both true and certain, and you doe but seeke occasion of quareling.

T.C. taketh  
advantage  
where none  
is giuen.

That the Apparell now vsed is not Popishe or

Antichristian: and that things inuented by euill men may be  
vsed of Christians.

### Chap. 5. the first Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 56. Sect. 4.

But cappe, gowne, tippet. &c. you saye, is Popishe and Antichristian: This is onely sayde, and not proued. If you call it Popishe and Antichristian, because it was first inuented by an Antichristian Pope: it is first to be considered whether that be true or no. Then if it be true, whether euery thing so inuented, is of necessitie to be abolished.



T. C. Page 55. Sect. 3.

Then the case  
is altered of  
late.

The matter lyeth (\*) not in that, whether these things were first inuented by Papistes, or being deuised of others, were after taken by the Papistes, but the matter standeth in this, that they haue bene vsed of the Papistes as notes and markes, and sacraments of their abominations.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

You alter the case as oft, as it pleaseth you, and libertie you haue to affirme or denie what you list, when you list, and where you list without controlment: for hitherto I am sure your chiefe groundes against the apparell hath been, that the same was inuented by Popes, and vsed by them. But take your pleasure. That which followeth in my Answer to the Admonition, is directly against this your grounde also, if you will stande to it and not shrinke.

### Chap. 5. the second Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 56. Sect. vii.

Stephanus a  
good Bishop  
inuented this  
apparell.

It is certaine that this apparell of ministers, which you find your selues so much greeued with, was appointed long before the church of Rome declined from the puritie of Christs Religion, for Stephanus Bishop of Rome, who liued the yeare of our Lord. 256. is sayde to be the first, which did appoint this kinde of apparell for ministers, neither are you able to shewe that any Antichristian Pope inuented the same. But admit it were so that this apparell was either borrowed of the Jewes, or taken from the Gentiles, or inuented and vsed by some Antichristian Pope, yet it followeth not, but that the same may be well vsed of Christians in the Church of Christ.

Things in-  
uented by euil  
men may be  
vsed of Chri-  
stians.

### Io. Whitgifte.

To this T. C. speaketh not one word, good or euill.

### Chap. 5. the thirde Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Page. 57. Sect. i.

&amp; Page. 58. Sect. i.

Augustinus.

Augustine in his Epistle ad Publicolan hathe this notable saying:

*Et cum templa, idola, luci, & si quid huiusmodi data potestate enertuntur, quamuis manifestum est, cum id agimus, non ea nos honorare, sed potius detestari, ideo tamen in vsus nostros priuatos duntaxat & proprios, non debemus inde aliquid vsurpare, ut appareat nos pietate ista destruere, non auaritia. Cum vero in vsus communes, non proprios ac priuatos, vel in honorem dei veri conuertuntur, hoc de illis fit, quod de ipsis hominibus, cum ex sacrilegis & impijs in veram religionem mutantur. &c.*

Private vse  
of idolatrous  
things forbid-  
den.

VVhen temples, Idols, groues, and such like things by authoritie be ouerthrowne, althoughe it is manifest, vvhén vve doe that, vve honour them not, but detest them, yet for all that vve may not therefore conuert the or vse them to our ovvne priuate vses onely and commoditie, that it may appeare that vve destroy them for Religion sake, and not for couetousnesse. But vvhén they are conuerted, not into priuate and our ovvne vse, but into common vses, or to the honor of the true God, that is done and brought to passe in them, vvhich is done and brought to passe in men them selues, whé of Idolaters and vicked persons they are chaunged into true Religio. This hath God himselfe taught in those testimonies, vvhich thou thy selfe haste vsed,



vsed, vvhich as God himselfe commaunded that of that same groue, vvhich  
vvas dedicated to straunge Gods, ther: shoulde be wood taken for his sacri-  
fices: and of Hierico, that all the Golde and Siluer, and brasle shoulde be  
brought into the treasurie of the Lorde. VVherefore that also, vvhich is  
vwritten in Deutronomie, thou shalt not couet their siluer nor their golde,  
neyther shalt thou take any thing therof to thy selfe, least thou offende, by-  
cause it is abhominacion vnto the Lord thy God. &c. It manifestly appear-  
eth that euer private vses is forbydden in such things, or that nothing  
shoulde be brought into thy house that it be honored: for then it is abho-  
minacion. &c. Heretto Augustine.

By these wordes it doth manifestly appeare, that euen things al-  
together dedicated to Idols and vsed in Idolatrie, may be conuerted  
to common vses, and vsed in the seruice of God and to his honoz, but  
not to priuate vses nor superstitiously.

Idolatrours  
things turned  
to comon vse.

T.C. Pag. 55. Sect. 4.

As for Augustine his place, it is to be vnderstanded of such things as haue (\*) a necessarie vse,  
and therefore may not be taken away from vs by the superstition of men. For so we might also be  
deprived of the sunne, which is as it were the life of the worlde, because the sunne hath bene wor-  
shipped. But that Saint Augustine did not like of this kinde of reteining ceremonies, it maye (\*)  
appeare. Do you aske faith he, how the Paganes may be wonne, how they may be brought to sal-  
uation, forsake their solemnities, let go their topes, and then if they agree not vnto our truth, let the  
be ashamed of their sewnesse, whereby he sheweth that the nearest waye to gaue the Papistes, is  
to forsake their ceremonies. And yet I woulde be lothe to saye epyther with you, or with Augu-  
stine, that it is not lawfull for a man, to make of a Popes surplisse, a shirte for himselfe, or to take  
the golde of a Cope which he hath bought, and conuert it to his priuate vse. And herein we do no-  
thing disagree with Saint Augustine, whiche graunt that surplisses and copes, and tippets, and  
cappes, may be applyed to a good vse, epyther common or priuate, as they will best serue, but we de-  
nie that that vse is in distinguishing either the ministers from other men, or the ministers executing  
their ecclesiasticall function from themselves, when they doe not exercise that office.

(\*) This shifte is  
answered after-  
ward.

August.  
tom. 10. de  
verbis do-  
mini in  
Mattheum  
lum. 9.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The wordes of Augustine be plaine, neyther can they be so shifte of. And it ma-  
keth evidently against your distinction that he sayth such things may not be conuerted  
into priuate vses. A man may cauill with the most manifest authorities either of scrip-  
tures or fathers, that can be: but euery shifte and cauill is not a sufficient answer.  
This proposition is by these wordes of Augustine directly proued: that things altoge-  
ther dedicated to Idols and vsed in Idolatrie may be afterwarde vsed in the seruice of God,  
and to his honour, which is the state of our question. And because this is a materiall  
poynt, and peraduenture Saint Augustine his authoritie is not much regarded of you,  
I will set downe M. Caluine his opinion also touching the same matter, who in his  
Harmonie vpon the booke of Moyses, vpon these words in the 23. of Exodus ver. 24.  
Thou shalt vterly ouerthrowe, and breake in peeces their Images, sayth thus: we make it  
not now any scruple of conscience to reteine still those Churches which were polluted with  
Idols, and to put them to better vse because that whiche is added to the lawe *propter conse-  
quentiam* (as they terme it) doth not bynde vs. I graunt that all those things which doe tende  
to the planting of superstition ought to be taken awaye, so that, by precise vrging of  
that vvhich is of it selfe indifferent, vve be not in to much rigour, Supersti-  
tious. The place is worth the noting, it fully ouerthroweth your groundes agaynst  
the apparell.

Caluine.

Saint Augustine in that sermon quoted in your margent, speaketh against such as  
professing Christianitie did not withstanding resort to the temples of the Paganes at  
their solemnities and feasts, thinking it sufficient, if they did in heart detest the Idols,  
though in bodie they were present in their temples and at their feasts: much like vnto  
those that thinke it sufficient to serue God in heart, though in bodie they be present  
at



Things  
vickedly  
invented  
may haue  
good vse.

Aug. serm. 6.  
de verbis do-  
mi. in Matth.

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at the Masse, and Idolatrous service. That this is the meaning of Augustine in that place, it may evidently appeare to all suche as will peruse it : vpon this Augustine bringeth in these wordes : If you aske howe the Paganes may be ouercome, wonne, and illuminated, howe they maye be brought to saluation : forsake all their solemnitie, let goe theyr toyes, and then if they agree not vnto the truth, let them be ashamed of theyr fewnesse. It was in Saint Augustines time, as it is in some places at this day, where in some one citie there be Churches both for the Gospell, and for the masse also : it is not meete that suche as professe the Gospell, shoulde resort to the Masse : for besydes that they offende God in being presente at Idolatrous service, they also give occasion to the Papistes to thinke better of theyr Masse, bycause they see it frequented of suche as seeme to professe the Gospell, and thereby also persuade them selues of a greater multitude that embraceth their Religion : wherefore one way to conuert them is, to absteyne from their Churches, that they may vnderstand both our misliking of theyr service, and their owne paucitie also. And that this is ment of by Augustine in that place, it may also appeare by these wordes in the same Sermon: The Paganes saye in their heartes, why forsake we our Gods, seeing the Christians them selues worship them as well as we. And agayne : Beholde against what true God thou doest offende, whyles thou fallest downe before false Gods. S. Augustine speaketh not one worde in all that sermon of ceremonies, or any thing else taken from the gentils, and by Christians conuerted to other uses : muche lesse of any suche matter as we haue now in question. And therfore you do but abuse the Reader by reciting certaine wordes of S. Augustine without the circumstances, which open the true meaning of them.

I praise your wit for saying that such things may be conuerted to pinate uses : for denie that (as S. Augustine plainly doth) and I shall be bound vnto you, that your doctrine shall haue the fewer fauours by 3. parts : for surely many that condemne your opinions in heart, for hope of pinate commoditie, that might come vnto them, by the dissolution of colledges, Churches, &c. doe seeme very wel to like of them. Wherefore teach them (if you be wise) that such things may be conuerted to their pinate uses, what soeuer Augustine saith to the contrarie.

Augustine saith also that they maye be conuerted in honorem Dei, vnto the honour of God. What say you to that : as for your denying that that use is in distinguishing eynen the ministers from other men. &c. bicause it is but your bare denyall against al the proofes alleaged, I will with affirming the contrarie passe it ouer.

### Chap. 5. the fourth Diuision

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 58. Sect. 2. 3.

P. Martyr.

Peter Martyr in the Epistle befoze mentioned touching this matter, writeth on this sort.

But let vs consider your other argument, that is to saye : It is not lawfull to vse these kinde of vestures, bicause they vvere invented by the Popes tyrannie. In this poynt I doe not vuell perceiue howe it may be affirmed for a suertie, that vve can vse nothing that pertained to the Pope, and is vsed in Poperie. Truly vve must take good heede that vve bring not the Church of Christ into suche bondage, that it may not vse any thing that the Pope vsed. It is very true that our forefathers toke the temples of Idols, & turned them into holy Churches, vwhere Christ should be vvorshipped: And they tooke also the salarie and reuenevves consecrated to the Idols of the gentils, to their vicked shevves and playes, and to their holy votaries virgines, and transposed it to finde the Ministers of the Church : And yet all these things dyd not onely seruice vnto Antichrist, but vnto the deuill : yea the holy Ecclesiasticall vyriters dyd not sticketo take the verses of Poetes, vyhiche had

bene

Temples of  
Idols conuer-  
ted to the wor-  
ship of God.

Reuenevves.

Phrases of  
Doctes.



Things  
vickedly  
invented  
may haue  
good vse.

bene dedicated to Muses, and to other diuerse Gods and goddeses, for to beplayed in playes, and spoken in shevves, to obtaine the fauour of theyr Gods: I say they did nothing sticke or feare to vse them, vwhen it seemed to them conuenient, imitating Paule the Apostle, vwho stucke nothyng at all to rehearse for his purpose Menander, Aratus, and Epimenides, and that he dyd in intreating the holy Scripture apply prophane vvordes to set forth Gods Religion. VVe reade also howe that vvine vvas consecrated vnto Bacchus, bread vnto Ceres, vvater vnto Neptune, oyle vnto Minerva, letters vnto Mercurie, song vnto the Muses and vnto Apollo, and manie other things Tertullian rehearseth in his booke intituled *de corona militis Christiani*, vvhere almost he entreateth thys selfe same argumente: yet for all that vve sticke not to vse all these things freely asvvell in holye as in prophane vses, althoughe at one time or other before, they had bene consecrated to Idols and to deuils. **Hether to Peter Martyr.**

Wine, bread,  
&c. consecra-  
ted to Idols.

T. C. Page. 55. Sect. 5.

To all these things that M. Martyr reckoneth vp of reuerences, and wages, verses, swyne, breade, oyle, vvater, vvich beynge consecrated vnto Idols are wel vbled, Tertullian answereth in the same booke, vvhereout a number of these are taken: vvhen he sayth that vve oughte to admit a participation of those things, vvich beynge epyther a necessitie or profite in the vse of them, but vve denye these things thus vbled, are either necessarie or profitable. And therefore in steade of temples, riches, swine, &c. if you would haue matched the surplice well, you shoulde haue sayde sensors, tapers, holy bread, holy vvater, and such like.

Io. Whitgifte.

Master Martyr vsed these examples to proue that the surplice and other apparell of ministers nowe vbled (for that is the matter he handleth) may lawfully be reteyned and tworne: vvhole iudgement and authoritie vvith learned and vvise men both farre ouerreach your naked denyall. vvether doth Tertullian speake any thing in his booke *de corona militis*, that tendeth to the confutation of anye thing that Master Martyr hath here spoken, but to the confirmation of it rather, as he maye perceyue that vvith diligence readeth the booke. Eusebius *Lib. 4. cap. n.* sayth that Iustinus Martyr preached the Gospell of Christ beynge apparelled lyke an heathen Philosopher. S. Augustine *de ciuit. Lib. 19. cap. 19.* writeth thus: it pertyneth nothing to the Citie of God in what kinde of apparell, or in what order of lyfe, so that it be not agaynst God, anye man followe this sayth whereby we come vnto God. Therefore vvhen Philosophers become Christians, the church compelleth them not to chaunge their apparell, or manner of lyuing, vviche can nothing hinder Religion, but onely she compelleth them to chaunge their false opinions. Hilarie also sayth, in *Psal. 67.* that the spoyle of the heathens taken from the deuill, are deuided to the furniture and ornamentes of the Church of God. So that the saying of Master Martyr is very true, and confirmed by atncient authoritie, and the vse of the Church as the testimonies of these fathers manifestly declare. vvhere as you saye, that if I should haue matched the surplice well, I should haue sayd sensors, tapers, &c. I tell you againe that it is not I, but M. Martyr a famous and notable man, that so matched them, and at that time, vvhen the same matters vvvere in controuersie, and his iudgement required of them, and therefore coulde not be vvritten of him, but vvith great aduise-ment. vvotvvbeit, that you maye know something the more, you muste learne to put a difference betvvene *Adiaphora vera* & *Pseudoadiaphora*, those things that be indifferent in deede, and those that are falsely accompted indifferent.

Eusebius.

Augustine.

Hilarie.



Things  
vickedly  
inuented  
may haue  
good vse.

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### Chap. 5. the fifth Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 59. Sect. 1.

& Pag. 60. Sect. 1.

Bucer.

What it is to  
be a note of  
Antichrist.

The vse of a=  
buse of things  
indifferent.

Bucers opi=  
nion.

The distribu=  
tion of bread &  
wine in the  
sacrifices of  
deuils.

Bucer in an Epistle that he writte to Iohn Alasco, is of the same iudgement, his wordes are worthe to be noted, and be these: For if by no meanes it be lawfull to vse those things, vvhiche vvere of Aarons Priesthood or of the Gentiles, then is it not lawfull for vs to haue Churches, nor holydayes. For there is no expresse commaundement by vvord in the holy Scriptures of these things. It is gathered notwithstanding from the example of the olde people, that they are profitable for vs to the encrease of godlynesse, vvhich thing also experience proueth. For any thing to be a note of Antichrist, is not in the nature of any creature in it selfe (for to that ende nothing vvas made of God) but it hangeth altogether of consenting to Antichristes Religion and the professing thereof. The vvvhich consent and profetsion beyng chaunged into the consent and profetsion of Christianitie, there can sticke in the things themselves no note or marke of Antichristes Religion. The vse of Bels vvas a marke of Antichristianitie in our Churches, vvhen the people by them vvere called to Masses, and vvhen they vvere roong against tempestes: Nowve they are a token of Christianitie, vvhen the people by them are gathered together to the Gospell of Christ, and other holy actions. VVhy may it not then be, that the selfe same garments may serue godly vvith godly men, that vvas of vicked significati- on vvith the vngodly? Truly I knowve very many Ministers of Christe, most godly men, vvho haue vsed godly these vestures, and at this day doe yett vsen them: So that I dare not for this cause ascribe vnto them any faulte at all, much lesse so heynous a fault of communicating vvith Antichrist, for the vvvhiche faulte vve may vterly refuse to communicate vvith them in Christ. The Priests of deuils did celebrate in their sacrifices, the distribu- tion of bread and the cuppe, as Iustinus Martyr and Tertullian make menti- on. VVhat let is there vvhy vve may not vse the same ceremonies also? you vvill say vve haue a commaundement of the Lord touching this ceremonie. Very vvell. And by the selfe same it appeareth that same thing to serue a- mong the children of God to the seruice of Christ, vvvhich the vicked abu- sed in the seruice of deuils, if the commaundement of Christ be added there- to. But it is the commaundement of Christ, that in our holy actions vve in- stitute and vse all things so as comelinessse and order be obserued, that fayth may be edified.

The same M. Bucer in another Epistle writtten to M. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, saith on this sort: All true godly men may godly vse those rytes, vvvhiche vicked men haue abused howsoever vn- godly.

T. C. Pag. 56. Line. 2. & Sect. 1.

It is true that M. Bucer saith, that it is not in the nature of any creature to be a note of Antichrist, but yett it followeth not thereof, that the creature that hath bene accidentally and thoughtlesly buse applyed to Idolatrie, may be forthvvith vsed as we shall thinke good. For neither the Idols of the gentils, nor the corruptions of those vvvhich offered, had not power to make the beeste or mut- ton that was offered, no good and wholesome meate for the sustenance of man, neyther cause that a Christian man could not eate them as beefe & mutton, but yett either to eate it at the table of Idols, before



before them, or else privately in his owne house, when there was any weake by, that thought it an abominable thing, was not lawfull: and yet the meate neuertheless the good creature of God, and which might be receiued with thanksgiving, so the abuse of the surplis and coape, &c. cannot cause, but that they may be vsed as cloth and silke.

And whereas he saith that they are changed, and made of notes of Antichristianitie, markes of Christianitie, I say that they cannot be changed so by any decree or commaundement, forasmuch as notwithstanding that profession of change, the haire or men vnto whiche euery man must haue regard vnto, are not changed. For not so soone as the magistrate will say that these things shall be from henceforth vsed as things indifferent, forthwith men do vse them so, but those only vse them so, which haue knowledge, both the ignorant and the weake take them still otherwise.

### 10. Whitgiste.

Your answer to these learned and famous men, is not of any moment at all, for their reasons you answer only with wordes, when as indeede their onely wordes (for their godlinesse, experience, and learning sake) ought to be of greater credite than your reasons: but the aptnesse of your answers I referre to the indgement of the reader, seeing he hath both their wordes and yours before his eyes. This only I note, that something you will saye how vnaptly soeuer, least you shoulde seeme to giue place to the plaine truth. These vestures are neyther vsed at the tables of Idolls, nor with the offence of the the weake, as I haue shewed before: they are knowne of all men to be notes of the ministers of the Gospell, aswell as the bell is knowne to be rong to godly prayers, and preachings. &c. and therefore you haue spoken, but answered nothing.

### Chap. 5. the 6. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition, Pag. 60. Sect. 2.

Bullinger and Gualter in the epistle before alledged answering this question, whether we may weare such apparell as the Papistes do, say on this sort: If vve shoulde haue nothing common vwith them, then must vve forsake all our Churches, refuse all linings, nor minister baptisme, nor say the Apostles or Nicene creede, yea and quite cast avway the Lordes prayer, neyther do you borrow any ceremonies of them. The matter of apparell vvas neuer taken avway at the beginning of reformation, and is yet reteyned, not by the Popes layv, but by the kings commaundemente, as an indifferēt thing of meere pollicie. Yea truly if you vveare a cap or a peculiar kind of apparell, as a ciuill and politique thing, it smelleth neyther of Iudaisme, nor Monachisme: For these vwill seeme to separate themselves from the ciuill and common life, and accompt a meritorious deede in the vvearing of a peculiar garment. So Eustathius Byshop of Sebastia, vvas not simply condemned for vvearing a peculiar kind of garment: but for that he did put religion in his garment. The canons of the councell of Gangren, Laodicen, and of the sixt councell, are vvell knowne. If in case, any of the people be persvaded that these things sauoure of Papisme, Monachisme, or Iudaisme, let them be told the contrary, and perfectlye instructed therein. And if so be through the importunate crying out hereon before the people by some men, many be disquieted in their conscience, let them bevvare vvhiche so do, that they bring not greater yokes on their owne necks, and prouoke the Queenes maiestie and bring many faithfull ministers in suche danger, as they cannot ridde themselves out againe. Hitherto Bullinger.

Bullinger and  
Gualter.

Superstition  
in garments  
condemned.

T. C. Pag. 56. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

The rest of those things, which M. Bucer, and those which M. Bullinger and Gualter bring, are all of that sort, wherevnto answer is made.

Only this they adde, that if the people do abuse and peruerse those ceremonies, they oughte to be better instructed, which is a counsell not so conuenient, that the ministers and Pastors whiche

haue



hane so many necessarie poyntes to bestowe theyr tyme on, and to enforme the people of, shoulde bee drinen to cut off their tyme appoynted thereto, to teache them not to abuse these things, which if they vse neuer so well, they can gayn nothing, and to take heed that they hurte not themselves at those things, which in their best estate doe no good, especially when one sermon of the taking of them awaye topped w<sup>th</sup> authoritie to execute it, may doe more good, than a thousande sermons without authoritie.

Besides that, it is absurde, that Ceremonies whiche oughte to be helpers to promote the doctrine, shoulde become lettes and hinderances, whylest the minister is occupied in teaching, to beware of the abuse of them, and of superstition. And it is as muche as if one shoulde be sette to swatche a chyld all daye long, least he hurte himselfe with the knyfe, when as by taking awaye the knyfe quite from him, the danger is auoyded, and the service of the man better employed. And so it followeth, that althoughe the Church maye appoynte Ceremonies and rites, yet it can not appoynte these that haue greate incommodie, and no commoditie, greate offence, and no edifying.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

You haue omitted diuers things in the wordes of these learned menne, whereunto you haue not answered one worde, as the Reader by conference maye perceyue: and here you haue also willyngly passed ouer that whiche toucheth you somethyng pinchingly, in these wordes of M. Bullinger, and M. Gualter, *scil.* And if so bee thorough the importunate crying out hereon before the people. &c.

The reason  
recourued by  
on himselfe.

If to preache the truthe of the right vse of these Ceremonies be not so conuenient, because the Pastors haue so many necessarie poyntes, &c. how commeth it to passe that you and your partakers haue so pestered your sermons and booke therewith, and so long tyme taught the people nothyng else, but contempte of all good order and obedience in suche matters, and haue stirred them vp against the true preachers of the Gospell, and agaynst their Magistrates and rulers for the selfe same thyng? Is it not as conuenient for vs to rote out of the peoples myndes errors touchyng things indifferent, as it is for you to ingrafte them? or is not the doctrine of the true and lawfull vse of indifferent things, of due obedience towarde lawes and Magistrates a necessarie doctrine?

The doctrine  
of things in-  
different ne-  
cessary.  
Things abu-  
sed must not  
by and by be  
taken away.

Where as you say, it is absurde, that Ceremonies whiche oughte to be helpers to promote the doctrine, shoulde become lettes and hinderances, &c. I will not saye you speake absurdly, but vndoubtedly you speake vnadvisedly. For will you haue things indifferent abrogated so sone as they be abused, least they shoulde become lettes & hinderances, whylest the minister is occupied in teaching, &c. then take awaye tythes, landes, meates, &c. The abuse wherof must of necessitie oftentimes be reprehended in sermons, and the true vse taughte: and make all thinges common, that the preachers in their sermons maye be occupied aboute greate matters. Doe you not see that doctrine of thinges indifferente is necessarie? vnderstande you not that the taking awaye of the thinges from the eyes, dothe not by and by rote the opinion out of the heartes? Thynges abused muste not alwayes bee taken away when they are abused, but the right vse must be taught, and the abuse reprobued.

The chyld when he hath discretion, and is able to be instructed, though he sometime hurte himselfe with the knyfe, yet must not the same be altogether taken from him, but he muste be rebuked for vsyng it so vndiscretely, and taughte to vse it better. Shall the ryche and costely apparell be taken from Princes, nobles, and men & women of estate, and they brought to a popularitie therein, because there is greate abuse oftentimes in such apparell, and many prouocations to euill? No truly: but suche kyndes of abuses are to bee by the worde of God reprobued. Neyther dothe suche instructions and doctrine in matters indifferente hynder preachers from weighty matters. Why didde the Apostles make theyr decree of absteyning a suffocate & sanguine, from that that is strangled, and blood? or Saint Paul, of praying bare headed or couered? 1. Corinth. 11. Whych thyngs after ward myght growe to abuse, if they had not thought the doctrine of ceremonies to be conuenient.

At. 15.

Touching



Touching the great incommodie and offence that you imagine to be in this apparell, it is but your fantasie, which take y<sup>e</sup> apparell to be the cause of your nicenesse, contempt, disobedience, cōtention, & such like, remaining in you, whē in deēd it is nothing else but singularitie, and p<sup>r</sup>eposterous zeale: Wherfore that is to be remoued out of the hart, rather than the apparell from the back. To be shorte, y<sup>e</sup> which you imagine of any opinion of the Religion in this aparell, or superstition, or any such lyke offence, it is but a mere imagination to cloke & couer the corruptions of the mynde before mentioned.

*Chap. 5. the seuenth Diuision*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 61. Sect. 1.

I haue the rather set down these mens sayings at large, bicause they be both pithie, learned, & wholly to the cōfutation of your assertion. Wherfore I conclude that a Christian Magistrate may retein any ciuil, politike, or Ecclesiastical orders and rites, of whom soeuer they wer inuēted, or howsoeuer they haue bin abused, so y<sup>e</sup>, first they be not against the worde of God: Secondly, that Justification and remission of synnes be not attributed vnto them: Thirdly, that the church be not troubled with the multitude of thē: fourthly, that they be not decreed as necessarie, and not to be changed: And last of all, that men be not so tyed vnto them, but that by occasion they may be omitted, so that it be without offence and contempt.

T. C. Page. 56. Sect. 4.

And although they haue all these properties whiche you recite, yet if they bee not to edifying, if not to God his glorie, if not comely and agreeable to the simplicitie of the Gospell of Christ, crucified, they may not be established.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

It is sufficient if they p<sup>r</sup>ettyne to order and comelynesse (as I haue before declared) the iudgement whereof dothe not belong to euery p<sup>r</sup>imate man, but to suche onely as haue authoritie in the Church: to whose determination in suche matters all other of dustie are bound to submit themselves.

*Chap. 5. the 8. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 62. Sect. 1.

Y<sup>e</sup>t one thing I must admonish you of, that there is a difference to be made betwixt those things, which were wholly dedicated to false gods, and to be vsed in the worshipping of them: and those things which were vsed in the false worshipping of the true God: for the Papistes herein differ from the Gentils, that they acknowledge and confesse the true God, and beleue the same articles of faith that we doe: but yet worshyp him not aright, nor beleue on hym in all poyntes, as the worde of God p<sup>r</sup>escribeth. And therfore if thinges abused of the Gentiles, and inuented by them maye bee vsed of Christians, muche more may thinges inuented and abused by Papistes.

A difference  
between wor-  
shipping of  
false gods, and  
of the true  
God falsely.

T. C. Page. 56. Sect. 4.

Concerning your distinction, whereby you lessen the idolatrie of the Papistes, I haue shewed the vanitie thereof.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

And I haue answered whatsoeuer you haue there said: but yet your reply in y<sup>e</sup> place  
Aa. ij. will



Things  
wickedly  
invented,  
may haue  
a good vse

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will not serue euery circumstance of this place, except you will say with y<sup>e</sup> Stoickes,  
that *peccata sunt paria*, all sinnes are equall.

### Chap. 5. the ninth Diuision.

Ansvere to the Admonition, Pag. 62. Sect. 1.

But of this matter I mynde also to speake some thing in the second parte of this Admonition.

T. C. Page. 56. Sect. 5.

But of this matter you say you will speake againe. In deepe so you doe, and againe, wherein you confounde the memorie and vnderstanding of the Reader, and declare your selfe not only ignorant of Aristotles rule of *καθόλου πρῶτον* (which is to speake of one thing generally and once for all) but euen to be hoide of that order, whiche men haue commonly by the naturall Logike of reason. Neyther can you excuse your selfe in saying that the admonition giueth you so oftentimes occasion to speake of them, and so to lape the fault vpon it, for that it beyng written by diuers persons of the same matters, wherof (a) one knowe not of an others doing, can not be blamed for the repetition of one thing twice, when as you can not escape blame, whiche myghte haue gathered easily into one place, that whiche is sayde of them in diuerse: which thing, although it be not so easy for me to do in your booke, as it was for you to do in theirs, yet I wil assaye to doe it bothe in this, and in all other poyntes that followe, not thinking thereby to bring this treatise of yours to a good order (for that were to talt it newe againe, and then you would complayne of your mind perverted) but that I might reinedie this so great disorder, which may be doone without chaunging any thing of that which you haue set downe.

(a) A manifeste  
vntruth.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

I haue done as you ought to haue done if you had mente playnly: for I haue folowed *verbatim* the booke that I confute in the same order, that it is written, which I thinke be that confuteth oughte to doe. That the Admonition was written by diuers persons, the one not knowing of an others doing, can not be true: for both the partes haue one title, they bee in one volume, they were printed in one letter, at one tyme, by one and the same Wynter, and came abroade together, neyther were they euer separated that I knowe or can vnderstande. Moreover this belwrayeth all, and condemneth you, for one that hath no conscience in wytyng vntruthes, that in the beginning of the Admonition mention is made of both of these treatises in these wordes: Two treatises you haue heere ensuyng (belonging in Christe) whiche yee muste reade, &c. And in the ende of bothe these Treatises it is thus wyrtten: Wee haue thought good in the latter end of our booke, for sundry considerations, to certifie you (beloued brethren) of the reasons that haue moued vs, who are the authours of these treatises to keepe backe oure names, &c. Finally, the order and maner of bothe these Treatises the stile, the quotations, &c. doe manifestly conuince you of false witness bearing: but it is to vsuall with you.

I am not so cunning in Aristotle, that I can be so bolde as to attribute that vnto hym, whych is not to be founde in hym, as you do in this place: for though he speake much of this rule *καθόλου πρῶτον*, yet hath he no such thing as you father vpon him in this place.

It is meete that he whiche wyrteth a booke of any matters, shoulde of one matter speake fully in one place: but hee that confuteth, muste followe his order, whome hee confuteth. Whych if you hadde done in my Booke, as I haue done in theirs, eyther woulde not youre vnfaithfull dealing haue bin so muche, or else must it sooner, or easlier haue bin espied. Your fautes I leaue to your selfe that haue so good a grace in them.

### Chap. 5. the. 10. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 56. Sect. vii.

And if there bee anye other argumentes touchyng anye of these poyntes in other places, whiche I haue not gathered together into one, the faulte is in this, that I coude not bestowe so muche tyme in making a harmonie of the thynges, whiche are at so greete dyscorde, and then that whiche is left oute, shall bee answered in place where I shall fynde it.

Howe



Howe lette vs see M. Doctors δεύτερον πλῆθι, and second navigation touching apparel, whether it bee any happier, or haue any better successe than the fyrst.

### Io. Whitgiste.

A proper excuse, if any thing fall out in the whole booke, whiche you can not answer: as there be diuers, which you haue not answered.

Diuers things concerning apparell in other places of the Answer.

### Chap. 6. the fyrst Diuision.

#### Admonition.

Howe, we muste haue Surplisses deuised by Pope Adrian.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 105. Sect. 1. 2.

**T**he impurities you fynde in the administration of Baptisme bee these, Surplis. &c. Touching the Surplis, and suche lyke apparell, I haue spoken before sufficiently: the fyrste inuentor of it (whych you say to be Pope Adrian) dothe make it neyther better nor woorse, and yet it was vled long before Adrians tyme, neyther can you proue hym to be the fyrst inuentor thereof. It is certayne that such kynde of besture hath bene vled in the ministracion of the Sacramentes, long before any corruption of doctrine tooke place in the Church, as it appeareth both by Hierome in his fyrst booke *Aduersus Pelagi.* where he maketh manifeste mention of a whyte garmente vled in the Administration of Sacrifice by the Byshoppe, Priest, and Deacon. And also Chrysostome Hom. 6. to the people of Antioche, who speaketh of the lyke garmente woarne in the Church. Those that answered the examiner, do but chylidishly caull at these two places, whych in deede bee playne of themselves and euident, and so is that of Hieromes also vpon the. 44. of Ezechiel. The religion of God hath one habite in the ministracion, and an other in comon vse and lyfe. Reade the place considerately, and it shall easily appeare, that Hierome meaneth as well of Christian Ministers, as of Jewische Priestes.

Whyte garmente vled in the ministracion.

But of the vse of this and other apparel prescribed in this Church to be woarne by ministers, I haue spoken partly before, and am ready to speake more as occasion shall be offered. In the meane tyme the Surplis is not of the substance of Baptisme, neyther required as necessarie to the Administration therof, but as comely and decent.

T. C. Page. 57. Sect. 1.

In the. 105. page M. Doctour to proue the vse of the Surplice, to drawe out his booke into some competent volume, borroweth certayne places of the examiner, for answer. Whereunto, I will referre the reader to that whiche is answered vnto the examination, as to a full and sufficient answer, wherem I will reſte, and when M. Doctour hath proued that, whiche he sayeth, that it is but a chylidish caull, he shall then heare further.

In the meane season it is but a slender replie to so learned an answer (that proueth bothe out of other authours, and out of those same whiche the examiner citeth, that by a whyte garmente is mente a comely apparell, and not slouely) to saye it is but a chylidish caull, whych a D. of Diuinitie and of fortye yeares of age can not answer. The place of Hierome vpon the. 44. of Ezechiel, the more it bee considered, the more shall appeare the truthe of the Answer.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

A whyte garment in the ministracion bled in Hieromes tyme. Hiero. lib. 1. aduers. Pelagi. In. 44. Ezech.

Con. Carth. 4. Can. 41.

You haue not answered one worde of this, but only shifted it of: I purpose not at this tyme to vnrippe the answer to the Examiner, except you had taken the paines to set it downe. Both the places of Hierome are to be seene: in the one he sheweth, that in the administration of the Sacramentes, the Bishoppe, Prieste, and Deacon didde weare a white vesture: And in the other he sayeth, that the Religion of GOD hathe one habite in the ministracion, and an other in the common vse and lyfe. Ioyne these two places together, and see whether the wordes of Hierome be manifest or no. And that it may evidently appeare, that at this tyme wherein Hierome lyued, the maner was to weare white garments in the tyme of diuine seruice and Administration of Sacramentes, I will recite the wordes of the fourthe Councell of Carthage, at the which there were present, 214. Bishops among whome was S. Augustine: *Diaconus tempore oblationis tantum vel lectionis, alba induatur*: Let the Deacon weare a whyte vesture, only in the tyme of the oblation and reading. *Canone. 41.* And this may be a sufficient confutation to what soeuer is spoken of these places of Hierome in the answer to the Examiner.

*Chap. 6. the second Diuision.*

## Admonition.

And as for the apparell, though we haue ben long borne in hande, and yet are, that it is for order and decency commaunded, yet we knowe and haue proued that there is neither order nor comelynesse, nor obedience in vsing it. There is no order in it but confusion, no comelynesse, but deformitie: no obedience, but disobedience both against God and the Prince.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 236. the last lyne but one, & Pag. 237. Sect. 1.

**T**o all this also I haue answered before, I meane to all the reasons here alleadged, as for bare wordes, they preuaile with none, but suche as haue respecte to the persons, & not to the matter. And therfore I omit these wordes of pleasure, which you vse, when you saye, that in this apparell there is no order but confusion, no comelynesse, but deformitie: no obedience but disobedience, both against God and the Prince.

Disobedience to the prince in ciuill matters, is disobedience to God.

It is not every private mannes parte to define what is order and comelynesse in externall matters being indifferent, but is proper to them only, to whom God hath committed the gouernement of hys church, whose orders and lawes (not beeing against the worde of God) whosoever doth disobey, disobeyeth both God and the Prince: as you do in disobeying the Princes lawes in these matters.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Nothing is sayd to this, although some part of it necessarily requireth an answer.

*Chap. 6. the third Diuision.*

## Admonition.

We maruell that they coude espie in the laste synode, that a gray Amyse, whiche is but a garment of dignitie, should be a garment (as they say) defyled with superstition, and yet that copes, caps, surplices, tippets, and suche lyke baggage, the preaching signes of Popishe priesthoope, the Popes creatures, kepte in the same forme to this ende, to bring dignitie and reuerence to the ministers and sacraments, should be reseynd still, and not abolished.

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 237. Sect. 2.

It is well that you seeme to iustifye the gray Amyse, bycause the Bishops haue disallowed of it in theyr Synode, Truly this is your conscience and religion, to be alwayes *ad oppositum*, & to disallow that, which law & authoritie alloweth, and allow that, which they disallow. The nexte



nexte waye (as I thinke) to driue you vnto conformitie in apparell were to make a streight law, that no man should weare such kind of apparell: bycause you loue to be contrary to lawes and good orders.

T. C. Page. 57. Sect. 3. 4. 5.

Now I will desire the reader to turne vnto the. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. pages, to see whether at this third booke master Doctor bringeth any better marchandise. Where first he surmisseth an vntruth, as though the Admonition misliked of the taking away of the gray Amis, where it saith only, that there was lesse cause to take that away, than the surplis. &c. Wherein there is nothing but the truth sayd, for bycause that was vsed in fewe churches, and but of fewe also in those few churches: Therefore if there were cause to take away that, there was greater to take away the surplis. And to take away the Amis out of the Church, and leaue the surplis, &c. is to heale a scratch and leaue a wound vnhaled.

Now whereas you say, that we are always (Ad appositum) and that if the lawe commaunded straightly, that we should weare none of this apparell that then we would weare: if it should be answered againe that you do (\*) Seruire scena: that is, that you are a time seruer, you see we mighte speake with more likelihoode than you. But we will not take (as you do) the iudgemente of God out of his hands, but will attend patiently the reuelation and discovering of that, whiche is now hidde both in you and vs.

(\*) I haue serued as few times as you.

And although you will graunt vs neyther learning nor conscience, yet you might afford vs so much witte as that we would not willingly, and of purpose want those commodities of life, which we might otherwise enioy as well as you, if we had that gift of conformitie which you haue.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The wordes of the Admonition touching the gray Amis be these: we maruaile that they could espie in their last synode, that a gray Amis, which is but a garmēt of dignitie, should be a garment (as they say) defiled with superstitio, and yet that coapes. &c. Do they not say that the Amis is but a garment of dignitie. &c. consider their wordes well, and you shall see that master Doctor hath said truly.

The gray Amis was iustly taken away, bycause the vse of it is not established by any law of this realme, as the vse of other vestures be: and in mine opinion the Bishops deserued commendation in so doing: for thereby they declared, that they will not suffer any rites or ornaments to be vsed in this Church, but suche only as are by publike authoritie established.

Experience hath taught me that diuerse men be of that nature, that they haue a delight in opposing themselves to the present estate, and I see it by pꝛoofe to be a great fault in diuers of you.

Some men delight to be contrary to times.

I haue hitherto serued as few contrary times as you haue done: as for the gift of conformitie, which you say I haue, I thanke God for it, I haue learned to conforme my selfe to the time in that sense, that S. Paule hath willed me so to do. Rom. 12. and to lawes also and magistrates, as I am likewise commaunded in the. 13. Chapter of the same epistle.

Rom. 12.  
Rom. 13.

What commodities you want, that I haue, I cannot coniecture: your meate and drinke is pꝛouided with lesse trouble and charges vnto you, and in more delicate and deintie manner, than mine is: your ease and pleasure ten times more, you do what you list, go when you list, come when you list, speake when you list at your pleasure. What would you haue more? I know not why you should complaine, except you be of the same disposition with the Franciscane friers, who when they hadde filled their bellies at other mens tables, were wont to cry out and say: O quanta patimur. &c. Some men are delited to be fed at other mens tables, and pꝛeferre popular fame be- fore Gold and siluer.

### The faults wherewith the Admonitors

charge the Apparell answered.

### Chap. 7. the .1. Diuision.

Admonition.

But they are as the garments of the idoll, to which we should say, auant, and get thee hence.

Tha. iiii.

They



Temples  
of idolls  
conuerted  
to Christiā  
Churches

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## The defense of the answere

Tract. 7

They are as the garments of Balaamites, of Popish priests, enemies to God and all christians.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Page. 237. Sect. 3. 4.  
& Pag. 238. Sect. 1.

Cursed things  
consecrated to  
God.

But you say, they are as the garments of the Idoll, to the whiche we should say, a-  
nant and get thee hence, they are as the garments of Balaamites, of Popish priests, enemies  
to God and all Christians. Be it so: so were all things in Hierico accursed,  
and an abomination to the Lord, neither was it lawfull for the Is-  
raelites to touch any thing therof: and yet was the gold and the sil-  
uer, and the brasen and iron vessels caried into the treasure house of  
the Lord, and consecrated vnto him. Iosua. 6.

Gedeon sacrifi-  
ced an ore  
consecrated to  
Baal.

Gedeon was commaunded to take and sacrifice that Ore of his fa-  
thers to God, which his father had fedde, and brought bp to be sacri-  
ficed to Baal, yea and to burne that Ore with the selfesame wood,  
that was consecrated and dedicated to the Idoll Baal. Iudic. 6.

Our forefathers toke the temples dedicated wholly to Idolls,  
yea to Devils, and most abhominably defiled with diuelish and ab-  
hominable seruice, and turned them into holy Churches, wher Christ  
should be worshipped.

T. C. Pag. 57. Sect. 6. 7.

(\*) Here you dis-  
port your selfe,  
with your owne  
imagination.  
(a) No such pur-  
gation to be  
found in that  
place.

Whereas you say that the accursed things of Hierico, and the Ore, that was fedde to be sanc-  
tified vnto Baal, and the wood consecrated vnto the Idoll, were conuerted to the seruice of the  
living God, when you shall proue that the surplis is so necessary to the seruice of God, as gold and  
silver, and other mettall, and as Oren and wood, whereof the first sort were such, as without the  
which, the temple could not be built, the other, such as were expressly commaunded of God, to be  
used in his seruice, then I will confesse that this place maketh something for you. And (\*) yet if  
your coopes and surplises, &c. should haue such a purgation by fyre, as those (a) mettalls had, or euer  
the Lord would admitte them into his treasure house, and should be drinen to passe from Idolie  
vnto the gospel, by the Chimney, the fyre would make suche swacke with them, that they should  
neede haue better legges, than your arguments, to bring them into the Church.

Moreover, do you not see heere, that you haue not losed the knotte, but cut it: For the autho-  
rs of the Admonition obiect the place of Esay. 30. and you obiect againe the places of Deuteronomy,  
and of the Iudges, this is to oppose sword against sword: in stead that you shoulde haue first hol-  
den out your buckler, and latched the blow of your aduersary. As for Churches, it hath bin answere-  
d that they haue a profitable vse, and therefore very euill compared with the surplis, whiche be-  
side that it bringeth no profyte, hurteth also, as is before said.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Things dedi-  
cated to idolls  
may be con-  
uerted to gods  
honour.

That wood, that golde, and that Ore, &c. was not so necessary, but that bothe God  
might haue bin serued, and the temple buidded without them: and therefore that is no an-  
swere. For although gold, wood, oren, &c. be necessary, yet the golde and silver founde  
in Hierico, the Ore reserued by Gedeons father, and wood that was consecrated to  
Baal, was not so necessary: for there might haue bin other golde, silver, wood, oren, &c.  
prouided. In that God commaunded these things to be done, you know that S. Au-  
gustine (in the epistle ad Publicolam, in the words before rehearsed) doth conclude a ge-  
nerall doctrine, that things dedicated to Idolls may be conuerted to common vles, and  
to the honoure of God. For he vseth the selfesame places to proue the same, and an-  
swereth that, which may be alledged to the contrary out of Deuterono. So doth it al-  
so the place of Esay quoted in the margent of the Admonition: which answer if it will  
not satisfy you, then do I further referre you to that, which I haue also before allead-  
ged out of M. Caluine writing vpon the 23. of Exod. verse. 24. But thys place of E-  
say and suche lyke, are vnaptly alleadged agaynst the apparell now vled, being  
nothing



nothing of that nature, that those things be, whereof the Prophete in that place speaketh.

You say: if our coopes and surplices, &c. should haue suche a purgation by fyre, &c. I pray you where reade you of any such purgation by fyre of those metallis before they were admitted into the Lords treasure house? And what purgation by fyre coulde there be of the wood, or of the ore, before they were vsed in the sacrifice and service of the Lorde: There is no such purging of the things taken in Jericho mentioned in that Chapter, but the contrary: for thus it is written. After they burnt the citie with fyre, and all that was therein, only the siluer and gold, and the vessels of brasle and iron they put into the treasure house of the Lorde: and in the place before, where Josua is commaunded to reserue these things, there is no commaundement of any such purging.

As your common answer is this, that such things haue profitable vses, and therefore may be reteyned, though they were consecrated to Idols (which is but a shift of your owne without any ground) so I say that these vestures haue a decent and comely vse, and be referred to order, and therefore may be reteyned likewise although they were vsed in Idolatrie. And if you shal answer and say that ther may be other things vsed more comely and decently, then I reply, that so there may be places as commodious as these Churches: golde, siluer, wood, &c. as good and as profitable as that. And if you object that they be not comely and decent, then I say vnto you, that it is your part, and the part of all those, that be obedient, to submitte your selues to the iudgement of those that be in authoritie, except they commaund such things as be contrary to the commaundement of God.

### Chap. 7. the. 2. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Fol. 238. Sect. 2. 3.

To be short, no Deuill, no Idoll, no Pope can so defile the nature or forme (not being contrary to the scriptures) of any of Gods creatures, that the libertie of a Christian man shuld be taken away in vsing, and not vsing them.

No man can defile the nature & forme of things.

And I say againe with M. Bucer, that for any thing to be a note of Antichrist, is not in the nature of any creature in itselfe (for to that end nothing was made of God) but it hangeth altogether of consenting to Antichristes religion, and the professing thereof: The vvhiche consente and profession being changed into the consente and profession of Christianitie, there can sticke in the things themselves no note or marke of Antichristes religion. The vse of bells was a marke of Antichristianitie in our Churches, vvhien the people by them were called to Masses, and vvhien they were roong against tempests, now they are a token of Christianitie, vvhien the people by them are gathered together to the Gospell of Christ, and other holy actions. &c.

Bucer.

T. C. Page. 57. Sect. vlt.

To be short (saith M. Doctor) when he reciteth me almost a whole side word for word, as he hath cited before, where he hath had his answer.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Surely this iesting spirite was neuer in any of the Apostles or Martyrs of Christs Church that I can reade: but to passe it over, M. Doctors short is very shortly answered: the cause wherof I referre to the Reader. Howsoener you iest out the matter, you haue neither answered M. Doctors to be short, nor that which is translated.

Answer



Hovv the  
Apparell  
serueth to  
edification

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## The defense of the answere

### Chap. 7. the third Diuision.

Tract. 7.

Admonition.

They serue not to edification.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 238. Sect. 3.

Ceremonies  
do not edify  
of themselves  
but tend to e-  
dification.

You say also that they do not edify. If you say that they do not edify of themselves, you say truly: for only the holy Ghost on this sort doth edify, by the ministerie of the word. But if you say, they edifye not at all, that is, that they do not tend to edifying, as other ceremonies and things vsed in the Church (as Pulpit, Church, kneeling, singing and such like) which be appointed for order and decencie, do: then speake you that, whiche you are not able by sound arguments to iustify.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

To this not one word.

### Chap. 7. the fourth Diuision.

Ansver to the Admonition Pag. 238. Sect. vlt.

Peter Martyr in his epistle written to M. Hooper thinketh that they do edify after a sort as other ceremonies do. And so doth M. Bucer also in his epistle written to M. Alasco.

T. C. Pag. 57. Sect. vlt.

After this he setteth himselfe to proue that they do edify, and that firste by M. Bucers and M. Martyrs authoritie, and yet in their words before alleadged, there is not a word of edifying. If he gather it of their words, the answer is already made.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Bucer.

I tell you it is in their epistles, not in their words before alleadged. M. Bucers words be these. Now if any Church iudge and haue experience (such as I doubt not there are many at these days in Germany) that the vse of such vesture bringeth some commendation to the holy ministration, and thereby helpeth somewhat in the way of comelinesse and order, to the encrease of faithe: VVhat (I pray you) can be brought out of the scriptures why that Church is not left to hir owne iudgement in this matter, neyther therefore to be contemned, or to be called into question for hir iudgement sake? That Church verely will keepe in these things a meane agreeable to the crosse of Christ, and will diligently attend that no abuse creepe into it. VVitherto M. Bucer. To the like effect also writeth M. Martyr in the epistle before named.

### Chap. 7. the 5. Diuision.

Ansver to the Admonition. Fol. 239. Sect. 1.

The apparell  
doth tend to  
edifying for  
these causes.

Furthermore, that they do edify, it is manifest, firste, bycause they are by a lawfull magistrate, by lawfull authoritie, for order and decencie appoynted in the Church, without any manner of superstition, or suspicion of the same.

T. C. Pag. 57. Sect. vlt.

Then he bringeth reasons to proue it, wherof in the first he seemeth to reason that bycause it is commaunded by a lawfull magistrate, and lawfull authoritie, therefore it edifyeth. As though a lawfull magistrate doth nothing at any time unlawfully, or as though a lawfull and a godly magistrate doth not sometimes commaund things, which are inconuenient and unlawfull. Sene was a lawfull magistrate, and did commaund unlawfull things. Dauid was a lawfull and godly magistrate



strate, and yet there slip from him commandments, which were neyther lawfull nor godly. But he addeth that it is done for order, and for decencie without superstition, or suspicion of it. This is that, which is in controuersie, and ought to be proued, and Mr. Doctor still taketh it as graunted, and still faulteth in the petition of the principle, wherewith he chargeth others.

### Io. Whitgiste.

That whiche is appointed in the Church by a lawfull magistrate, and by lawfull authoritie for order and decencie without any superstition or suspicion of superstition doth edify as other orders do: but it is certaine that the apparell nowe vled is so appointed, Ergo, it doth edify as other orders do.

You caull at the maior, and bying in the examples of Saule and Dauid, to proue that a lawfull magistrate did commaund vnlawfull things, but you omitte the other circumstances contained in the maior, and therefore you answer not to the purpose. The minor you saye is in controuersie, and I do fault in the petition of the principle. Surely I do petere y principium, that no good subiect can denie. For the Quenes maiestie is a lawfull magistrate, the authoritie of Parliament is a lawfull authoritie, hir maiestie by that authoritie hath appointed this apparell, and that as it is protested for comelinesse and decencie without any superstition, Ergo, the minor is true. If you will yet doubte of comelinesse and decencie, then I still say vnto you, that what is comely and decent, is not euery mans part to iudge, but the magistrates and suche as haue authoritie in the Church.

### Chap. 7. the. 6. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 239. Sect. 2.

Secondly, bycause we are by due prooffe and experience taughte, that such as haue woene this apparell, and do weare it, by the ministration of the word haue greatly edified, and do dayly.

T. C. Page. 58. Sect. 1.

The second reason is, that they that weare this apparell haue edified, and do edify, which is, as if a man would say, the midwives which lyed vnto Pharaos, did much good amongst the Israelites, Ergo their lying did much good. If he will say, the comparison is not like bycause the one is not sinne in his owne nature, wheretas the other is sinne, then take this: One that stammereth and stut-teth in his tong edifieth the people, therefore stammering and stutting is good to edify. For what if the Lord giue his blessing vnto his word, and to other good gifts, which he hath that preacheth and weareth a surplis, &c. Is it to be thought therefore, that he liketh wel of the wearing of that apparell: This is to assigne the cause of a thing to that, which is not only not the cause thereof, but some hindrance also, and slaking of that, whereof it is supposed to be a cause. For a man may rather reason, that for asmuch as they which preach with surplis, &c. edify (notwithstanding that they thereby) drive away some, and to other some giue suspicion of euill, &c.) then if they preached without wearing any such thinges, they should edify much more. And yet if a man were assured to gaine a thousand, by doing of that, which may offend, or cause to fall one brother, he ought not to do it.

(\*) They that are driven away for that cause do giue suspicion of Anabaptisme.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Indeepe, if this apparell were of that nature, that a lye is, your similitude of the midwives had some shew in it: and yet must you of necessitie confesse, that their lying to Pharaos did much good per accidens: for otherwise the men children of the Israelites, and euen Moses himselfe had bin murdered: and you are not ignorant that diuers writers in this respect excuse that doing of theirs. You knowe likewise what the opinion of some is, touching that kynd of lye that is called officiosum mendacium: but for my part, I am in that point of Sainte Augustines iudgement. But your similitude is not lyke: and if it were, yet makes it agaynst you, for they lying dyd good, as I haue sayd before.

Your other similitude of stammering & stutting is ridiculous, and argueth your great contempt



contempt of lawfull and decent orders. The lawes of this Church have prescribed this apparell to the ministers of the worde as decent, orderly, and comely, the same lawes have inhibited those to preach, that refuse to submit themselves unto such orders. Wherefore seeing they be appointed as fit garments for preachers, and none may preach, except he receive them, they do edify, not by themselves, as I have before declared, but *per accidens*, as all other suche like things do. For neyther the church, nor the Pulpit, nor the bells, nor kneeling and such other do other wise edify than *per accidens*.

Touching offence that is taken at the wearing of this apparell, I have shewed before, that it is an offence taken and not given: neyther is it to be considered whether men be offended or no, but whether they have any iust cause of offence. Many be offended with our Churches, and will neyther heare sermon, nor receive the sacraments in them: we must not therefore pull downe our Churches, or cease to preach, and administer the Sacramentes in them. You must remember the destination of *scandalum acceptum* and *scandalum datum*: an offence given, and an offence taken.

### Chap. 7. the seventh Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Fol. 239. Sect. 3.

Thirdly, by cause also by experience we dayly vnderstand, that such as consent in wearing this apparell, consent also in all other points of doctrine, and kepe the peace of the church, which is one of the principall causes of edifying: contrariwise, such as refuse the same apparell, not only dissent & disagree among themselves, but fall into diuers & strange opinions without stay: & slander the gospel with their contentiousnesse, and teare in peeces the Church of Christ with their factions and schismes: and be the cause why both the worde of God, and Christian magistrates be almost generally contemned.

T. C. Pag. 58. Sect. 2.

The thirde reason is, that they which consent in wearing the surplices, consent also in all other pointes of doctrine, and they that doe not weare it, do not consent, nor so much as among themselves. If this consent in the points of religion be in the surplice, cope, &c. tell vs I beseech you, whether in the matter, or in the forme, or in what hidde and vnkowne qualitie standeth it? If it be in that the ministers vse all one apparell, then it is marvell that this being so strong a bonde to holde them together in godlie vnitie, that it was neuer commaunded of Christe, nor practised of Prophets or Apostles, nether of no other reformed Churches. I had thought wholly, that those things whiche the Lorde appoynteth to maintayne and keepe vnitie with, and especially the holie Sacramentes of Baptisme, and of the Lorders Supper, had bene strong enough to haue bynde of all kinde vs vnto the Lorde, and therefore also to his doctrine, and then one of vs to an other, and that the dissentings in suche a Ceremonie as a Surplice, &c. neyther should nor could in those that perswade vnto God, breake the vnitie of the Spirit, which is bounde with the bonde of truth. And although there bee whyche lyke not this apparell, that thinke otherwyle than eyther they brethren, or than in dede they oughte to doe, yet a man may fynde greater dissent amongst those, whiche are vnyted in Surplice and Cope, &c. than there is amongst those whiche weare them not, eyther with them selues, or with them that weare them. For howe many there are that weare Surplices, whiche woulde be gladde to saye a Masse, than to heare a Sermon, lette all the worlde iudge. And of those that doe weare this apparell, and be otherwyle well mynded to the Gospel, are there not whiche will weare the Surplice and not the cappe: other that will weare bothe cap and surplice, but not the tippet: and yet a thirde sorte, that will weare surplice, cappe, and tippet, but not the cope? It hath bene the manner alwayes of wyle and learned men to eschewe of things by the causes, and not by the euent, and that especially in matters of religion, for if they should be eschewed of the euent, who is there which will not condemne the Israelites battel agaynst Ape, and afterwards agaynst the Beniamites: which notwithstanding, the cause which was Gods will, and Gods commaundement, iustifyeth. And therefore in a word I answer, that if there be such consent amongst those whiche like well of this apparell, and such iarrow amongst those that like it not, as I have



would make the world beleue) neither is the wearing of a surplice, &c. cause of that consent in the, nor the not wearing, cause of that disagreement in the other. But all our knowledge and loue is imperfect here in this world, so is our agreement and consent of iudgement imperfect. And yet all these hard speeches of yours, or vcharitable suspicions of papisme, Anabaptisme, catharisme, donatisme, &c. wherby you do as much (as lyeth in you) to cut vs cleane of from you, shall not be able so to estrange vs or separate vs from you, but that we will by gods grace holde, whatsoever you holde well, and kepe that vnitie of spirit, which is the bond of truth, even with you. Master Doctor whom we suppose as appeareth by this your booke, to haue set your selfe further frō vs, than numbers of those, which although they be content to receiue the apparell, and beare with things, yet would haue bene loth to haue set downe that against the sinceritie of the Gospel, and hinderance of reformation, which you haue done.

### Io. Whitgife.

Such lawes & orders as kepe godly peace and vnitie in the Church do edifie, but the lawes for apparell kepe godly peace & vnitie in the Church, Ergo, they edifie. The Minor I proue by experience of such as are subiect to these lawes & by the euent: which is a probable kinde of reasoning, though it be not necessarie: neither may the examples of a few improue that, which is generally true almost in all.

These persons, that you talke of, which be thus contrarily mynded (if there be any such, as I thinke you do but faine) yet do they kepe the peace of the Church, they condemn not their brethren, neither yet the apparell that they them selues (peraduenture for some speciall cause) weare not.

Some I know there are, which agree with vs in wearing the apparell, and ioyne with you in contention: subscribe to all our orders & articles, and yet in certaine places and companies mainteine your opinions, but of such we make no accompt, neither I thinke do you, further than they may serue your turne.

Again I confesse that there be some which haue not receiued the apparell, and yet greatly mislike many of your opinions, and keepe with vs the vnitie of the Church, whom I for my part haue alwayes reuerenced, & do reuerence not onely for their singular vertue & learning, but for their modestie also. Wherefore when I speake eyther of the one or of the other, I speake not of all, but of the most part.

Certaine it is, that those things which the Lord appointeth to kepe vnitie with, and especially the sacraments ought to be the especiall bond of the same: & that nothing should separate those, that are coupled and ioyned therein: but we see it fall out other wise, such is the crooked & rebellious nature of mā, & therfore hath God also appointed Magistrates, and giuen them authoritie to make orders & lawes to mainteine the peace and vnitie of the Church, that those which of conscience and good disposition will not, by suche lawes and orders may be constrained at the least to kepe the externall peace and vnitie of the Church. Doe you take this to be a good reason: The Sacraments are bonds to kepe and mainteyne the vnitie of the spirite, therfore there needeth no lawes or Magistrates to prouide for the externall peace and quietnesse of the Church: your imagination throughtoute your whole booke is of suche a perfection in men, as though they needed no lawes or Magistrates to gouerne them, but that euery man might be as it were a lawe to himselfe, which whereunto it tendeth may easily be conjectured.

T. C. Imagineth suche a perfection as is not to be founde.

I haue not set downe any thing (I trust) to the hinderance of the Gospel, or of reformation, but I seeke to reforme such contentious spirites as be entyned vnto both. And I beleue that when some other (not onely such as you meane, but such as you least thinke of) shall vnderstande the depth of your opinions, together with the strangenesse, vnto truth, dangerousnesse & other circumstances ioyned with them, they will thinke that I haue spoken or written nothing eyther vnto the, or vnnecessarily. In the meane tyme I discharge my conscience and duetie, and so will doe (God willing) as long as I can either speake or write.



How app-  
parell ser-  
ueth to e-  
dification.

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## The defense of the answer

Tract. 7.

### Chap. 7. the eight Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Page. 239. Sect. 4.

P. Martyr.

I here omit that which I might as iustly bring for this kinde of apparell, as you do for sitting at the comunion: I meane a fit & profitable signification, wherof M. Martyr speaketh in the Epistle before mentioned on this sort: I vwill not here say, that they vvhich stand to the defence of this matter, may pretend some honest and iuste signifi- cation of the apparell, and that not dissenting from the vvorde of God, vvvhich is this: the Ministers of the Church (as the Prophet Malachie vvitnesseth) be Angels and Gods messengers: but Angels for the most parte appeared, beyng clothed in vyhite garmentes. I pray you how shall vve debarre the church of this libertie, that it can not signifie some good thing in setting forth their rites and ceremonies, especially being so done, that no manner of Gods honour is attributed vnto them, and that they be in sight comely, and in number fewe, and that Christian people be not vvith them outburdened, and matters of greater importance be omitted.

T.C. Pag. 59. Line. 5.

Master Martyr  
words peruer-  
ted.

The white apparell which is a note and a true representation of the glory and purenesse in the Angels, should be a lying signe, and pretence of that, which is not in the Ministers, which are miserable and sinfull men. And our saviour Christ, which was the minister of God, and pure from sinne, and therefore meetest to weare the markes of purenesse, vied no suche kinde of webe, saving onely for that small time, wherein he should give to his disciples in the mount, a taste of that glory which he should enjoy for ever, and they vvith him: where for the time his apparell appeared as white as snow. And if it be meete that ministers should represent the Angels in their apparell, it is much more meete, that they should haue a paire of winges as the Angels are described to haue, to put them in remembrance of their readinesse and quicknesse to execute their office, which may & ought to be in them, than to weare white apparell, which is a token of purenesse from sinne and infection, and of a glory, which neither they haue, nor can haue, nor ought so much as to desire to haue, as long as they be in this vvorld. And whereas the maintainers of this apparell, haue for their greatt defence, that it is a thing more ciuill: to let passe, that they confounde ecclesiasticall orders vvith ciuill (which they can no more iustly doe, than to confounde the Church vvith the common wealthe) I saye to let that passe, they doe by this meanes not onely make it an Ecclesiasticall ceremonye, but also a matter of conscience. For if so be that the white apparell of the Minister haue any force, either to moue the people, or the Minister vnto greater purenesse, or to any other godlynesse whatsoever, then it is that which ought to be commaunded, and to be obeyed of necessity, and to be receyued, although the contrarie were forbidden. And then also if there be a vertue in a white garment, and the signification thereof be so strong to vvork godlynesse, it were meete that order were taken, (a) that the whitt cloth should be bought, that should be often (at the leaste euery weeke once) vvashed by a very good laundress, and vvith sope: for if the white (b) helpe, more white helpeth more, and that which is most white, helpeth moste of all to godlynesse. Although the Church haue authoritie to make Ceremonies (so they be according to the rules before recited of Gods glory, and profitting the congregation) I coulde for all that neuer yet learne that it had power to gyue newe significations, as it were to institute newe Sacramentes. And by this meanes is taken cleane away from vs, the holde which we haue agaynst the Papistes, whereby (agaynst all the goodly shewes which they make by the colour of these significations) we saye that the vvorde of God, and the Sacramentes of Baptisme, and of the Supper of the Lorde, are sufficient to teache, to admonish, and to put vs in remembrance of all dutie whatsoever. So we are nowe come to the superstition of the Grecians, for as they vvill haue neyther grauen nor carved image in their Churches, but paynted, so vvill we neyther haue grauen nor carved, nor paynted, but vvoven. And truly I see no cause why we may not haue alwey holly water and holly bread, if this reason which is here, be good: for I am sure the significations of them are as glorious as this of the surplice, and call to remembrance as necessarie things. And if it be sayde, that it maye not be, leaste the number of Ceremonies should be to to greate, it maye be easily answered, that these which we haue maye be taken awaye, and those set in place of them. And therefore although the surplice haue a blacke spotte, when it is whitest, yet is it not so blacke as you make it vvith your white significations, nor the cause so euill, as you defende it.

(a) Here you  
play with a fea-  
ther.  
(b) You under-  
stand not this to-  
picall place: for  
it holdeth in  
those things on-  
ly, quæ p se ali-  
quid faciunt.



If you presse me with M. Martyrs and M. Bucers authoritie, (c) I first say they were men, & therefore (although otherwile very watchfull) yet such as slept some times. And then I appeale from their Apocryphas, unto their knowne writings, and from their priuate letters unto their publike recordes.

(c) An easie kind  
of answering.

### Io. Whitgifte.

I haue here onely set downe M. Martyrs words to shew that I might as iustly bring in a fit and profitable signification of the apparell, as the authoꝛs of the Admonition doe of sitting at the communion. I byd not allow their signification of sitting, neyther doe I approue any suche signification of Apparell: but yet you will gyue me leaue to set the one agaynste the other, and to shewe that I mighte aswell doe the one as they doe the other.

You peruert Master Martyrs wordes: for he sayth that for as muche as Angels appeared in white apparell, and the Ministers of the Church be Angels and Gods messengers, therefore the Church maye appoynt to hir Ministers suche apparell in signification of their office. Which you doe not answer, but range vp and downe at your pleasure like vnto a spaniell not taughte to followe his game. M. Martyr doth not say that the apparell is a signe of purenesse that is in the Minister: and therefore all this that you write in confuting of that, myght haue bene cutte off, and very well spared. But if Master Martyr shoulde haue sayde that it maye be a signe of the purenesse that oughte to be in Ministers, you are to seeke for an answer as yet. Christ beyng puritie if selfe needed nothyng to put hym in mynde thereof, but man beyng impure may haue externall instrumentes to byd hym (as it were) remember what he ought to be. I thinke that seuerall kyndes of habites be appoynted to men of diuerse degrees and calling, partly for that purpose: and if a man in graue apparell vse hymselfe lightly or wantonly, we vse commonly to saye suche behauiour becommeth not that apparell, meanyng that hys habite and apparell oughte to put him in mynde of modestie and grauitie: and thys both argue that euen meere ciuill things maye haue significations, whiche ouerthroweth another argument of yours, whereby you woulde proue that the apparell muste of necessitie be an ecclesiasticall ceremonie, because there is attributed vnto it some signification. Whether it be a matter meere ciuill, or meere Ecclesiasticall, or mixt of both, is not now the questiō, neither yet whether the Church may be confounded with the common wealthe or no, and therfore I will not here deale with anye of them, leasse I shoulde confounde both the matter, and the Reader: onely I speake of your argument, whiche is confuted by common vsage: for seuerall habites in the vniuersities signifie seuerall degrees in learning: seuerall kynde of apparell, seuerall callings and functions in the common wealthe: and thys apparell doth put euerie man in mynde of hys duetie, and yet they are not longer to be reteined than the Magistrate and the lawes doe permitte: but are alterable accoꝛdyng to tymes, places, and persons: No man sayth that there is vertue in such garmentes or power to worke godlynesse, and therefore your pretie iestes builded vpon that ground are bayne and toyish, and your topicall place not rightly vnderstanded: for it is ment of such things, *que per se aliquid faciunt*.

Euery thing that signifieth any thing is not a sacrament, for then were Patrimonie a sacrament, and so were laying on of hands, and such like.

The Papistes vied vnlawfull signes, and attributed vnto them life and death, for they made them necessarie to saluation.

Images whether they be grauen, paynted or wouen, are agaynste the expresse commaundement of God, and therefore these be vnapt similitudes, neyther woulde you haue vied them, if you had well considered M. Martyrs wordes.

The same I answer to your allegation of holy water and holy bread, they be *pseudodia-phora*, and haue annexed vnto them opinion of saluation and of worship: all which we vtterly remoue from these orders.

Meere ciuill  
things may  
haue signifi-  
cation.

The forme of  
apparell may  
put a man in  
mynde of hys  
dutie.



**T. C.** refuse  
 I judge  
 ment of lear-  
 ned men, whē  
 he cannot o-  
 therwise an-  
 swere them.  
**I**n mens wri-  
 tings the cir-  
 cumstances of  
 time and place  
 must be distin-  
 guished.

Your answere to M. Martyrs & M. Bucers authoritie is sure, but not greatly com-  
 mendable: for it is the easiest, but the worst answere that can be to denie the authori-  
 tie of wise, learned, & famous men, & that without reason, & onely by cauilling. These  
 be their knowne writings, and they be written of purpose vpon these controuersies ac-  
 cording to the circumstances of time, place and person, and therefore if any thing in  
 their publike writings seeme to be against their iudgements here, distinguish the tyme  
 and other circumstances, and I doubt not but they will well agree with themselves.  
*Interim*, you doe your endeouour to deface them.

### Chap. 7. the ninth Diuision.

#### Admonition.

They haue the shewe of euill, (seing the Popishe priesthood is euill.)

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 240. Sect. 2.

How apparell  
 is a signe of  
 euill, and how  
 otherwise.

When they were a signe and token of the Popishe priesthood, then  
 were they euill, euen as the thing was, which they signified: but now  
 they be the tokens & the signes of the ministers of the worde of God  
 which are good, & therefore also they be good: no man in this Church  
 of England is so ignorant, but that he knoweth this apparell not to  
 be now the signes of a Massing Priest, but of a lawfull Minister:  
 wherfore it is a shewe of good: euen as it is in the like manner in the  
 vniuersities a shewe and signe of degrees in learning, and therefore a  
 shewe of good, excepte you will also condemne degrees of learning.  
 Neither is it any straunge matter, for the selfe same thing in diuerse  
 respects, and at diuerse times, to be the signe both of good and euill.  
 The bells were a signe of euill, whē they were rung to cal to Masse,  
 and to stay stormes and tempests, the selfe same bells are now a signe  
 of good, when they be rung to Sermons and other godly actions.  
 The Churches themselves were a signe of euill, whē Idolatrie was  
 committed in them, & false doctrine preached: now they be a signe of  
 good, when God is rightly worshipped in them: & his worde truely  
 preached. Many such examples I could bring, but a reasonable mā  
 can gather of these sufficiently to confute your error. Furthermore  
 when we be willed to absteyne from all shewe of euill, it is ment of  
 euill life, and euill doctrine, least we doe any thing with a scrupulous  
 conscience.

T. C. Pag. 59. towards the ende.

M. Doctor proceedeth to proue that they are signes & shewes of good & not of euill, as I authorise  
 of the Admonition alleage. To the prooffe whereof, although (according to his manner) he repea-  
 teth diuerse things before alleaged, yet the summe of all he hath comprehended in an argument,  
 which is, that for so muche as the ministers are good which weare them, therefore they are also  
 good: and because the ministers, whereof the apparell are notes, and markes, be good: therefore  
 those be good notes and good markes: so the reason is, they are notes, and notes of good ministers,  
 therefore they be good notes of the ministers. So I will proue the names of Idols to be fit and  
 conuenient names for good men to be called by. Belshazer, Sadrake, Misacke, and Abed-nego  
 were names of Daniell and his three companions, and they were the names of good men, there-  
 fore they are good names of men. And so the names of the Babylonian Idols, are by this reason  
 of M. Doctor iustified to be good names. Again the golden calfe, was a signe. Also it was (\*) a  
 signe of the true God: therefore it was a true signe of God. Concerning the notes of ciuill pro-  
 fessions, and what difference is betwene those and this cause, I haue spoken before.

(\*) Vtruchi.



## 10. Whitgifte.

The Admonition sayth thus: they haue the shew of euill, being y<sup>e</sup> popish priesthood is euill. To this I answer that whē they were a signe & token of the popish priesthood, then they were euill, & a signe of euill, bicause the thing was euill, which they signified: but now they are tokens of the Ministers of the Gospell w<sup>h</sup>ich are good, and therfore they are good, & the signes of good. The reason is M. Bucers: I am not ashamed of my autho<sup>r</sup>, and it is stronger than you can ouerthrowe. For let me heare howe you will answer this argument: whatsoeuer signifieth and noteth that which is good, is a signe of good: but this apparell signifieth that which is good, Ergo, it is a signe of good. The Maior is euident. The Minor is thus proued. The ministerie of the Gospell is good: but this apparell is a signe of the ministerie of the Gospell, Ergo it is a signe of good. All the Logike you haue can not answer this argument, except you will denie the apparell to be the signe of the ministerie of the Gospell, which were to denie y<sup>e</sup> which is subiect to the senses: the other examles that I haue bled, both make this matter moze manifest. I referre it to the Reader to iudge how fitly you haue answered them.

Whether they be good signes, or no, is not now the question, but whether they be signes of good, so that the Admonition denieth. If you can conclude that they be euill, bicause they be signes of euill, why may not I likewise say that they be good, bicause they be signes of good. We commonly call that a good signe, which is a signe of good, neyther can you place this reason in any fallacian, it is a signe of good, Ergo, it is a good signe: for it is called a good signe in this respect onely, that it signifieth that, which is good.

Whose names in respect of those whom they signified were good: in the respect of the Fools, to whome they properly belonged, they were euill: for such externall things in diuers respects may be both good & euill. The golden calfe was an Idoll made to be worshipped, no signe of the true God, and therfore vniuersally here brought in.

Wheresoeuer I haue before alleaged these things you speake of, yet be they answered neither here nor there: & this the Reader may note if he list, that wheresoeuer you cannot answere, there either you frumpe & girde after your maner, or you camill and confute your owne imagination, or closely passe the matter over in silence, or poste it over to some other place, where you speake nothing of it.

Externall things may be both good and euill in diuers respects. The diuers shifts v<sup>se</sup>d by T. C. in answering.

## Chap. 7. the tenth Diuision.

## Admonition.

They worke discorde, they hinder the preaching of the Gospell.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 241. Sect. 2.

This is an argumente *à non causa ad causam*: it is not the apparell that worketh discorde, or hindereth the preaching of the Gospell, no, no more than it is the worde of God that engendzeth heresies, or wyne that maketh drunke, or the sword that murthereth, or the lawe that worketh iniurie. &c. But it is the sinister affection, the rebellious nature, the contentious minde of man. For who began this contention, or when was it begon? Truly if the lawe for apparell were utterly abrogated, yet would not your contentio cease, nay, it would burst out muche more vehemently, and in farre greater matters, as this your Admonition declareth. And therfore I thinke rather, that the lawe for apparell will stay further contentions, especially if it be duly executed.

*Non causa pro causa.*



(\*) It is as some sayd but not so truly, bycause the one recey- neth order, and the other breaketh it.

You say the cause of disorder is not in the apparell, but in the mindes of men. You meane I am sure, those that refuse the apparell, but if you make them authors of discorde, bycause they consente not wyth you in wearing, do you not see it is (\*) as some sayd, that you are the causers of discorde, bycause you doe not consent wyth those which weare not: For as there shoulde be unity in that point if all did weare that apparell, so shoulde there be, if all did weare none of it. It is a very vnequall comparison that you compare the vse of this apparell, wyth the vse of wyne, and of a sword, which are profitable and necessarie, but it is more intollerable, that you match it wyth the worde of God. I coulde throwe it as farre downe, as you liste it vp, but I will not doe so. This onely I will say, if there were no harme in it, and that it were also profitable, yet forasmuch as it is not commaunded of God expressely, but a thing (as you say) indifferent, and notwithstanding is cause of so many incommodities, and so abused (as I haue before declared) it ought to be sufficient reason to abolish them: seeing that the brazen serpent, which was instituted of the Lorde himselfe, and con- teyned a profitable remembrance of the wonderful benefite of God towards his people, was beaten to powder, when as it beganne to be an occasion of falling vnto the children of Israel: and seeing that S. Paule after the loue feastes (which were kepte at the administration of the Lordes Supper, and were meanes to nourish the loue amongst the Churches) were abused and drawne to another vse than they were first ordeyned, did bitterly take them away, and commaunde that they should not be vsed any more.

1. Cor. 11.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Zuinglius  
ad. Balt.

Pag. 19. 66

I may answer you almost in the selfe same wordes and maner, that M. Zuinglius answered one Balchazar an Anabaptist, who charged him then, as you charge vs now in this place: consider, saith he, who be the authors and causes of dissention: whether we that attempt nothing of our owne priuate authoritie, but haue submitted our selues to the iudgement of the Church, and of those that be gouernours of the same, or rather you, who so arrogantly, without any such authoritie doe what you list, speake what you list, allow and condemne at your pleasure. But for further tryall hereof, I referre you to such notes, as I haue collected out of Zuinglius and others, and placed in the second edition of my Answer to the Admonition.

Our consenting is according to our dutie required of vs by the worde of God towards such as be in authoritie: your dissenting is contrarie to your dutie of obedience in such cases inioyned vnto you by the word of God. If all refused the apparell wyth you, yet would you not be quiet, for you make this the least cause of your schisme. I do not compare this apparell wyth the word of God, but by these examples I shew the vn- aptnesse of such arguments as be *ad non causa ad causam*. You haue throwne it downe as low as you can, and if you could cast it lower, your will is good, & therefore to say you coulde do it and wil not, is as great an offence as was the midwives lying to Pharaos.

I haue shewed in my answer, that as the case now standeth, it is rather commodi- ous: as for abuses in it, as it is nowe vsed, you haue hitherto shewed none, & if it were abused, yet doth it not follow that therefore it is to be remoued, except the abuse coulde not be taken away without the abolishing of the thing, as it was in the brazen serpent: which serpent though it was by God commaunded to be set vp, yet was it (as M. Mar- tyr saith) but for that time, wherin power was giuen vnto it to heale and cure those that were bitten of the serpents, Num. 21. and therfore being but temporal, and thus a- 1. Cor. 11. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Num. 21.

1. Cor. 11.

Caluine.



*Chap. 7. the .ii. Diuision.*

## Admonition.

They keepe the memorie of Egypt still amongst vs, and put vs in minde of that abhominacion whereunto they in times past haue serued, they bring the ministerie into contempt, they offende the weake, they encourage the obstinate.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 241. Sect. 3. 4. 5.

You saye, they keepe the memorie of Egypt still amongst vs. &c. No truely, no moze than dothe the Church, the Pulpit, the Bells. &c. but they teache vs the true vse of Christian libertie: and that all things be cleane to those that be cleane. Finally, that godly men may well vse that which wicked haue abused, howsoever vngodly.

They bring the ministerie into contempt: Onely with you, and suche as you (by your continuall crying out agaynst them) haue deluded: contemners of good orders, lawes, and statutes, are to be seuerely punished for their contempt. Good lawes, orders, and statutes are not to be altered or dissolued, bicause by suche as forget their duties, they are contemned.

They offende the weake, and encourage the obstinate: Those that be offended with them, thinke themselves mozte strong, and glorie therein with condemning of others. The obstinate be encouraged throughe the schismes, & contentions, that you trouble the Church, and slander the Gospell with: which one day you will vnderstande, if in tyme you doe not repent.

T. C. Page. 60. Sect. 2.

The rest of that whiche followeth in this matter, is nothing else, but epyther that whiche hath bin oftentimes repeated, or else reprochefull wordes, or vniust accusations of contempt of Magistrates, without any prooffe at all, and therefore are suche as epyther are answered, or which I will not vouchsafe to answer, especially seeing I meane not to (\*) giue reproche and reuiling for reuiling: and seeing that I haue before protested of our humble submission, and louing feare or reuerence, whiche we beare to the Prince, and those whiche are appoynted Magistrates vnderneath hir.

(\*) True, for you haue giuen ten for one.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

This is a shorte answer, to say you will not vouchsafe to answer. What reprochfull wordes, or vniust accusations are here vttered by me: excepte this offende you, that I saye, contemners of good orders, lawes, and statutes, are to be seuerely punished for their contempt. Good lawes, orders, and statutes are not to be altered and dissolued, bicause by suche as forget their duties, they be contemned. If this cast you into that choler, I can not mende it: you must beare with me when I speake the truthe.

Whether of vs two haue moze offended in reprochings and reuillings, bicause we are both partiall in our owne causes, let vs referre it to the indifferent Readers. How farre you are from performing that in dede to the Magistrates, that you protest in worde, is in another place declared.

*Chap. 7. the twelfth Diuision.*

T. C. Page. 60. Sect. 3.

And therefore I will conclude, that forsomuche as the ceremonies of Antichristianitie, are not, nor can not be, the fittest to set foorth the Gospell, and for that they are occasions of fall to

Wb. iij.

some



some, of hinderance to other some, of griefe and alienation of mindes vnto others (the contrarie of all which ought to be considered in establishing of things indifferent in the Church) therefore neyther is this apparell fittest for the minister of the Gospell, and if it were, yet considering the incommodities that come of the vse of it, it should be remoued.

### Io. Whitgiste.

This conclusion consisteth wholly vpon false principles, whereof though some of them haue bin before spoken, yet not one of them proued: for tryall wherof I referre the Reader to that, which we haue bothe wrytten of this matter.

### The Admonition.

The twelfth. Then as God gaue utterance (b) they preached the worde onely: Now they reade Homilies, Articles, Injunctions, &c.

<sup>b</sup>  
Iohn. 6. 38.  
Ioh. 11. 49.  
1. Co. 11. 33

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 62. Sect. 3.

Heere you quote in the margente the sixte of Iohn, verse. 38. where Chyist sayth, that he came dovyne from heauen not to doe his ovvne vwill, but the vwill of his father that sente him. Likewise the twelfth of Iohn, verse. 49. where also he saythe, that he hath not spoken of him selfe, but the father that sent him, gaue him commaundement vvhich he shoulde say, and what he shoulde speake. And the first to the Cozinthians. 11. Chapter, verse. 23. where S. Paule sayth, that he receyued of the Lorde that vvhiche he deliuered vnto them. No man denieth but that the worde of God onely ought to be preached, and that as God giueth utterance. But doe you meane that we may not studie for our sermons, or that we may speake nothing but the very texte of Scripture, without amplifying or expounding the same? when I knowe your meaning heerein, you shall vnderstande more of my minde. In the meane tyme, this I am sure of, that the Homilies appoynted to be read in the Church, are learned, godly, agreeable to Gods worde, and more effectuell to edification, than a number of your Sermons, whiche consist in wordes onely, and entreate of little else, but of cappe, surplesse. &c. Archbishop, Lorde Bishop. &c. the ende whereof is not edification, but contention. Homilies read in the Church haue alwayes bene commendable, and vsuall euen from the beginning, looke Augustine, Chrysostome and others: and why maye not Articles and Injunctions, beeing collected to the setting forth of true Religion and good orders in the Church be read there also as in a most meete place? But I perceyue you are enemies to reading, because you loue so wel to heare your selues talking, I will say no worse.

Scriptures  
may be amplified.

Homilies read  
in the Church  
are commendable.

T.C. Pag. 60. Sect. 4.

You know they allowe studying for sermons, and amplifying & expounding of the scriptures, and why then doe you aske? But by this question you would haue your Reader thinke, or at the least haue the Authours of the Admonition in suspicion, that they lyked not of studie for sermons. God make vs more careful of the good name of our brethren, than by suche light and vngrounded suspicions, nay without any suspicion, nay, contrarie to that which is dayly seene & hard, to rayse by suche slanderous reportes of them. But Homilies are small beholding vnto you, which to proue that they may be read in the Church, alleage that Augustine and Chrysostome made sermons in their Churches: for that which we call a sermon, they called of the Greeke worde an Homilie, so that the argument is, that Augustine and Chrysostome preached sermons or homilies in their Churches, therefore we may reade Homilies in ours. But peraduenture you haue some better thing to say for them afterwarde.

Io. Whitgiste.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

I haue heard some fautoꝝ of theirs earnestly reason agaynst studying for sermons, and it is not long since it was almoste in playne termes in the Pulpit preached. I thinke they studie for their sermons, but howe diligently they studie, oꝛ whether they would seeme to studie, oꝛ no, I knowe not: the wordes of the Admonition are very suspicious.

That whiche I speake of Augustine and Chrysostome aptly serueth for my purpose: for althoughe they were Augustines and Chrysostomes sermons, yet in that they haue bothe committed them to wꝛiting, and lefte them to their posteritie, it argueth that they thought them to be very profitable for the Church: Neyther do I see any cause why they should rather now be thought vnlawfull to be read, than they were then to be preached: but yet one thing we may note, that bothe Augustine and Chrysostome wꝛitte their Homilies oꝛ sermons, and therefore it may be that they did also sometime reade them in the Church.

**Of Archebishops, Metropolitanes, Bishops,**

Archdeacons. &c. *Tract. 8.*

The reasons of T. C. answered, whereby he goeth about to take away the superfluous loppe (as he termeth it) of these offyces.

*Chap. I. the. I. Diuision.*

Admonition.

The thirtenth and fourtenth. Then (c) it was paynefull: nowe gaynefull. (d) That poore and ignominious: nowe riche and glorious.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 63. Sect. vlt.

It was then as it bleth to be vnder the crosse. And it is now as it bleth to be when God doth blesse it with peace, quietnesse, and godly Magistrates: And yet surely euen now it is more paynefull than gaynefull, more ignominious than riche and glorious: and that doe those knowe that beare the heate of the daye. But it is the more paynfull and ignominious for you, who ceasse not with rayling and spitefull wordes in Pulpits and at tables, to depꝛaue and backbite your brethzen, & to trouble the whole state with your factions and dayly inuented newe opinions: the persecution of the sword ceaseth, but the persecution of the tongue is extreme hotte: and we who gayne so much, and be so glorious, are molested as well by you, as by the Papist, and Atheist: and therefore not very glorious.

T. C. Pag. 61. Sect. I.

A hundꝛeth poundes by yere is taken of some benefice, for whiche foure sermons onely are preached, and those sometimes by an other. If this be more paynefull than gaynefull, it is because the hoꝛseleeche hath two daughters, giue, giue, &c. And I can not see howe they can be more glorious, vnlesse the Palace were turned into a Court, and their chayze into a throne. There are diuers places that God hath blessed with peace, where the ministers take more payne, and haue lesse gayne, and whiche make (\* ) lesse noyses, when they goe in the streates. We haue (a) amongst vs which haue had Bishopricks offered, and as things vnmeet for a minister of the Gospel, haue refused them: God be praysed the sunne shineth not so hotte in this countrey now, that you neede to complayne of any great heate, and if you seele any heate, you haue better shade than Io: nas had by his gourd.

*Scil. the ministerie.*

*The ministerie is now more paynefull than gainfull.*

*The twelfth of Mat. straungely applyed. (a) A vayne bragge, though it were true.*



## Jo. Whigifte.

It may be that he which hath an hundred poundes by the yere, for whiche foure sermons onely are preached, &c. (if there be any suche) taketh more paynes for the Church, is more carefull for the state of it, suffereth more opprobrious wordes, and false slanders (whiche is not the least kinde of persecution) for doing his dutie, and keeping him selfe within the listes of obedience towarde God and his Prince, than those doe that glorie moste of persecution, and lacke of living. He that hathe muche, is also occasioned to spende muche: neyther is his paynes the lesse, but more, if he be once desirous to doe his dutie. And the higher he is in degree, the more subiecte to the envious backbiter, and to the slanderous tongue.

Those that haue suche Palaces, and make suche noyse when they goe in the streates, &c. I thinke verily take more paynes and care in and for the Church of God, profite their Countrey more in one moneth, than you and all your company do in a whole yere: Nay, I woulde to God it might be sayde you profited. Their pompe and their Palaces are by lawfull authoritie committed vnto them, and the true Partyes of God haue occupied the same, or the like befoze them, and yet Partyes too.

Who amongst you they be that haue had Bishopricks offered vnto them, I knowe not: but if they boast of their deniall, and haue suborned you to make it knowne, they haue their rewarde. It maye be the Bishopricke was to little for them, and they looked for some greater, and so missed bothe: but I will not iudge: surely this bragge commeth here out of place.

The heate of the tongue and backbiter, bothe I and other may greatly complayne of: and I hope we get not our living by going by and doinge the streates, and feasting dayly at other mens tables, or as Diogenes did, by displaying and contemning all others. *Melius est vinum bibere cum ratione, quam aquam cum fastu & superbia*, It is better to drinke wyne with discretion, than water with haughtinesse and pride. It is also more acceptable to God to dwell in a Palace, and liue in abundance, with doing a mans dutie towarde God and his Church, than to lye in prison for disdayne and contempte. Godly men may enioy preferment, and suche as be arrogant and wilfull, may seme to contemne the same.

## Chap. 1. the. 2. Diuision.

## Admonition.

And therfore titles, linings, & offices by Antichrist deuised, are giuen to them, as Metropolitane, Archebishop, Lordes grace, Lord Bishop, Suffragane, Deane, Archdeacon, Brelate of the garter, Earle, Countie Palatine, Honor, highe Commissioners, Iustices of Peace and Ma. 27. 11. Quorum, &c. All whiche together with their offices, as they are straunge and vheard of in Churles Church, nay playnly (f) in Christes worde forbidden: so are they vterly with speede out of the same to be remoued. Luc. 22. 26. 1. Cor. 4. 1. 1. Pet. 5. 1. 3.

Ansvver to the Admonition. Pag. 64. Sect. 2.

Heere you are in your ruffe, but you shewe your ignorance and contemptuous stomacke. You haue giuen sentence that the names of Metropolitane, Archebshoppe. &c. and their offyces, were deuised by Antichriste. Likewise that they are strange and vheard of in Christes Church. Also that they be playnely in Gods worde forbidden: and laste that they are vterly with speede to be remoued. If you can proue all these poyntes, it is tyme the Church were transformed, and the whole kynde of gouernment of this Realme altered. But if you can not proue them, then is it highe tyme that suche insolencie shoulde bee repressed, and perturbours of Churches and common wealthes reformed. Well, I muste doe the best I can to improue all these poyntes, whiche I might



I mighte doe sufficiently, if I shoulde as barely denie them, as you haue affirmed them: but I will not deale so nakedly in so great a matter.

T.C. Pag. 61. Sect. 2.

Of those offices something hath bin spoken before, where it hath bin proued out of the words of Christ, that neyther the names, nor offices of Archbishop, or Archdeacons do agree to the ministerie of the Gospel. Now as M. Doctor bestoweth great cost heere, and trauell in digging about them, and laying (as it were) newe earth to their rootes, that they being halfe deade, if it were possible, might be recouered and quickened agayne. So I (\*) (because these trees mounte vp so highe, and spread their boughes and armes so brade, that for the colde shade of them, nothing can growe and thriue by them) will before I come to answer these things that are heere alleaged, set downe certayne reasons (as it were instrumentes) to take away the superfluous loppe and spread of their immoderate offices.

(\*) Bicause they florish more prosperously, than the enuious man can well beare.

### Io. Whitgife.

T.C. hath a speciall quarrell agaynst Archebishops, Bishops, and other that haue the name of authoritie and degree in the Church. For he percepueth that they be the principal stoppes and hinderances of his confused platfome, and that also they be the enemies vnto sectes and contentions, wherewith he is so greatly delighted. Moreover he and many of his adherents, be of that nature wherof Cesar and Pompey were reported to be: the one could abide no superiour, the other no equall: euen so is it with them, as it is well knowne to those that haue bin conuersant with some of them. And although they pretende equalitie in words, yet if you marke well their writings, it shall easily appeare, that they meane it in others, not in them selues, for they would haue him to be the best rewarded, & most reuerenced, that hath the most & best gifts, which every one of these chiefe captaynes perswaded himselfe to haue: so that in the end there would be as great a do (after their maner) which of them should be the chiefe, as euer there was betwixt the Bishop of Rome, and other Bishops, or betwixt Cantuarburie and Poike in times past. In the meane time you may easily vnderstande, if you please, that notwithstanding they themselves would be exempted from the iurisdiction of Archbishop, Lorde Bishop, &c. yet doe they chalenge vnto themselves as great iurisdiction ouer their Parishes, and as lostie dominion ouer Prince, Nobles, and all, as euer the Pope did ouer the whole Church, as shall (God willing) be more fully declared, when I come to speake of their seignioy and kinde of gouernment. Nowe to his Reply.

T.C. maketh his chiefe quarrell agaynst those in authoritie in the Church, and whype he so doth. What kinde of equalitie is pretended.

Where hath something bin spoken before of these offices & names? What arguments haue you hitherto vled to proue that they do not agree to the Ministers of the Gospel? If you haue so done, I trust you are fully answered in that same place. But I promise you I doe not presently remember where you haue hitherto done it. If you meane the places of Math. 20. &c. you haue your full answer.

I haue bestowed the more cost and labour in this matter, because I see your chiefe force bent agaynst it. For marke you who will, all your dyt is agaynst superiours. But let vs heare your reasons.

### Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 61. Sect. 3.

And for the names first, I desire the reader, that he be not thought studious of contention, because we strue about the name of Archbishop, &c. For this is not to strue about words, vntlesse it be counted a strife of words, which is taken for the maintenance of the word of God, as it hath before appeared out of the Evangelistes. Then it must be remembered which Aristotle sayth very well in his Clenches, that τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πραγμάτων μιμήματα εἰσὶ which is, that names are imitations, or as it were, expresse images of the things whereof they are names, and doe for the most parte bring to him that heareth them, knowledge of the things that are signified by them. Howdenier the thing be it selfe, yet oftentimes it is supposed to be as the name pretendeth, & thereupon followeth that a man may be easily deceived, when the names doe not answer to the things whereof they are names. There may be (I graunt) a free and more licentious vse of names, but that licence is more tollerable in any thing, rather than in matters of the Church & saluation. And if there be some cases, wherein names that are not so proper, may be borne with, yet are there also which are intollerable. As who can abide that a minister of the Gospel should be called by the name of



(\*) If Christ be called an Archbishop, then is not the title devised by Antichrist.

a Leuite, or sacrificer, vntlesse it be he which would not care muche, if the remembrance of the death and resurrection of our saviour Christ, were plucked out of his munde: I saye it is vnlawful for any man to take vpon him those titles which are proper to our saviour Christ: but the title (\*) of an Archbishop is onely proper to our saviour Christ, therfore no man may take that vnto him. That it is proper to our saviour Christ, appeareth by that which S. Peter sayth, where he calleth him ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, which is Archshepherd, or Archbishop: for Bishop and shepheard are all one. And in the Hebrewes where he is called the great shepheard of the sheepe: and in the Actes, and Hebrewes, archeleader of life & of saluation, which titles are neuer founde to be giuen vnto any, but vnto our saviour Christ, and are proper titles of his mediation, and therfore can not be without bolde presumption, applied vnto any mortall man.

1. Epist. 5.  
Heb. 13.  
Act. 3. 5.  
Heb. 11.

### Io. Whitgifte.

To contende about names, when there is an agreement of the matter and substance, hath alwayes bin taken for a manifest note of a contentious Sophister. But your answer is ready that you contende for the substance also, whiche being true you mighte haue cut of the most part of this section, whereby you would excuse your selfe for improuing the name of an Archbishop. But to come to the purpose, you say It is vnlawful for any man to take vpon him those titles, which are proper to our saviour Christ: but the title of Archbishop is onely proper to our saviour Christ, therfore, &c. The minor you proue by the wordes of S. Peter. 1. Epist. chap. 5. where he calleth him ἀρχιεπίσκοπος and Actes. 3. 5. and. 13. to the Hebrewes, &c. where he is called the great shepheard of the sheepe, archeleader, &c. But before I come to your minor, I muste a little better searche your maior, for you passe it ouer smoothly, as though there could be nothing said vnto it.

Names proper to God may in some respect be attributed to other.

I graunt that those names which be proper vnto God, can not be giuen to any other, in that respect that they are proper vnto God: but that they can in no other respect be attributed to any other, it is untrue, and agaynst the manifest wordes of the scriptures. What name is more proper vnto God, than is this name, God. And yet is the same also attributed vnto man. Moses Exod. 7. is called Pharaos God, because he was Gods minister to speake vnto Pharaos in his name, and to execute his iudgements vpon him. Nec vero (as M. Caluine sayth) quicquid sibi detraxit Deus. &c. Neyther did God derogate any thing from himselfe, in that he transferred (his name) vnto Moses, because he doth so communicate that, which is proper to himselfe with his seruants, that he still remaineth whole. In the. 22. of Exod. the Iudges are called Gods, & in the. 82. Psalm, Magistrates are called Gods also. In the. 23. of Math. Christ speaketh of the names of Master, Father, & Doctor, as proper to himselfe, for he sayth, be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your master, to wit Christ &c. And call no man your father vpon earth, for there is but one your father, which is in heauen. Be not called Doctors for one is your Doctor, euen Christ, and yet no man is so ignozant that he wil denie these names to be common to others, though not in the same respectes, as I haue shewed before. Christ also calleth himselfe a Pastor, Joh. 10. and so doth S. Peter call him Bishop and Pastor, 1. Epist. 3. and so he is properly & of himselfe, & yet these names be communicated with other. In the. 8. of Joh. he is called *Lux mundi*, which is a most proper name, aptly giuen vnto him, & yet doth he himselfe giue the same name to his Disciples, Mat. 5. Diuers such examples might I shew for y improuing of your maior, but these be sufficient.

Howe the name Archbishop may be transferred to other than Christ.

Thus therfore I answer in seuer wordes, bothe to your maior & minor, that some names that be proper to God are also attributed vnto man, but not in the same respect: for they belong vnto God properly and *per se*, to man *per accidens*, and in respect that he is the minister of God, and suche other like causes. And therfore although this name Archshepherd, or (if you will) Archbishop, be proper to Christe in the respect that he is not onely the chiefe shepheard, but also the onely shephearde, to whome the sheepe doe properly pertain, and to whome all the other shepheards muste of necessity submit themselves, and in whose name, and vnder whome onely, the Church is gouerned, yet in the respect of the external pollicie of the Church, & of Pastors and Bishops that are to be kept & directed in such things as pertain to their ductie, the same name of Archbishop may aptly & fitly be attributed vnto him, that hath the ordering and direction of the rest, in the external government of the Church.

But



But whiles you confound the spirituall and the external regiment of the church, the, you confounde both your selfe and your reader also: In the spirituall regiment Christ is only the pastor: and al other be his shep. In the external regiment there be manie other Pastors: In the spirituall regiment Christe is only the Archbishop, and governeth all to whom all other must make their accompt, but in the external government there be many Archbishops, as the state of every church requireth. In the spirituall government Christe is only the prince, the king, the iudge, and in respect of him all other be subjects: but in the external government, there be severall countreys, severall kings, princes, magistrates, iudges. Again in the spiritual kingdome of Christ, & regiment of his Church, there is no respect of persons, but all be equal: In the external regiment & government there is and must be degrees of persons: To be short, in respect of Christ and his spirituall government, there is neither Magistrate nor Archbishop &c. But in the respect of men, and the external face of the Church, there are bothe, and that according to Christes owne order, as shall hereafter be declared: So that now we you maye perceyue your error to be in not rightly distinguishing the states, and tymes of the Church and government.

The spiritual and external government confounded.

### Chap. 1. the fourth Division.

T.C. Page. 61. Sect. 4.

And if any man will replie and say, that it is not sayd that our saviour Christe is only Archbishop: I answer that he is not only sayd the head, and yet notwithstanding ther is no more heades of the church but he: And if it be further sayd, that these Archbishops are but under and as it were subordinate Archbishops, I say that a man may as well say, that men may be also underheades of the church, whiche is the same whiche is alleadged for the Pope. Whiche thing is not only true in those wordes which doe signifie and set unlawfull things before our eyes, but even in those names also which having no corruption in their owne nature, yet thorough the corrupte use of menne, have as it were gotten such a tache of that corruption, that the use of them can not be without offence.

### Io. Whitgiste.

He is only Archbishop and Bishop in respect of his spirituall government which he keepeth only unto himselfe, and in the respect that all other be under him, & have their authoritie from him. But this name may also aptly be given unto those that have the oversight of other bishops in the external government of the Church in the which as I have sayd, Magistrates be called Gods.

Christ is the only head of the Church, if by the head you understande that which governeth the bodie lyfe, sense, and motion: For Christ only by his spirite doth give life and nutriment to his bodie: He only doth poure spirituall blessings into it, and doth inwardly direct and governe it. Likewise he is only the head of the whole Church, for that title can not agree to any other: But if by the head you understande an external ruler or governour of any particular nation, or Church, (in which signification head is usually taken) then I doe not perceine why the Magistrate maye not as well be called the head of the Church, that is the chiefe governour of it in the external policie, as he is called the head of the people, and of the common wealth. And as it is no absurditie to say, that the civill magistrate is heade of the common wealth, next and immediatly under God (so: it is moste true) so is it none to say, that under God also he is head of the Church, that is chiefe governour as I have before sayde. Constantine in an Epistle that he writeth to the people of Alexandria, as it is reported by Athanasius Apol. 2. calleth Bishoppes *Ecclesiarum capita*, Bishops called heades of their Churches. And yet is the Popes Supremacie usurped, bothe because it taketh from Magistrates that whiche is due unto them, and also usurpeth the authoritie of Christe in remitting and retaynyng synnes, in making Lawes contrarie to Gods Lawes, whiche he sayeth be necessarie to Salvation, in making bys Supremacie a matter of Salvation, and in chalenging authoritie over

How Christe is the onely head of the church.

How the magistrate maye be called head of the church.

Bishops called heades of churches, and yet the Popes Supremacie is usurped.



ouer the whole Church of Christ, and an hundred such like presumptions.

The Archbishop being both vnder God and his Prince, hath his name onely in respecte of his authoritie in certaine causes aboue other Bishops, and that but in one prouince or kingdome only, neyther can eyther the name or vse of it (as it is in this Church) offende any but such as be offended with all superiours, and think that none ought to be better than themselves.

### Chap. 1. the. 5. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 62. Sect. 1. 2.

In the primitive church, the name of a Pope was honest, & was al one with the name of a good pastor: but now by the ambition of the man of Rome, it is so defyled that euery good man shal beth at the very mention of it.

The name of a tyrant was fyrst honorable, and the same with a king, and yet through crueltie and vniust rule of certaine, it is become nowe so hatefull, that no vpright and iust dealing Prince, none that gouerneth with equitie, and to the commoditie of his subiectes, woulde beare to be called tyranne: wherby it may appeare that it is not for nought, that we doe stande of these names.

Tertull. lib. de pudicitia Cyp. li. 27. Hierome in his epistles ad Augustine.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

A lawfull name maye remaine, though it hath bene abused.

Papa signifieth a father, and was in tymes past common to all Bishops, but now it is proper to the bishop of Rome, and therefore hated for his sake, whome it now signifieth. So tyrannus sometyme signified a king generally, now it signifieth a cruell king, and a bloudie gouernoure, and therefore also abhorred. But an Archbishop though the persons at sometime haue degenerated, yet the name hath continued in the same signification, and therefore the reason is nothing lyke, except you wil also for the lyke cause cōdemne the name of a Bishop, or of a king, for there haue bene many euill men called by the name of bishops, and many tyrants by the name of kings, and yet the names neuer the worse. If names shoulde be chaunged so ofte as they be abused, some had nede to haue an office only to inuent new names. There was a certaine kinde of heretikes that called themselves Apostolike, and yet the name of an Apostle is neuer the worse. A lawfull name of a lawfull office may remaine together with the office, howe soeuer before tyme it hath bin abused.

### Chap. 1. the. 6. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 62. Sect. 2.

\*Petitio principij, for you haue not yet proued this.

Nowe if the names ought to be odious, being both horribly abused, and also forbidden by our Sautour Christ, the things themselves, must be in greater hatred: the vniawfulnesse wherof may thus appeare.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

This is a manifest petition of the principle, and in no point as yet proued. But let vs heare the reasons why the office should be condemned.

### Chap. 1. the. 7. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 62. Sect. 3.

Scriptures willingly falsified to make them serue his turne. \* The Phariseys made false arguments, and so do you in following them.

First of all the ministerie is by the word of God, and heauenly, and not left to the will of men to deuise at their pleasure, as appereth by that whych is noted of S. John, where the Phariseys cōming to S. John Baptist, after he had denyed to be eyther Christ or Elias, or an other prophet conclude if thou be neither Christ, nor Elias, nor of any Prophets, why baptizest thou: whych had ben no good argument if S. John might haue ben of some other function than of those which were ordinarie in the church, and instituted of God. And therefore S. John to establish his singular and extraordinarie function, alledgeth the worde of God, wherby appereth, that as it was not lawfull to bring in any strange doctrine, so it was not lawfull to teach the true doctrine vnder the name of any other function, than was instituted by God.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

This is your fyrst argument, the Phariseys cōming to S. John Baptist, after he had denyed to be eyther Christ or Elias, or an other Prophet, conclude, if thou be neyther Christ



no: Elias, no: of the Prophets, why baptizest thou? *Ergo*, there may be no Archbishops, which is your meaning. But least you should thinke that I caill, I will vse your owne conclusion, which is this, *Ergo* there was no other ordinarie function in the Church. This argument hath neyther head no: foote, for me no: matter: is this your equi-  
 litenesse in Logike? First your antecedent is vnttrue, and builded vpon the false al-  
 legation of the Scripture. For the Phariseys doe not say vnto him: If thou bee ney-  
 ther Christ, no: Elias, no: of the Prophets, but these be the wordes of the text, If thou bee  
 not the Christ, no: Elias, no: the prophet, no: there is a great difference betwixt these  
 two kinde of speeches, if thou be not of the Prophets, and if thou be not the Prophet. For  
 the first signifieth that they should aske him, whether he were any of the Prophets,  
 the other whether he were that prophet whom they looked for to be suche a one as  
 Moyses was, according to that which is written Deut. 18. vers. 15. for else John wold  
 not haue denied himself to haue bin a Prophet, seeing that Christ sayth he was one,  
 Math. 11. Moreover they aske him not of those ordinarie functions that were then in  
 the Church, but of such extraordinary persons as they looked for to come, as Christ,  
 Elias, or that prophete. Thirdly, they did not recite all the ordinarie functions, as  
 Lenite and Priest, whiche were then most ordinarie and almost only at that tyme:  
 so that your reason hath neyther forme, no: truth in it.

The disorde-  
 red argument  
 of § Replier.

Deut. 18.

Math. 11.

### Chap. 1. the eight Division.

T.C. Pag. 62. Sect. 4.

Let the whole practise of the church vnder the law be looked vpon, & it shall not be founde that  
 any other ecclesiastical ministerie was appointed, than those orders of high priest, and priests and Le-  
 uitics. etc. which were appointed by the law of God, and if there were any raised extraordinarily, the  
 same had their calling confirmed from heauen, either by signes or miracles, or by playne and cleere  
 testimonies of the mouth of God, or by extraordinary exciting and mouing of the spirit of God.  
 So that it appeareth that the ministerie of the gospel and the functions therof, ought to be from  
 heauen, and of God, and not inuented by the braines of men: from heauen I say and heauenly, be-  
 cause although it be executed by earthly men, and the ministers also are chosen by men like vnto  
 themselves: yet because it is done by the worde and institution of god, that hath not only ordeyned,  
 that the worde should be preached, but hath ordeined also in what order and by whome it should be  
 preached, it may be well accounted to come from heauen and from god.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Neyther is there any new ministerie or order appointed in this church, because  
 there be Archbishops. For Archbishops be ministers of the word and Sacramentes,  
 and *Quod ministerium* do not differ from other pastors (in respect of whom they are  
 called Archbishops) but touching order & gouernment, as you may reade afterwarde  
 in the answer to the admonition. So that all this which is here spoken is ground-  
 ed vpon a false principle. For you would make the reader beleue, that to institute an  
 Archbishop, is to institute a new ministerie, wherein you are maruellously ouer-  
 shot. The Iewes had gouernment in their church, and superiortie in the ecclesiasti-  
 call estate, and so haue we. But you may not tie the church of Christ to the patterne  
 of the Iewes synagoge, for that were to make it seruile.

The Archbi-  
 shop no new  
 ministerie.

### Chap. 1. the 9. Division.

T.C. Pag. 62. Sect. 5.

Being therefore that these functions of the Archbishop and Archdeacon, are not in the worde  
 of god, it followeth that they are of the earth, and so can do no good but much harme in the church,  
 And if any man will say that we do the Church great iniurie, because we doe tye hir to a certayne  
 number of orders of ministers, as it were to a stake, so that we may not deuise new functions: I  
 say that both the church and Christ dothe accuse him againe: Christ esteemeth himself to haue in-  
 iurie, because that by this meanes he is imagined not to haue bene carefull and prouident enough  
 for his church, in that he hath left the ministerie, wherein doth consist the lyfe of the church (being  
 that whereby it is begotten) so rawly and vnperfect, that by permitting it to the ordering of men,  
 there is a greates danger of error, whiche he might haue set without all daunger, by a worde or  
 two speaking.

WAKE proofes  
 must needes in-  
 ferre a weak  
 conclusion.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

Your pꝛoofes hitherto alleadged are moſte inſufficient to iuſtifie this concluſion, and yet doe you boldly goe on as though all were ſure. This is but boldeneſſe and confidence, it is not ſounde and pithie dealing. I ſtill denie that there is any other miniſterie in the Church, bycauſe there are Archebiſhops, than is by the woꝛde of God confirmed: But you haue not yet pꝛoued by either Scripture oꝛ reaſon, that there oughte not to be gouernours oꝛ ſuperiours among the miniſters of the Goſpel, to whome any other names may be giuen, than is expreſſed in the woꝛd, which you ought to pꝛoue, elſe you doe but dallie, and ſtudie with bayne woꝛdes to enlarge your booke.

It is manifeſt that Chriſt hath left the gouernment of his Church, touching the externall policie in ſundrye points to the oꝛdering of men, who haue to make oꝛders and lawes foꝛ the ſame, as tyme, place, and perſon requireth, ſo that nothing be done contrary to his woꝛde, as it is befoꝛe pꝛoued, *Tract. 2.* and ſhall be moꝛe hereafter.

*Chap. 1. the. 10. Diuiſion.*

T. C. Pag. 62. Sect. 6.

The Church of the other ſyde ryſeth againſt him, foꝛ that he maketh Chriſt leſſe careful foꝛ hir, than he was foꝛ that vnder the law. Foꝛ tel me in the whole volume of the teſtament, is there any kinde oꝛ degree of miniſterie, wherof God is not the certaine and expreſſe authoꝛ? Was there euer any man (I except Jeroboam and ſuch prophane men) either ſo holie oꝛ ſo wiſe, oꝛ of ſuch great knowledge & euer did ſo much as dreame of inſtituting of a newe miniſterie? After the long wandring of the arke in the wilberneſſe, when it came to be placed in Jeruſalem, tell me if any beſydes the Leuites and pꝛieſts, the ordinarie miniſters, and the prophetes whiche were immediatly ſtirred by of God, were ſound to haue ordeined any office oꝛ title which was not commaunded oꝛ whether there was at any tyme any thing added oꝛ enioyned to thoſe offices of pꝛieſthode, and Leuitiſhip, which was not by the lawe pꝛeſcribed.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

T. C. ſaitheth  
Still in the pe-  
tition of the  
pꝛinciple.

Chriſte is not  
leſſe carefull  
foꝛ this church  
than foꝛ  
that vnder the  
lawe.

Titles & offi-  
ces in y church  
vnder the law  
where God  
is not y chief  
authoꝛ.

Surely here is nothing but vaine repetitions of that falſe pꝛinciple, wherbyon thys fantalogie and multiplication of woꝛdes is buylded, that is, y the inſtitution of an Archbiſhop is the inſtitution of a new miniſterie, as though the apoſtle S. Paule whē he placed Timothie at Ephesus & Titus at Creta, did inſtitute a new miniſterie, becauſe he gaue the authoritie & iuriſdiction ouer y reſt, as it is after ward pꝛoued: oꝛ the Church whē it did apoynt one among the Biſhops to gouerne the reſt in *ſciſma- tis remedium*, to remedie ſchiſmes, as Hierom ſayth, & as it ſhall moꝛe at large hereafter be declared. Neyther can it therfoꝛe be ſayde, that Chriſte doth ſhew him ſelfe leſſe carefull foꝛ his church, than he did foꝛ that vnder the lawe: Foꝛ his carefullneſſe appeareth and conſiſteth in this that he hath nowe muche moꝛe playnly ſet down the doctrine of ſaluation in all pointes, than it was in the law, and hath alſo ordeyned that there ſhoulde be not only ſit miniſters to publiſh that doctrine, but offices alſo to gouerne the people in godlineſſe. As foꝛ names and titles & other externall things variable according to diuers circumſtances, he hath left them to the libertie of his Church, as I haue befoꝛe declared: which is one part of his ſingular goodneſſe towardeſ the Church, in that it is not ſo ſeruiſely tyed to externall things, and to the letter as it was vnder the lawe.

And it is euident, that vnder the law, there were offices & titles in the church, which are not commaunded in the ſcripture, noꝛ wherof we reade God to haue bene the expreſſe authoꝛ. As *Archisynagogus*, *Mar. 5.* *Scribe*, oꝛ *legis doctores*, *συνεταγοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν*, oꝛ *magistratus seu duces templi*. *Luc. 22. verſ. 52.* and thoſe *seniores populi*, and that *συνέδριον* wherbyon you ground your ſeignioꝛie. Foꝛ M. Caluin vpon the. 18. of Math. ſayth, that this *συνέδριον* was apoynted after the childꝛen of Iſraell returned from the captiuitie of Babilon.

*Chap. 1. the eleuenth Diuiſion.*

T. C. Page. 63. Sect. 1.

All men know that the Arke of Noah was a figure of the church. Noah was both a wiſe and a godlie



godlie man: yet what doth the Lorde leaue to his wisdom, when as he appointeth the matter, the forme, the length, the breadth, the height, the wood, the kynd and sort of wood?

### Io. Whitgifte.

All men knowe howe vncertaine a reason it is that is grounded vpon figures and types, excepte the application therof may be founde in the Scriptures. For a man may applie them as it please him, even as he may doe allegories, and yet was there manie things required to the Arke whereof there is no expresse mention made, and namely nayles or pinnes to ioyn it together, neither is it expresse whether the window was of glasse or of chrystal, or of neyther. Moreover he is not prescribed to make a couer for it, and yet it had one as is declared cap. 8. The overseers and maisters of the worke lykelys are not there appoynted, but left to the discretion of Moah. There are many other things required to the making of suche an Arke, whereof there is no expresse mention in that place. To conclude, Moah being in the Arke, did thinges which the Scripture dothe not expresse that he was commaunded to do, as when he sente out the Raven and the Dove. &c. cap. 8. Wherefore I say with M. Calvin. *in. 6. Arcam fuisse Ecclesie imaginem certum est, teste Petro, verum singulas eius partes ad ecclesiam aptare minime consentaneum est.* It is certaine that the Arke was a figure of the church by the testimonie of Peter, but it is not mete to applie euerie parte thereof vnto the Church.

Uncertaine reasoning of figures and allegories. Something left to Moah not commaunded.

Gen. 8.

Calvin. in. 6.

### Chap. 1. the twelfth Diuision.

T. C. Page. 63. Sect. 4.

In the tabernacle the Church is yet more expressely shewed forth. Moyses that was the overseer of the worke was a wise and godly man, the artificers that wrought it Bezalell and Aholiab, most cunning workmen, and yet obserue how the Lorde leaueth nothing to their will: but telleth not only of the bournes, of the courtanes, of the apparell, but also of the barres, of the rings, of the strings of the bookes, of the beeloms, of the snuffers, and of the thinges, the matter, and the forme.

### Io. Whitgifte.

It is well knowen that the Israelites had long continued among the Egyptians, a most superstitious kind of people, without any law of God written, and therfore now being deliuered from them, and yet inclined to their Idolatrie, God (as most writers thinke) of his infinite wisdom did so charge them with ceremonies of his owne institution, that they should neyther haue leysure to vse any other, nor yet desire the Egyptianall kind of worshipping.

Why God appointed so many ceremonies to the Israelites.

Touching the tabernacle and the particular description of thinges pertaining to the same, I say with Pellicane These thinges are particularly described according to the word of the Lord, that the people might know that they ought not so much to obey Moyses precepts as the will of God, in building the Tabernacle, and in freely offering to the same their gold, their siluer, their brasse, their purple. &c. the which otherwise they would haue abused to their owne vanities: and that also they might not be without that bewtie in ceremonies and worshipping of God, which they see among the Gentiles. Moreover that they might haue matter to occupie them with, least they shoulde fall to slothfulnesse and idlenesse. So that of this place it may be well gathered, that nothing wherein the worship of God doth consist, is to be vsed without his prescription, but how you can aptly apply this figure to the externall government, and pollicie of the Church, I cannot well vnderstand: and if you may so vse it, yet do you but allegory, which is no good kind of proofe because allegories may be applyed according to euery particular mans inuention. But all that can be truly gathered of this figure is (as I haue saide before) that, no kynde of worship may be broughte into the Church of God, whiche is not grounded vpon his worde, and therfore Ma. Caluine speaking of this tabernacle saythe that God gaue preceptes of the tabernacle and thynges pertheyning to it.

Pellican.

Caluine. 35.

Exo. in. expof.

2. preceptis.

Ec. ij.

N



*Ne externa pietatis exercitia, quae vidimus fuisse admodum necessaria, populum deficerent.* Least the people should wante the outwarde exercises of godlynesse, which we see to haue bene verie necessarie. And againe he sayth, that when Moyses in the mountaine dydde see the erample of the Tabernacle, he was then instructed *De vero Dei cultu & mysterijs.* of the true worship of God and of heauenly mysteries. And againe speaking of this Tabernacle he sayth: *Lex Iudeos ad spiritualem solum Dei cultum instituit, sed ceremonijs vestitum, vt ferebat temporis ratio.* The lawe did institute the Iewes only to the spirituall vyorship of God, but yet couered with ceremonies, as the tyme required. Therefore in this figure there was only expressest what shoulde be done in the worshipping of God, and not in the externall policie and gouernment of the Church.

### Chap. 1. the. 13. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 63. Sect. 3.

Let vs come to the temple, which as it was more nere the tyme of Chryst: so it doth more liuely expresse the Church of God which nowe is. Salomon the wyldest man that euer was, or shall be, doth nothing in it, neyther for the temple, nor for the vessels of the temple, nor for the beautie of it, but according to the forme that was enioyned him, as appeareth in the first of the kings, and the second of the Chronicles. And in the restoring of that temple, Ezechiel is witnesse, how the angel by the commaundement of God doth parte by parte, appoint all to be done bothe in the temple and in the furniture therof.

### Io. Whitgifte.

These two examples of the Tabernacle, and of the temple, tende to one ende, and might more aptly haue bene alleaged in the title of Ceremonies than of the gouernment of the Church, because whatsoeuer is here spoken of either of them pertaineth to Ceremonies, and to the worshipping of God, and not to externall policie and gouernment of the church, and therefore mooste vnaptely alleadged agaynst Archbishopps. &c.

The Replier  
confuted by  
his own wor-  
des.

Pag. 22. sect. 1.

But what neede I labor much in this matter, when you your self in the. 22. pag. of your booke, offer for one thing that I shall bring lesse to the order of this Church, to shewe me, that the Israelites had twentie that were vndercharged by the expresse wordes.

And it is certaine that both David and Salomon appoynted orders, the one about the Tabernacle, the other about the Temple, whyche wee reade not in Scripture they were commaunded to doe. And David appoynted degrees of officers in the Temple, and Salomon workmen and ouerseers, whereof we doe not reade, that they had any speciall commaundement.

1. P. 24.

### Chap. 5. the seuenth Diuision.

T. C. Page. 63. Sect. 4.

Nowe if the holie Ghoste in figures and tropes doth so carefully, (and as a man may speake) curiously comprehend all things, in the truth it selfe, howe muche more is it to be thoughte that he hath performed this? If in the shadowes, how much more in the body? If he haue doone this in earthly things, and which shall perishe, howe is it to be thought, that he hath performed it in heauenly, and those which abyde for euer? And then tell me, what are those tymes of which it was sayd, the Messias when he cometh will tell vs all? Is it a lyke thing that he which did not only appoynt the temple and the tabernacle, but the ornaments of them, would not only neglect the ornaments of the church, but also that without the which (as we are borne in hand) it cannot long stand? Shall we thinke that he which remembred the barres there, hath forgotten the pillars here? or he that remembred the pinnes, did here forget the maister builders? howe he should there remember the besoms, and here forget Archbishopps, if any had bene needful: that he should there make mention of the snuffers to purge the lights, and here passe by the lightes themselves? And to conclude, that he should make mention there of the moates, and here say nothing of the beames? there reckon by the gnatte, here kepe silence of the camelles? What is this else but that which Aristotle sayth, *τὰ μικρὰ ὁρᾷ καὶ τὰ μεγάλᾳ παραορᾷ*, that is, to looke to smal things, and not to looke to great, which if it can not fall into the Lorde, let it be a shame to say, that the chief pillar and vpholder of the Church is not expressest in the scripture, nor can not be concluded of it.

Io. Whitgifte.



*To Whitgifte.*

You haue before confessed Pag. 15. that certaine things are left to the order of the Church, *C. C. answers* because they are of that nature which are varied by times, places, persons & other circumstances. *reth by his* which is sufficient to answer whatsoeuer you haue here spoke of the carefulnesse of the owne asser<sup>ts</sup>. holy ghost in the truth it selfe, aboue figures and tropes. Although there is no doubt but the holy ghost was as carefull in the one as in the other, and loued the one people as wel as the other, and therefore it may be an argument *a paribus*, but not *a minori*, as you seeme to make it. I haue told you before also why god did more particularly prescribe euery ceremonie to the Israelites in the law, than he hath done to his people in the Gospell.

God hath in his Gospell performed and fulfilled all the tropes and figures of the law whatsoeuer. Christ which is the Messias hath told vs all things that are necessary to saluation, *Iohn. 20.* and so is that place in the 4. of Iohn to be vnderstanded.

We make not an Archbysshop necessary to saluation, but profitable for the gouernment of the Church, and therefore consonant to the word of God, as shall be declared. We know the Church of Christ is not builded vpon any man, eyther as vpon foundation, or pillars, if we speake properly, but vpon Christ himselfe, and his worde, which remaine vnmoueable: we know also, that the same Church may stand without the external help of man. But yet hath God appointed functions in his Church, both ecclesiasticall, and ciuill, as meanes to keepe it in eternall peace, discipline, and order: and though he hath not expresse the names, yet hath he allowed the offices. Among men the chiefe pillar that vpholdeth the Church is the Christian prince and magistrate, and yet where haue you in the Gospell any such expresse mention made thereof, as there is in the appointing of the tabernacle of Beesoms, snuffers, &c. whiche examples you vse in derision: such is your modestie and reuerence. We knowe that all things necessary to saluation are much more plainly expresse in the Gospell, than in the law: We are also well assured that Christ in his word hath fully and playnly comprehended all things requisite to faith and good life: but yet hath he committed certaine orders of ceremonies, and kind of gouernmente, to the disposition of his Church, the generall rules giuen in his worde being obserued, and nothing being done contrary to his will and commaundement therein contayned, as I haue proued before.

*Chap. 1. the. 15. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 63. Sect. 5.

Moreover (a) these ministeries without the which the Church is fully builded, and broughte to perfection and complete vnitie, are (b) not to be reteyned in the Church: but without the ministeries of Archbysshop, &c. the Church may be fully builded and brought to perfection; therefore these ministeries are not to be reteyned.

(a) A dangerous maior.  
(b) An vntreue minor.

*To Whitgifte.*

Your minor is vntreue. For the Church in a kingdome where it hath an external gouernment, where it includeth both good and bad, where it is molested with contentious persons, with schismes, heresies &c. cannot enioy complete vnitie, nor be perfectly gouerned touching the external forme and gouernment, without such offices and gouernours. Your maior also conteyneth dangerous doctrine, including as well the christian magistrate as the Archbysshop. And it is in effect all one with this argument: The Church is fully builded and brought to perfection and complete vnitie without the Christian magistrate: Therefore Christian magistrates are not to be reteyned, which is the very argument of the Anabaptists against Christian magistrates. You must therefore vnderstand, that the Church must as well be preserved and kept in perfection, peace and vnitie, as builded and brought there vnto, and that such offices

The maior tendeth to the shutting out of the ciuill magistrate. The Church must not only be brought to perfection, but also be preserved therein.

Cc. iij.

and



The place  
in the.4.  
Ephes. di-  
scussed.

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## The defense of the answere

Tract. 8.

and functions are lawfull as tend to that end, and be therefore by lawfull authoritie appointed, howsoever some wayward persons thinke the contrary.

### Chap. 1. the. 16. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 63. Sect. 6.

And that without these ministeries the Church may be complete, it appeareth by that which is in the fourth to the Ephesians, where it is said that Christ gaue some Apostles, some Euangelists, some Pastors and Doctors, to the restoring of the saints vnto the worke of the ministrie, vntill we all come to the vnitie of faith, and of the knowledge of the Sonne of God, and vnto a perfect man.

#### Io. Whitgiste.

The place in  
the.4. Ephe.  
discussed.

In that place to the Ephesians there is no mention made of Deacons and wi-  
dowes, nor of your elders, and therefore it maketh as much against them as it dothe  
against Archbishops. Moreover it hath Apostles, Euangelists, and Prophets, all  
which you seclude from the state of this Church. Thirdly it conteyneth those mini-  
steries only which are occupied in the word and administration of the sacramentes,  
not those which pertaine to order and discipline as you afterwarde your selfe con-  
fesse, and therefore I vnderstand not how that place can help you any thing at all.

### Chap. 1. the. 17. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 63. Sect. vlt.

The learned writers haue thus reasoned against the Pope: that forasmuch as Apostles, Pro-  
phets, &c. are sufficient for the building of the Church, therefore there ought to be no Pope. The  
argument and necessitie of the conclusion is as strong against the Archbishop and all one. For  
by the same reason that the Pope is cast away as a superfluous thing, for that these offices are  
able to make perfect the Church, is the Archbishop likewise throwen out of the Church, as a  
knobbe or some lump of flesh, which being no member of the body doth both burden it and disfi-  
gure it. And as they say that God gaue no Pope to his Church, therefore the Pope can do no  
good: so we may well say God gaue no Archbishop to his Church, therefore the Archbishop can  
do no good.

#### Io. Whitgiste.

The great  
difference be-  
twixt the  
Pope and the  
Archbishop.

If there were no stronger places than this against the Pope of Rome his vsur-  
ped authoritie, it might stand still, for any thing that I know: because this place spea-  
keth only of the offices occupied in preaching the worde and administering the sa-  
craments, as I haue said, not of any office of government. Neither is it a perfect pa-  
terne because it hath omitted those offices before mentioned. I haue tolde you before  
that a negative argument from the Scripture (except it be in matters of saluation) is  
but weake. Likewise that an Archbishop is no new ministry, but may well be con-  
teyned in the number of those, of whome the Apostle there speaketh. For the name  
of a Pastor doth comprehend both Archbishops and Bishops. The name dothe but  
signify an office of government conuenient for the state of the Church in the external  
pollicy of it. And if it did preuaile against the Pope, yet dothe it not so against the  
Archbishop. For the Pope dothe challenge his authoritie by succession from Peter,  
so dothe not the Archbishop. The Pope saythe that he is the head of the vniuersall  
Church of Christe, so dothe not the Archbishop. The Pope saith that to be subiect to  
him is necessary to saluation, the Archbishop thinketh no suche matter. The Pope  
challengeth power to remitte and retayne sinnes, to dispense with the word of God,  
to make newe articles of faythe, &c. so dothe not the Archbishop. To be shorte the  
Pope claymeth authoritie ouer kings and princes, and saith that they haue autho-  
ritie



ritie from him: but the Archbishops (if you speake of ours) acknowledge themsel-  
ues to be subiects to their Prince, and to haue that authoritie and iurisdiction from  
hir, which they practise ouer and aboue that that other byshops do, and therefore you  
must needs be reprobued here, either of great lacke of discretion, or else of grosse ig-  
norance, or purposed malice. You mighte saye that God gaue no magistrate in that  
place to his Church, *Ergo*, the magistrate can do no good. Surely I thinke that if you  
should well consider how nere your arguments approach to the Anabaptists, you  
would eyther more circumspectly vse them, or else quite cast them away.

### Chap. 1. the 18. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 64. Sect. 1.

1. Cor. 12.

Neither did God giue any Archdeacon to his Church therefore he cannot profite & Church.  
But it will be said that this argument followeth not, because no mention is made here of the dea-  
con or of the elder, which notwithstanding are both necessary in the Church, and therefore that  
there are functions profitable in the Church wherof no mention is made here. But how (\*) easily  
do all men know that the Apostle speaketh of those functions here only, whiche are conuersant in  
the worde, and haue to do with the preaching thereof: and therefore made here no mention of the  
Deacon or elder. It is said agayne that in the epistle to the Corinthians, S. Paule speaketh only  
of Apostles, Prophets and Doctors, leauing out Euangelists and Pastors and yet Euangelists  
and Pastors necessary: and so although Archbishops are not spoken of in the place to the Ephe-  
sians, yet they may not be therefore shut out as unnecessary. But they that saye so, should haue  
considered that the diuersitie of the matter which the Apostle handleth in these two places, bred a  
diuerse kind of speech. For in the epistle to the Corinthians, going about to condemne the ambi-  
tion of men, whiche will thrust themselves into other mens callings, and take vpon them to do all  
themselves, and to be as it were eye, and eare, and hand and all: S. Paule proueth that the Church  
is a body wherein there are many members, and the same diuerse one from another, and that it is  
not one member only. And to proue that, it was sufficient to say that he placed some Apostles,  
some Prophets, some Doctors, without rehearsing all kinds of functions. But in the Epistle to  
the Ephesians, meaning to shew the liberalitie of our sauoure Christ in giuing those which shuld  
be able by doctrine and teaching to make perfect and absolute his Church, it was necessary that he  
should reckon by all those functions wherby that worke is done.

(\*) It is easily  
knowne and as  
easily forgotten  
againe of you, as  
appeareth after-  
wards.

### Io. Whitgiste.

You haue in this place your selfe answered your former reasons touching the  
place to the Ephesians. For I haue tolde you that the names of Archbishops and  
Archdeacon be names of iurisdiction and gouernemente, not of any newe ministerie  
and therefore suche byshops and ministers, as be so called to haue those names, not  
in the respect of the ministerie of the word, but of order and pollicie.

T. C. hath  
answered him  
selfe touching  
the place  
Ephe. 4.

The obiection made of the place of the 1. to the Corinth. Cap. 12. is of more weight  
than you can be able to remoue with all the might you haue. For the Apostle there  
as well declareth the diuersitie of offices in the Church, as he doth in that Epistle to  
the Ephesians: yea and more perfectly to, as the place it selfe and the very order that  
the Apostle keepeth doth declare. your distinction is but in vaine inuented for a shift  
only, against both reason and authoritie: against reason because the Apostle hauing  
before made a perfect diuision of gifts in the Church, it is not like but now speaking  
of offices he doth the same. Moreover he doth rehearse them in order saying, firste A-  
postles, then Prophets, thirdly Doctors, &c. Lastly he reciteth here more offices than  
he doth there, for here he reciteth eight and there only fve at the most. Authoritie  
both of learned wryters, and of the manifest words of the Apostle himselfe is against  
it. Peter Martyr saith that in this place *Recenset singulatim quas partes habeat hoc corpus* he  
rehearseth particularly what parts this body hath, meaning the Church. And the Apostle  
himselfe recyting the diuerse parts of the body and functions of the same to declare  
the diuerse functions that be in the Church, doth no doubt make as perfect a diuision  
here as he doth in any other place, so that this shift cannot serue your turne, and if it  
did, yet haue you proued nothing by it, for you your selfe haue giuen the solution say-  
ing That in the place to the Ephesians he only speaketh of suche functions as are conuersant in  
the word, which is true.

P. Martyr in  
12. 1. Cor.



Chap. 1. the. 19. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 64. Sect. 2.

(\*) You imagin  
that they are  
haged and ther-  
fore help before  
you be desired.

But how cometh it to passe that S. Paule neyther in the one place, neyther in the other no-  
else where maketh mention of the Archbysshop, which is said to be the cheffest pillar and vnderfet-  
ter of the Church: Now I heare what is said to this, that vnder the Pastor is coneyned byshop,  
he is not coneyned but is the same that byshop. How then? Forsooth say they an Archbysshop is  
byshop: well then of byshops some are Archbysshops some are what? Here I see that they (\*) are  
hanged in the bush, but I will help them, of byshops some are Archbysshops, some are by the com-  
mo name byshops. For if they answer not thus, what haue they to say? But what an absurd thing  
were that to say that S. Paule comprehended an Archbysshop vnder a Pastor or byshop, which  
neyther was at that time nor certaine hundred yeares after: this were not to deuide but to pro-  
phetic. And how is it that they neuer marked that S. Paule speaketh of those functions whiche  
were in the Church, and not of those which should be afterward: and of those that God had giuen,  
and not of those which he would giue: For the words are and he hath giuen.

Io. Whitgiste.

No man can denie, but a bisshop may aptly be comprehended vnder this name  
Pastor, and Archbysshop vnder the name of a Byshop: and it may as well be saide  
that of byshops some be called Archbysshops, and some by the name of byshops, as it may be  
saide of kings some be called Emperours, some by the common name of kings: of  
Dukes, some Archdukes some by the common name of Dukes: of Iustices, some  
chiefe Iustices, some by the common name of Iustices.

Things may  
be lawfull  
which were  
not in Paules  
time,

What if the name of an Archbysshop were not in S. Paules time? Doth it there-  
fore follow that the thing signified by the name was not in his time? This worde  
*ἐπισκοπος* was not in S. Paules time, but afterward inuented in the council of Nice.  
Yet was the thing thereby signified in S. Paules time, and from the beginning.  
Other names there be also whiche were inuented since the Apostles time, and yet  
both lawfully and necessarily vled. The authoritie and thing whereof the Archby-  
shop hath his name, was in Paules time and therefore the name lawfull: and if it  
had not bin in S. Paules time, yet were both the name and the office lawfull by  
cause it pertaineth to the externall policie and regiment of the Church, which is va-  
riable according to the place, time, person, and other circumstances. Shall not the  
authoritie that Christian Princes haue in matters ecclesiasticall be thought law-  
full, because there were no such Princes in S. Paules time? Shall not they haue  
the chiefe authoritie in ruling and governing the Church in externall policie and re-  
giment because there is no suche expresse mention of them in those two places of  
S. Paule?

But you shall answer your selfe, for you say that in those places S. Paule speaketh of  
such functions as were then in the church, not of such as should be afterward: whiche is true.  
And therefore I conclude that as all those offices (by your owne confession before)  
are not necessary for all times in the Church: so are they not only, for all times of the  
Church, but other may be brought in meete for the gouernment of the same. I know  
your meaning is nothing lesse, yet this is my collection which I thinke you will be-  
ry hardly answer.

How many hundred yeares the name of Archbysshop was after the Apostles time,  
shall appeare in another place.

Chap. 1. the. 20. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 64. Sect. 3.

Moreover, if so be vnder the Pastor the Apostle comprehended an Archbysshop, the the Arch-  
bysshop is necessary, and such as the Church cannot be without, and commaunded of God, & ther-  
fore not taken by by the policie of the Church for the time, countrey, and other circumstances, and  
such also as cannot be put downe at the will of the Church, which is contrary to the iudgemente  
of those which are the Archbysshops Patrones.

Io. V. Whitgiste.



*Io. Whitgiste.*

Your argument if it be thus framed, Pastors are necessary at all times in all states of the Church, and in all places, and cannot be put downe at the will of the Church: Archbishops are Pastors, therefore they be necessary at all times. &c. I denie your argumente, because the maior in the first figure cannot be particular. If you make your maior vniuersall, then I do denie it, and put you to the proofe. If you say that to preach the word and to administer the sacraments (which is, the office of a Pastor) is necessary at all times: then I confesse it to be true, and distinguish the minor on this sort: that an Archbishop in respect of the ministry of the word and sacraments, is at all times necessary, not in the respect of policie and government, in consideration whereof he hath the name of an Archbishop.

*Chap. 1. the. 21. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 64. Sect. 3. 4. 5.

The last (\*) refuge is, that the Apostle made mention of those functions which he haue to doe with the ministring of the word and sacraments, and not of those which he haue to do with order and discipline.

Speake in good earnest, had the Apostles (a) nothing to do with discipline and order: what face can you take away the raines of government out of the Apostles hands, and put them in the Archbishops and Archdeacons hands: what a perverseness is this that the ministeries inuented by men should be preferred to all the ministeries appointed and commaunded of God.

The Apostles forsooth haue in common with the Archbishops and Archdeacons the power of ministring of the word and of the Sacraments, of binding and loosing, and thus farre as good as the Archbishops and Archdeacons. But for discipline and order the Apostles haue nothing to doe, but herein Archbishops and Archdeacons are aboue them and better than they.

(\*) You mislike that against your selfe now, which before you were glad to vse as a shift for your selfe.

(a) Here he confuteth his owne shadow.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

You wonderfully forget your selfe, for it is your owne distinction as it appeareth in the 5. line of the same page of your booke: and thereby you shifted off the obiection of Deacons and Elders. I know no man that taketh the raines of government out of the Apostles hands and giueth it to any to whome it is not due by the word of God. But is your meaning that the Apostles should now execute it themselves: *Quo sumus?* Surely you are so full of passions that you forget the matter. I knowe the Apostles had in their time together with the ministerie of the word and sacraments, power to exercise ecclesiasticall discipline and order: But truly I vnderstand not your meaning, for neuer any such thing as you here fancie entred once into my cogitation. I rather say that because in the Apostles there was ioyned the administration of discipline with the ministerie of the word and sacraments, therefore it may be so likewise now in Archbishops and Bishops. For that authoritie of discipline and government that the Apostles had in their time, is now for the most part executed by Archbishops and Bishops, which is the ouerthrow of your whole assertion.

Page. 64. li. 5.

*Chap. 1. the. 22. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 64. Sect. vlt.

Now sir if I would follow your vaine of making so many exclamations, as oh the impudencie, oh the insolencie with twentie other such great oyes, you see (\*) I haue occasion both here and else where. But I would not gladly declaine, especially when I should dispute, nor make outcries in stead of reasons.

(\*) Indeede you haue made your selfe occasion.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Where haue I vsed these exclamations: or what cause haue you so suddenly to burst into them at this time: except it be to set some countenance vpon your euill fauoured reasons. But I will let you alone in such toys, and suffer you to play with your selfe.

Chap.



## Chap. 1. the. 23. Division.

T. C. Pag. 65. Sect. 1.

(\*) Surely this  
man is in a  
dream.

But to come to this distinction, I had thought before this time, that the Apostles had bin the (\*)chiefe builders in setting up the Church, now I perceiue you make the archbishops and Archdeacons the chiefe builders, and the Apostles vnder carpenters or common workmen, to serue and to take the commaundment of the Archbishop and Archdeacon. And whereas it is saide that the ministeries which S. Paule speaketh of are in the words and sacraments, binding and losing only, and that there be other whiche are besides these (occupied in the order and discipline of the Church) (of which number are Archbishops and Archdeacons) let vs marke a little what deepe diuinitie here is.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

Surely you wander you know not whether, without doubt your mind, when you writte this, was vpon some other thing than vpon my booke. For wher haue I made this comparison betwixte the Apostles and Archbishops or what haue I spoken sounding that way? I would haue you to deale honestly and plainly. If you meane the booke in latin, whereof you after ward speake, the words of that booke sounding any thing this way be these. *Archiepiscopi ab episcopis quoad ministerium non differunt (omnes enim pari potestate docendi, baptizandi, ligandi & soluendi praediti sunt): sed quoad ordinem et politiam: ordinis enim & politiae causa quaedam ultra episcopos Archiepiscopis concessa sunt.* Archbishops differ not from bishops in respect of the ministerie (for they are all endued with equall authoritie to teach, to baptise, to bind and lose) but in respect of order and policie. For some things are graunted to Archbishops for order and policies sake aboue the bishops. And further answering that place to the Ephesians it saith: *Apostolus eo in loco eos tantum ministros & ministeria enumerat quae in precibus, verbo, & administratione sacramentorum versantur, non eorum quae ad ordinem & disciplinam instituuntur, qualia sunt Archiepiscoporum & Archidiaconorum.* The Apostle in that place doth only recite those ministers and ministeries, which are occupied in prayer, the word and the administration of the Sacraments, not of them whiche are instituted for order and discipline, suche as are the functions of Archbishops and Archdeacons. The which selfesame distinction for that place you vie in the beginning of the 64. Page of your booke, these only words excepted (*qualia sunt Archiepiscoporum & Archidiaconorum*) as I haue before shewed and your owne words declare. And I am sure these words do not make the Archbishops and Archdeacons chiefe builders and the Apostles vnder carpenters as it pleaseeth you to collect, but this is your modestie.

Pag. 64. lin. 5.

## Chap. 1. the. 23. Division.

T. C. Pag. 65. Sect. 2.

\*What burden  
who hath laid it  
on?

And first of all I would gladly aske them with what aduise they haue laide on a greater (\*)burden and weight of the Archbishops and Archdeacons shoulders, than the Apostles were able to sustaine.

## Io. Whitgifte.

When you haue told where they haue laid on this greater burden and waight, or what the burden and waight is that you say they haue laid on, or who they be that haue layde it on, then shall your question be answered, in the meane time let this suffice the reader, that you do but forge matter to encrease your volumes, and to sport your selfe.

## Chap. 1. the. 24. Division.

T. C. Pag. 65. Sect. 3.

Secondarily I aske with what boldnesse and vpon the confidence of what giftes, any man dare take vpon him both that which the Apostles did, and more to?

## Io. Whitgifte.

To this I answer as to the former.

Chap.



Chap. 1. the. 25. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 65. Sect. 3.

Then I say that it is too too unskillfully done, to separate order and discipline from them that haue the ministerie of the worde in hand, as though the Church without Archbishops and Archdeacons were a confused heape and a disordered lumpe, when as S. Paule teacheth it to be without them, a bodie consisting of all his partes and members, comely knite and topned together, wherein nothing wanteth, nor nothing is to much.

Jo. Whitgiste.

Order and discipline are not separated from the ministry of the worde, although all such as be ministers of the worde haue not the like authoritie to execute them. For as it is sayd in that Latine booke, for order and policies sake more is graunted to the Archbishop than to the Bishop, neither will any learned man so greatly maruaile at this, seeing the practise thereof was in the Apostles time. For Paule had more large and ample authoritie than Timothie, and Timothie than the reste of the ministers of Ephesus.

Authoritie to execute discipline, is not equally giuen to all.

What if the Church without Archbishops and Archdeacons were perfect in S. Pauls time, and may be perfect at other times, doth it therefore follow that the Church in no time or state may haue them, or rather that they be not necessarie at some time for the Church? In S. Pauls time Apostles, Prophets, workers of miracles, gistes of healing, diuersitie of tongs were counted necessarie, and principall partes of this bodie, which notwithstanding you confesse now to be cut of, and yet the bodie perfect: So that you see this is no reason at all, to say that the Church in S. Pauls time was a perfect bodie without Archbishops and Archdeacons. Ergo, they are not necessary in the Church of Christ. For I might as well reason thus: The Church of Christ in S. Pauls time was not perfect without Apostles, Prophets, doers of miracles, gistes of healing, diuersitie of tongs, therefore it is not now perfect being without them. And likewise it was then perfect without Christian magistrates, Ergo, Christian magistrates are to be remoued from the Church. This kinde of reasoning, as it is unskillfull, because it doth not distinguish the times of the Church, neither considereth necessarie circumstances, so it is mosse perilous and openeth a doze to Anabaptisme and confusion.

The unskillfull reasoning of T.C. openeth a doze to Anabaptisme.

Moreover I told you before, that although this name Archbishop is not expressed in the Scripture yet is the office and function, as it is evidently to be seene in the examples of Timothie, and Titus, yea and in the Apostles themselves, whose office of planting Churches thorough the whole world is ceased, but their care for the good gouernment of those Churches which were planted, and their authoritie ouer those Pastors whom they placed, doth and must remayne in such places where there are Churches. And therefore M. Bucer writing vpon the fourth to the Ephesians sayth thus: Miletum Presbiteros Ecclesie Epheſinae conuocat: tamen quia vnus inter eos praeerat alijs & primam Ecclesie curam habebat, in eo propriè residebat nomen Episcopi. In the Actes Paule calleth the same men Bishops and Elders, when as he called together the ministers of the Church of Ephesus vnto Miletum: yet because one amongst them did rule ouer the reste and had the chiefe care of the Church, the name of Bishop did properly remayne in him. So that this superiortie and iurisdiction which we speake of, was euen in the Apostles time, as it is more at large after ward proued.

The office of the Archbishop expressed in scripture.

Bucer in 4. Epb.

Chap. 1. the. 26. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 65. Sect. 3.

Doth it not pertaine to order that the Apostle sayth that God hath set first Apostles, secondly Prophets, thirdly teachers: are not these wordes, First, Second, Thirde, differences of order? if this be not order, surely I know not what order is. And yet neyther Archbishop nor Archdeacon author of this, and it was kept also before they were hatched.

Ed.

Jo. Whitgiste.



## Io. Whitgiste.

That order  
muste be ob-  
serued which  
is conuenient  
for the state.

Yes, but will you haue the same order now? then muste you haue Apostles, and Prophets, which you denie, so that this order you see is not perpetuall, wherefore from time to time that order among the ministers of the worde muste be obserued, that is most conuenient for the state of the Church. Neyther is any agaynst such order, but those that will not liue in order. Did euer any man denie but that there was order in the Apostles tyme? All this is but to make the reader beleue that some such thing is in that Latin booke, when there is not one worde whereof any such thing can be gathered: is this your simplicitie?

## Chap. 1. the. 27. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 65. Sect. 4.

(\*) You falsifie  
my woordes, by  
displacing the  
worde (only).

Let vs see of discipline and government, which we may see to be committed to those which haue the preaching of the worde and to others also which did not preach the worde, when S. Paule sayth, that the elders which gouerne well are worthy double honour especially those which traueill in the word: where he appoynteth the government to the ministers of the word, & to those also that were not ministers of the worde. And thereupon it followeth that the ministers of the Church are not seuered one from an other, as you, because some haue the ministracion of the worde and Sacraments only, and some with the administracion of the Sacraments and worde, haue also the government and discipline in their handes: but cleane contrarywise S. Paule distinguisheth them, and sheweth that all the ministers in the Church haue the government, but all haue not the worde to handle, so that he distinguisheth the ministry into that which is occupied in the worde and government, and into that which is occupied in the government onely. But in this distinction you do not onely forget S. Paule, but you forget your selfe. For if S. Paule speake in that place of those that meddle with the ministring of the worde and sacraments (\*) only: why doth the bishop which is one of the ministers that S. Paule speaketh of (being the same that pastor is) why I say doth he meddle with the discipline and order of the Church, saying that belongeth not to him by your distinction? why doth also the Archbishop (whom you say is a bishop), meddle with it? And thus you see you neede no other aduersary than your selfe to confute you.

1. Tim. 5.

## Io. Whitgiste.

The reader should better haue vnderstode what you had gone aboute, if you had set before his eyes the wordes that you confute. Now I scarce vnderstand your meaning my selfe. You shote altogether without a marke. I know no man that denieth discipline and government to be committed to those that haue the preaching of the worde, and to others also which preach not the worde. But if you meane that eyther all kinde of ecclesiasticall discipline and government, is committed to all such as preach the worde, or in as ample manner to one as to another, you haue not yet proued it, neyther will you be hable to proue it with all the learning that you thinke your selfe to haue.

What it is to  
rule well.

What in 1. Tim. 5. doth proue no such matter, as you pretende. For what doth S. Paule meane there, by governing well? *Christo & Ecclesie sue tum doctrina tum integritate vite fideliter inservire, non suasec que Dei sunt querere*: to serue Christ and his Church faithfully both in doctrine and integritie of lyfe, to seeke not those things which are his, but those which are Gods. Thus do the learned interpreters expound, bene praesse, in this place. Is not the office of teaching, exhorting, reproofing, an office of ruling and governing? But you say that the Apostle doth make two kinde of gouernours, one that trauaileth in the worde, the other that doth not. And what then? he that diligently doth that office that is committed vnto him, whether it be in preaching the worde, prouiding for the poore, visiting the sicke, or any such lyke function, doth rule well. But doth it therefore follow that all haue like authoritie, or that there is no kinde of Ecclesiasticall government or discipline, but that which is common to all the ministers of the worde? Certayne it is, that euery Pastor that doth his duetie in preaching ruleth well, and so do they also that duely and truly administer the Sacraments, relieue the poore, visite the sicke, priuately admonish, &c. But is there therefore none that hath superiortie ouer them, to procure that those things be done accordingly, to correct them if they be not done, to see that euery man be kept in order, be obedient

All ministers  
gouerne but  
not alike.



obedient to lawes, teach true doctrine, breake not unitie. &c. This place therefore helpeth you not. For although all ministers of the worde rule and gouerne after a sort, yet do not they al so, in all kinde of gouernment, nor equally, for they also must haue gouernours.

But consider your reason or at the least the end of your drift. All ministers of the worde gouerne their parishes by preaching the worde, rebuking sinne. &c. Ergo, they must haue none to gouerne them, and keepe them in order, and see that they do their duetie: it is all one with this. Every Master of a familie ruleth ouer his familie, and therefore he must haue no superiour to rule ouer him: or every chiefe officer of Cities or Townes be rulers and gouernours of those places, therfore they must haue none to rule and gouerne either their cities and townes, or themselves. In deed this is a plausible doctrine to make every Pastor chiefe gouernour within his owne parish, and to make every citie and towne a kingdome within it selfe: but it is a pestilent doctrine, for in short time there would be as many Popes as Pastors, as many religions as parishes, as many sectes as families, and in the end an ouerthrow both of religion, the Church, and the kingdome. Neyther coulde there possibly haue bene inuented a more readier way for the Pope to make his entrie in hither againe.

Whereunto the drift of the Replier tendeth.

Of your distinction of *Presbyter*, I will speake in a more fitte place.

I haue not forgot my selfe, but you neyther vnderstande (as it appeareth) my writings, neyther yet your own, for hitherto you haue fought wythout an aduersarie.

And yet I muste put you in minde of your falsehood and subtil dealing: for whereas I saue that the Apostle in the. 4. Ephe. speaketh onely of those ministers and ministeries, which are occupied in prayers, the worde and administration of the sacraments, you by displacing the worde, only, make your Reader beleue, that I affirme the Apostle to speake in that place, of those that meddle with the ministering of the word and Sacraments onely, as if I shoulde seclude the ministers of the worde from all kinde of gouernment.

### Chap. I. the. 28. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 65. Sect. 5.

And least any man should say I confute my owne shadow, I must let him to vnderstand that there is a Pamphlet in Latine, which is called the (\*) booke of the Doctors, which goeth from hande to hande and especially (so far as they could bring to passe) to those only that they thought to fauour that opinion, in the which booke, all these answers vnto the place of the Ephesians are conteyned, and almost all that which is comprehended in this defense of Archbishops and Archdeacons, wth other things also which are founde in this booke of W. Doctors: and therefore it is very likely that he hauing no other way to vent his rapsodies, and rackings together, thought he would bring them to light after this sort. But how much better had it bene that this mishapen thing had had the mother's wombe for the graue, or being brought out had bene hidden as the former is, in some bench-hole or darke place, where it shoulde neuer haue seene any light, nor no mans eye shoulde euer haue looked of it?

(\*) The booke is named but yet you haue confuted your shadow, and not the booke as hath appeared

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

It had bene much for your credite if you had set downe the wordes of that booke the which you and your fauours in derision cal the booke of Doctors. Which you haue only named and not refuted. The booke dare abide the light, and the Authoꝝ also, but so dare not you. To the rest of your wordes my answer is onely this, that you be, wray your spirite: for further prooffe hereof I referre the reader to the third Chapter of S. James, from the tenth verse to the end.

### Chap. I. the. 29. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 65. Sect. 5.

And thus al these clouds being scattered by the sunne of the truth, you see that the place to the Ephesians standeth strong against the Archbishop and Archdeacon,

Do. y.

*Jo. Whitgift*



## Io. Whitgifte.

Nothing lesse : but the contrary for any thing that you haue spoken yet.

## Chap. i. the. 30. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 65. Sect. 5. & Pag 66. Sect. 1.

Nowe I will reason also after this sort out of the place of the Ephesians and Corinthians toy-  
ned together. There is no function but hath giftes fit and apte to discharge it, annexed and giuen  
vnto it : whereupon the Apostle by a Metonymie, doth call the Apostles, Prophets, &c. giftes, by-  
cause they haue alwayes giftes toynd with them. This being graunted (as no man can denie it) I  
reason thus.

(a) Syllogisme  
without all  
forme.

(a) Those functions only are sufficient for the church, which haue all the giftes needefull, eyther  
for the ministring of the worde and sacraments, or for the gouernment of the church : but all these  
functions reckened of S. Paule to the Ephesians, with those which S. Paule calleth *ἐκκλησιαστικὰς*  
and *κυβερνητικὰς* (which are the Deacons and elders) haue the giftes needful either for the gouern-  
ment of the church, either else for the ministring of the worde and sacraments: therefore these func-  
tions only are sufficient for the church. For it is a superfluous thing to make more offices than ther  
be gifts to furnish them, for so they that should haue them, should rather be Idols than officers. And  
therefore for asmuch as there is no gift which falleth not into some of these functions, it is altogether  
a vaine and vnprofitable thing to bring more offices and functions into the Church besides these.

## Io. Whitgifte.

In what  
sense every  
function is  
sayde to haue  
giftes to dis-  
charge it.

You saye there is no function, but hath giftes apt and fitte to discharge it, annexed and giuen  
vnto it. If you meane that there is no function but there is giftes meete for it, which  
God hath in his power to bestowe, it is most true : But if your meaning be, that the  
giftes be so annexed to the function, that of necessitie whosoever is called to that  
function muste also haue those giftes, it is moste vntrue. For experience dothe  
teache that euery man hath not giftes according to his function, althoughe he be  
lawfully therevnto called, touching his externall calling : for the inwarde calling  
none knoweth but God himselfe, and a mans owne conscience. But you put me  
in remembraunce of that whiche maister Bullinger writeth of the Anabaptistes  
*lib. 5. cap. 1.* wher he (confuting the reason they vse to proue that Christians ought not  
to haue magistrates, bicause Christians be so perfect of themselues that they can go-  
uerne themselues, and therefore neede not to be subiect to any other superiour autho-  
ritie) saith thus: *Solent autem Anabaptistae libenter ea imaginari & animo suo fingere quae nun-*  
*quam fuerunt, neq; extant, aut postea futura sunt.* The Anabaptistes willingly vse to imagine  
and conceyue those things in their myndes whiche neuer hath bene, nor are, nor hereafter  
shall bee. Euen so I say vnto you, that in imagining the giftes perteyning to euery func-  
tion so to be annexed vnto the function, that he whiche hath the one must of necessitie haue  
the other, you phantasie that whiche neuer was, is, or shall be : and in so reasoning  
what do you else, than vse that argument against superiortie in the Ecclesiasticall  
estate, which the Anabaptists vse both against Ecclesiasticall & Ciuill magistrates?  
But I answer you as M. Bullinger answered them : Excepte you were blinded with  
pertinacie you might easily see in your selfe iuste cause why there shoulde bee magistrates  
and Superiours.

Bullinger. lib.  
5. aduersus a-  
nab. cap. 1.

Idem.

Moreover God dothe not tie his giftes to any certayne and definite number of  
names or titles of offices, but bestoweth them as it pleaseth him, to the commoditie  
of his Church, vpon such as be meete to vse them, by what name or title soever they  
be called. Wherefore this assertion of yours is eyther vnadvisedly auouched, or else  
doth it conteyne some secrete poyson not yet vttered.

The deformed  
argument of  
T.C.

This being sayde, to the ground that you haue layde, thus I answer to your ar-  
gument: it is in no mode, and in dede to bad for any bove to vse in his Sophismes.  
It is in forme the same with this : Those things onely are sufficient for saluation  
which are conteyned in the Scriptures, but al those things in the *Aue Maria* are con-  
teyned in the Scriptures, therefore those things only which are in the *Aue Maria* are  
sufficient to saluation. Or this, those onely are men which are indued with reason,  
but



but all the Costardmongers in London are indued with reason, therefore the Costardmongers of London onely are men. Besides this, the *Maior* is particular, which is agaynst all forme of Syllogisme in the first or second figure: to be shorthe, in your *Maior* you haue this worde (*onely*) in your *Medium* and in the *Minor* is left out. And therefore your conclusion followeth not, except you had sayd in your *Minor*, that only these functions reckened of S. Paule to the Ephesians &c. haue all giftes needefull for the ministering of the worde and sacraments and for the gouernment of the Church: And yet if it were so, your argument should be of no force, being *ex solis particularibus*. So that in your Syllogisme there is no manner of forme, and therefore not worthe of any other answer, untill it be better framed. Although I could say vnto you that all those functions haue giftes necessary for them: but not only those functions: because there be other not mencioned of you which haue giftes necessary also, and which the Apostle rehearseth. 1. Corin. 12. So lyke wise could I answer that moste of those functions (according to your owne opinion) be not perpetuall but for a time, and therefore your reason is no good reason. Likewise that the Apostle hath not made in eyther of these places any perfect diuision of offices which were euen at that time in the Church. For in the first to the Corinthians the. 12. chap. he leaueth out Euangelistes, Pastors, Bishops, Deacons, widdowes: and in the fourth to the Ephesians: Deacons, widdowes, workers of miracles, &c. So that he hath not lefte any perpetuall paterne of offices, or names in eyther of those two places. To conclude I could tell you that God hath lefte to his Church authoritie to appoynt both names and offices, as shall be for the same most conuenient and profitable, the which authoritie the Church hath also from the beginning bled, as in appoynting Catechistes, Lectors, and such lyke, not superfluous but moste necessarie offices, and profitable for the Church, in those times wherein they were.

### Chap. 1. the. 31. Diuision.

T. C. Pag 66. Sect. 2.

And so it may be thus reasoned. If men may make and erect new ministeries, they must eyther giue giftes for to discharge them, or assure men that they shall haue giftes of God, whereby they may be able to answer them. But they can neyther giue giftes, nor assure men of any giftes necessary to discharge those functions, therefore they may make or erect no new ministeries.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

First there is no new ministry erected. But among the ministers some are appoynted to gouerne the rest, and to haue the chiefe direction of them, and such are chosen to that superiouritie, vpon whom God (as farre as man can iudge) hath bestowed giftes meete for the same. Secondly, it is not necessary that those that appoynt any office, should be able to giue giftes incident there vnto. For then no man might appoynt any office. It is therefore sufficient if he appoynt such persons as God hath indued with giftes meete for such an office, and such offices as there may be persones meete to execute: which being obserued, your argument is sone answered.

### Chap. 1. the. 32. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 66. Sect. 3.

Last of all to conclude agaynst these made and diuised ministeries of Archbishops and Archdeacons after this sorte, (a) if men may adde ministeries, they may also take away: for those both belong to one authoritie: (b) but they can not take away those ministeries that God hath placed in his Church, therefore they cannot adde to those that are placed in the Church. And this foundation I thought first to lay or euer I entred into. Doctours not reasons, but authorities, not of God but of men, in confuting of which there will fall forth also other arguments, against both these offices of Archbishop and Archdeacon.

(a) The Maier untrue.  
(b) The Minor ambiguous.



## Io. Whitgifte.

The Replie  
grounded vpon  
the petition of  
the principle.

Your whole booke is for the moste parte buylded vpon that false founded argument, that is called *Petitio principij*. For this will not be graunted vnto you, which you haue so oftentimes repeated, and wherevpon all your arguments are grounded, that to appoynt Archbishops or Archdeacons, is to appoynt a new ministry. It is (as I tolde you before) but to keepe an order in the ministry and in the Church, and to execute that office of gouernment which the Apostles themselues did. When Hierome sayde, That for the auoyding of Schismes the ministers appoynted one among themselues to gouerne the reste. Did he meane that they instituted a new ministerie? A man may see by this, how vnable you are to defend your cause, seing you are enforced to frame principles vnto your selfe, agaynst the which you may reason, that the ignorant reader may thinke your quarell to be iuste. But now to your argument. The *Maior* is not true, for men may adde ministeries to those that be, and breake not the will and commaundement of God, bicause they may be helpes and furtheraunces to those ministeries that God hath appoynted: But he can not take away such ministeries as God hath placed in his Church, to be perpetuall, without breache of his will and commaundement. Moreover, besides those ministeries that God hath appoynted in his word as necessary at all times, there may be some added that be couenient for some times, and yet the Church that hath authoritie to adde these, hath not the lyke authoritie to take awaye the other: So that your *Maior* lacketh p<sup>ro</sup>ofe. Your *Minor* also is ambiguous: for man can not take away those ministeries that God hath appoynted to be perpetuall in the Church, but he may take away those that be but tempozall, as occasion serueth.

If your foundation be no sounder than this that you haue hitherto layde, surely your buylding cannot long stande, and M. Doctors authorities may well ynough encounter with all your reasons.

That the names of Metropolitane, Archbishop, &c. be not Antichristian.

## Chap. 2. the. 1. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 65. Sect. 1.

The antiquitie of Archbishops.

Firste therefore I p<sup>ro</sup>ue that the names of Metropolitane and Archbishop &c. be not Antichristian names, that is, names inuented by Antichrist, but most auncient: yea that they were in the Church, long before the Gospell was publicquely embraced by any Prince or in any kingdome. Polidore Virgil lib. 4. De inuentoribus rerum, Cap. 12. saith that Clement in his booke entituled *Compēdiarium Christianae religionis*, testifieth, that the Apostle Peter did in euery Province appoynt one Archbyschop, whom all other Byschops of the same p<sup>ro</sup>uince shoulde obey. He sayth also that the same Archbyschop was called *Primas*, *Patriarcha*, and *Metropolitanus*. Peter was not Antichrist, Ergo, the name of an Archbyschop is no Antichristian name.

T. C. Pag. 66. Sect. 4. 5. 6. 7. & Pag. 67. Sect. 1. 2.

Now I will come to the examining of your witnesses, whereof some of them are so bozed in the eares and branded in their foreheades, that no man neede to feare any credite they shall gette before



Phil. 4.  
Tertul. de  
prescript.  
aduers. ha-  
ret.

before any iudge wherefoener, or before whom soeuer they come, but in the Romish court, and the Papistes onely excepted. For to let go Polidore Virgile because whatsoeuer he sayth he sayth of the credite of another, let vs come to Clement which is the authoꝝ of this you speake. And what is he? Is there any so blind that knoweth not that this was nothing lesse than Clement, of whom S. Paule speaketh, and which some thinke was the first Bishop of Rome ordeined by Peter, and not rather a wicked helhounde into whome the Lorde had sent Satan to be a lying spirite in his mouth, to deceiue them for their vnthankful receyuing of the gospell: And he must witnesse for the Archbishop: a woorthie witnesse. For as all that Popish Hierarchie came out of the bottomlesse pit of hell: so to vpholde the Archbishop the necke of it, whereupon the Romish monster standeth, are rayled vp from hell bastards, Clements and Anacletus, and indeede as it may appeare, the very naturall sonnes of Satan, and the sworne souldiours of Inrichist.

A man would haue thought that the Bishop of Salisburie, M. Juel had so pulled of the painting of the face of this Clement, that all good men would haue had him in detestation: so farre of would they haue bene to haue alledged out of him to proue any thing that is in controuersie.

In the replye  
to M. Hard.

Li. 3. cap. 3.

The Bishop alledgeth both Eusebius, and S. Hierome, to proue that none of those woorkes which go in his name are his: and although the proofes be strong which the Bishop bleth beeing the witnesse of vnsuspected witnesses: yet because the law, although it allow two witnesses, notwithstanding doth like the better of three, I will set downe here also Ireneus which was a great while before them both, and followed hard after the tyme of the true and vncounterfeyte Clement, and therefore coulde best tell of him, and of his wytyngs, and yet he maketh mention but of one Epistle, which by occasion amongst the Corinthians he wrote to them. Indeed in an other place of that booke he sheweth, that it is verie probable, that Clement also epyther wrote or turned the Epistle to the Hebrewes. Howe if that Epistle to the Corinthians were extant, we shoulde easily see by comparing those that are now in his name wyth that, what a mishapen thing this is.

And if so be that Ireneus coniecture be good, that Clement was the authoꝝ or interpreter of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, then what horrible iniurie is done to the holy Ghost, while the same is supposed the wytyer of this booke to the Hebrewes, which is the authoꝝ of suche beggerie as this Clement brought into the worlde? And I pray you do you holde that it is the true Christian religion which that booke conteyneth? Could none of these considerations drue you from the testimonie of this Clement? It goeth verie harde with the Archbishop, when these Clements, and Anacletuses must be brought to vnderprop him.

But what if there be no such booke as this is, which you name, (when you say in his booke intituled Compendiarium religionis Christianae) it is like you know not him, nor what he saith, when you cannot tell so much as his name. Onely because Polidore wyrteth that Clement sayth this in a certaine short and summarie booke of christian religion, you haue set downe that he wyrteth thus in a booke intituled Compendiarium Christianae religionis, where there is no such tytle neither in the Councils where his Epistles are, neyther yet in all other his woorkes.

I thought you to disguise him with this newe name of the booke, that he should not be knowne: or ment you to occupie your answerer in seeking of a booke which because he should neuer finde, he should neuer answer? The place which Polidore meaneth is in the first Epistle which he wyrteth vnto James the brother of the Lord, which is as the rest are both ridiculous in the manner of wytyng, and in the matter oftner tymes wicked and blasphemous, which I speake to this ende, that the reader through the commendation that M. Doctor hath given to this Clement, in taking him as one of his witnesses in so great a matter be not abused.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

Here is much moze labour spent than is necessarie. No man denyeth but that the Epistles attributed to Clement are Counterfeyte, neyther do I otherwise alledge him or Anacletus, or any such like, than both M. Caluine, M. Iewel, and many other learned men do, as it is euident in their wytyngs. That testimonie whiche I vse is out of Polidore, and therefore haue I quoted both the booke and Chapter. Polidore wyrteth as other doe that intreate of such matters, and for as muche as he was learned, and of purpose gaue himselfe to the searching out of such things, his report is not lightly to be reiected. But (God be thanked) neyther the name nor the authoritie of an Archbishop dependeth vpon these witnesses, neyther do I vse them as sure groundes, but as probable testimonies of the antiquitie of the name. You haue cited the Canons of the Apostles thise at the least in this your booke, and Viginus likewise, and vled them as pꝛofes, and yet is there as great suspicion in the counterfeyting of them, as there is of this booke of Clements. I pray you therefore giue me that libertie in recyting Authoꝝ, that you take to your selfe, and that no man refuseth when they serue to his purpose. For I protest vnto you, that I haue as euill an opinion of many of them, and think as great corruption to be in them as any man doth, and that not only because I haue so red in other mens wytyngs of them: but also for that I my self in reading of the haue noted the same. But I am well assured

Do. iiii.

that



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of Arche-  
bishop and  
Metropo-  
litane.

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## The defense of the answer

Tract. 8.

that Polydore ment that Clement which is supposed to be the first Bishop of Rome, how he was therein deceyved (being so learned a man) I leave it to others to iudge.

It is not like that Polydore ment that Epistle, for hee knewe what difference there was betwixt an Epistle and a booke: neyther doth the length of the matter of that Epistle giue any occasion that it shoulde so be called: wherefore it is like that Polydore had it out of some booke attributed vnto Clement vnder that title, though the same be not extant. For there be diuerse workes of aunient fathers, whiche bee not now extant in print, and yet in some places to be had. But I will not stande longer in this matter. The wordes of Polydore be these. *Sicut D. Clemens in suo Christianae religionis compendiarie libello perhibet, &c.*

### Chap. 2. the second Denision.

T.C. Pag. 67. Sect. 3.

For answer vnto him, although he be not worth the answering, I say first it may bee well sayd here of the office of the Archbishop, that the father of it was an Amorite, and mother an Hittite, that is that it cometh of verie infamous parentage, the beginning thereof being of the Idolatrous nations.

Jo. Whitgiste.

These be but wordes of pleasure: it will appeare in this discourse that the parents and authours both of the office, and of the name, be such as ought with greater reuerence to be spoken of, and with greater signification of due tie.

### Chap. 2. the thirde Division.

T.C. Pag. 67. Sect. 4.

And whereas Clement maketh S. Peter the Apostle to make it as it were his adopted sonne, thereby to wipe away the shame of his birth, it doth S. Peter shamefull iniurie. For besides that it was farre from S. Peter to take this authoritie to himself, not only of making Archbishops throughout euery Province but also instituting a new order of office, without the counsell of the rest of the Apostles, which none else of the Apostles did, and which is contrary to the practise of S. Peter, both in the first and sixt of the Actes, contrary also to the practise of the Apostles which after shall appeare. I say besides this, is it like that S. Peter woulde graffe the noblest plant as it is sayd of the ministerie of the Gospel, in such a rotten stock of that which was most abhominable in all Idolatrie? For the greater they were in the seruice of the Idoles, the more detestable were they before God.

Jo. Whitgiste.

One ministerie  
of bishops,  
but diuerse  
degrees.

I do not take vpon me the defense of Clements wordes in that Epistle, of Polydore in the booke and Chapter before recyted, in all things that they spake touching the matter. But I cannot suffer your vaine reasons to serue for an answer. For if Saint Peter did thus place Archbishops, yet did he not appoynt any newe order of office, as you haue bene oftentimes tolde. Of all Bishops there is one order of ministerie, but diuerse degrees. Betwene an Archbishop and a Bishop there is only a difference of degree and dignitie, not of order of ministerie: as diuerse learned men giue vnto Peter, aboue the rest of the Apostles the preheminance of honour for orders sake, but not of power. Moreover Peter in appoynting them without the consent of the other Apostles, did no other wise than the Apostle S. Paule whē he placed Timothie at Ephesus, and Titus at Creta. It may be also that in some places where there were before Archflamines he placed such as were called Archbishops, &c. whiche might be done in respect of the city & place, and not in respect of the idolatrous priests.

For



For Archflamines were but in great Cities, which being conuerfed vnto Christ, might haue in the place of their Archflamines, Godly and learned Archbishops, to ouerse and direct the rest of the Bishops and Preachers, that vnitie and order might be obserued. Thus Paule did at Ephesus and Creta. And why might not Peter do it in other places likewise?

### Chap. 4. the fourth Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 67. Sect. 5. 6. 7. 8.

The Lorde when he woulde giue lawes of woorthipping to his people, in the things that were indifferent, of hauing and cutting and apparell wearing, sayth to his people, that they should not do so, and so, because the Gentiles did so, yea euen in those things, the vse wherof was otherwise verie profitable, and incommodious to forbear, he woulde haue them notwithstanding to absteyne from, as from swines flesh, Comies, &c. to the ende that he might haue them seuered as appeareth by S. Paule, by a great and high wall from other Nations.

And therefore it is verie vnlike that S. Peter woulde frame the ministerie of the Gospel (which is no ceremonie but of the substance of the gospel,) by the example of the heathenish and ydolatrous functions.

If one had sayde that the Lorde had shapen this common wealth by the paterne of other common wealthes, although it had bene most vntrue (all other flourishing common wealthes of Athens, Lacedemon, and Rome, borowing their good lawes of the Lordes common wealth) yet had it bene more tollerable: but to say he framed the ministerie of the Gospel by the Priesthood of Idolatrie, is to set chastitie out of Sodome, and to seeke for heauen in hell.

And if so be that the Lorde had delighted in this Hierarchie, he woulde rather haue taken of his owne, than borrowed of others: of his owne Church, than of the Synagoge of Satan. For vnder the law before the Leuites there were Priests and aboue them a high Priest.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

God gaue vnto the Israelites a king, though other Nations had so in like manner. And he ordeyned degrees of Priests among them, to offer vnto him Sacrifices though the Gentiles had the like: and what inconuenience could there come by placing Archbishops (which should saythfully preache the wordes of God, and carefully gouerne the Church of Christ) euen in those places where there were Archflamines, who did deface Christianitie, and persecute the Christians: For by these meanes there could no harme come vnto them, as there might haue done to the Israelites by vsing of such things of the Gentiles as he forbade vnto them, but the contrarie: For this was a meanes to plucke them from all their superstition and Idolatrie. Neither is this in any respect a framing of the ministerie of the Gospel by the examples of Idolatrous & heathenish functions. Except you will say also that because the Gentiles had Flamines, and the Christians had Bishops, therefore the Christian Bishops were framed according to the example of the Gentiles Flamines. If you cannot say so truly in Bishops, neither can you iustly affirme it of Archbishops: for the reason is all one. Do you thinke this to be a good collection: where in the Popes time there was a passing priest, now is there placed a Minister of the Gospel, Ergo the ministerie of the Gospel is framed according to the example of passing priests: And yet thus do you conclude, that because there are nowadays Archbishops where before there were Archflamines, therefore the ministerie of the Gospel is framed according to the heathenish and ydolatrous functions.

### Chap. 2. the 5. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 68. Sect. 1.

And to say that Peter appoynted Archbishops and Bishops (by the example of Idolaters, as after a sort to make the law to come out of Egypt or Babilon, and not out of Zion or Ierusalem, as the Prophete sayth,

No man hath  
sayde so.

B. V. Vitis



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of Arch-  
bishop and  
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litan.

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## The defense of the answere

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*Jo. Whitgiste.*

M. Foxxe, tom.  
1. Pag. 14.

Neither Clement in that Epistle, nor Polidore in that booke, nor Crastian dist.  
80. sayth that Peter appointed Archbishops and bishops by the example of Idolaters, but  
this onely they say, that in those Cities where there were before Archflamines  
there were placed Archbishops, and where there were Flamines, there bishops.  
There is greates difference betwixt their kinde of speech and yours. Howsoever the  
authoris please you, or displease you, yet report their wordes truly. M. Foxxe Tom.  
1. Pag. 14. is of this iudgement that where before there were Archflamines, &c. there  
were placed Patriarches &c. His wordes be these: Thus it is made playne how the  
bishop of the firste seate, or firste bishop or Primate is none other, but he which then was  
called Patriarche, and belonged not onely to the Church of Rome, but to all such cities  
and places, whereas before among the Gentiles were Prinsflamines &c. Dist. 80. cap. vrbis &  
hinc & illinc. Vitherto M. Foxxe.

### Chap. 2. the 6. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 88. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

You say after that James was an Archbishop, if he were, he was the first and placed over  
the Jewes.

And although S. Peter might to gayne the Gentiles, be content to use their idolatrous fun-  
ctions, with a little change of their names, yet there is none so madde to thinke that he woulde  
translate any such function, from the Gentiles to the Jewes, which were neuer before accus-  
tomed with any such Flamines or Archflamines. And this I dare generally and at once say, against  
you and your Clement, that the Lorde translated diuerse things out of the Lawe into the Gospell  
as the Presbtery, or eldership, excommunication, and the office of Deacons (as it is thought) for  
that the Sadducees, of whom so often mention is made in the gospell, are thought to haue had that  
office to provide for the poore, for those that knowe the Hebrew tongue, do vnderstande that Tsadi-  
kim and Tsidkah, do not onely signifie Iustices, and iuste menne, but also almes and almesmen:  
I say these and others more translated from the lawe vnto the gospell: but neyther you nor your  
Clement, shall euer be able to shew, that the Lord euer translated any thing from Gentilisme in-  
to the gospell.

Wee reade in the Actes, that all the Gentiles were commaunded, to conforme themselves vnto  
the Jewes in the abstaining from blood and strangled meate for a tyme, but we can neuer finde  
that the Jewes were commaunded to conforme themselves to the Gentiles in their ceremonies,  
the reason whereof is, because the one was sometime the lame of God, and therefore he that had  
conscience in it, was to be borne with, and the other came from menne and out of their forge  
which the Lord woulde neuer giue so much honor vnto, as to make other men by any meanes sub-  
iect vnto them.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

If you had not learned that poynt of Sophistrie which is called *Petitio principij*,  
(whereof I haue so oftentimes told you) without doubt you had lacked much matter,  
and your booke woulde haue ben very thirne. For all this adoe in this place is nothing  
but discanting vpon a false playne song. The offices of an Archbishop and Bishop  
are no Idolatrous functions but Christian, and meete both for Iewe and Gentile con-  
uerued vnto Christ: neyther are they translated from the Gentiles, but grounded vpon  
the word of God, practised in the Apostles time, approued by the best countells as is  
declared in the answere to the Admonition, and shall be more amplie hereafter, occa-  
sion being offered. Wherefore all this that you haue here sayde, (the ground being  
taken away) serueth for no purpose.

Your coniecture of the Deaconship to be taken from the Jewes, is but a mere  
coniecture, if there had bene any such office in the law, it woulde haue bene specified in  
one place or other of the old Testament.

Touching your eldership wee shall see what you haue to say for it in place. I will  
not trouble my selfe and the reader with bye matters not incident to this question.  
And



And yet I would gladly learne of you in what portion of the lawe your presbyterie is commaunded or prescribed, for I tolde you before out of M. Caluine, that it was appoynted after the returne of the Jewes from the captiuitie of Babylon.

Your reason why there should be no orders or ceremonies taken from the Gentiles is not sufficient: for it is a negative reason *ab autoritate*. But to speake of that matter is now from the purpose because I haue denied these offices to be taken from the Gentiles.

## Chap. 2. the seventh Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 68. Sect. 4.

But what if there were no such offices among the Gentiles and Paganes as Archflamines and Protoflamines? whereof before I shew the coniectures which I haue, I must giue the gentle reader to vnderstand, that I am not ignorant that there are diuerse which say there were such offices among the Gentiles, and namely here in England: that there were. 25. Flamines and three Archflamines, whereof were made three Archbishops of London, Canterbury, and Yorke, and. 25. Bishops as Platine hath in the chapter Eleutherius. And Galfrydus Monemutensis in his second booke and first chapter. And as I thinke Gildas also, and Lumbard in his fourth booke speaketh of it, as a generall thing that was in all places where Paganisme was. But if so be that the religion of other Paganes did follow, and was like vnto that of the Romaynes (which is very probable) they being then the rulers of the whole worlde in a manner, vnto whose example all men do lightly conforme themselves even without commaundement, then there is greates lykelyhood, there were no such Archflamines or Protoflamines out of Tullie, which sheweth that there were among the Romaynes diuerse kindes of Priestes whereof some were called Flamines of a severall attire which they wore alwayes on their heads, other Pontifices, and a third sorte were called Salij, and the chiefe of those Flamines was called Flamen dialis, who was also distinguished from the reste by a white hatte: but of any Archflamines, or Protoflamines, he maketh no mention at all: and therefore it is lyke that there was neuer any such office amongst the Paganes.

## Jo. Whitgife.

Whether there were such offices among the Gentiles or no, the matter is not great, nor worthe of deciding. But that there were such it is manifest, if any credite is to be giuen to so many Histories and wyters bothe Ecclesiasticall and prophane, not onely those whom you haue reported, but Gratian, Polydore, and others. But as a sufficient confutation of all this that you haue here written, and as an argument of your vnskillfulnesse in stories, I will set downe the wordes of Master Jfore, Tom. 1. Pag. 146. which be these: Lette vs returne to Eleutherius the good byshop, who hearing the requeste of the King and gladd to see the godly towardnesse of his well disposed minde, sendeth him certayne teachers and preachers: called Fugatius, or by some Fagamus, and Damianus or Dimianus, which conuerted first the King and people of Britayne, and baptised them with the baptisme and sacrament of Christes sayth. The Temples of Idolatrie and other monuments of Gentilitie they subuerted, conuerting the people from their diuerse and many Goddes, to serue one liuing God. Thus true religion with sincere sayth increasing, superstition decayed with all rites of Idolatrie. There were then in Britayne. 28. head Priestes which they called Flamines, and three Archpriestes among them which were called Archflamines hauing the ouersight of their manners, as iudges ouer the reste. These. 28. Flamines they turned to. 28. Bishops, and the three Archflamines to three Archbishops hauing then their seates in three principall Cities of the realme: that is in London, in Yorke, and in Glamorgantia, *videlicet in vrbe legionum*, by VVales. Your coniecture therefore is but vayne, and cannot counteruayle so many witnesses.

Archflamines

M. Foxe, tom. 1. fol. 146.

Moreover your argument is negative from humane authoritie: for you argue that there were no Archflamines among the Paganes, because Tullie maketh no mention of them, and therefore of no credite. Besides why might not the Grecians call



call those *Archflamines* whom *Lullie* called *Flamines diales*. But the matter is not worthie the labour, and therefore thus briefly to have answered it shall suffice: onely I would have the Reader by the way to note the antiquitie of Archbishops here in England, even from the first beginning of the publike profession of Christianity, which was Anno. 180. or there about.

## Chap. 2. the 8. Division.

T. C. Pag. 68. Sect. 5.

And if there were, I have shewed how wicked it is to say that Peter framed the ministerie of the Gospell by it. Now let it be seene of all men how strongly you have concluded, that the names of Archbishops are not Antichristian, when as it is most certayne that he was a pillar of Antichrist, upon whom your reason is grounded.

## Io. Whitgifte.

Though it be certayne that Peter framed not the ministerie of the gospell by any custome of the Paganes, yet your arguments are of no force, to proue that he did not place ministers of the gospell, where there were before priests of the Paganes, call them by what other name you will: that in the chiefe Cities he placed not such as might direct and governe the rest: seeing it is the consent of all wyters that the Apostles when they had planted Churches, did place Bishops, and other ministers in the Churches which were planted.

Whether he were a pillar or no of Antichrist by whom I have hitherto proued the names of Archbishops not to be Antichristian, I leave it to the learned to iudge. If you meane Clement of whom *Polidore* doth borrowe his report, it is euident that *Polidore* meaneth that Clement that was one of the first Bishops of Rome, who was no pillar of Antichrist but a godly Bishop. If you meane *Polidore* himselfe upon whose credite I take the report, then surely he whoeuer in diuerse poynts of Papisme he erred, yet is he one that hath greatly detested and opened their superstitions, and whose authoritie neyther your selfe nor any other learned man in many things will refuse.

Reportes of  
antiquitie  
may be taken  
from infidels.

But if all this were true that you say, yet may we take reportes of antiquities even from Turkes, Paganes, Papistes, or els must we condemne the most parte of Histories.

## Chap. 2. the ninth Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 65. Sect. 2.

Volusianus.

*Volusianus* Bishop of Carthage, who liued Anno Do. 865. in one of his Epistles which he wrote to *Nicholas* the first in the defense of the marriage of Priests, sayth that *Dionysius* Areopagita *S. Paules* scholler, was by *S. Paule* made Archbishop of Athens.

T. C. Pag. 68. Sect. vlt.

The times wherein *Volusianus* liued declare sufficiently how littell credite is to be giuen to his testimonie, which were when the masse had place, if not so wicked as it was after, yet notwithstanding farre differing from the simplicitie of the supper which was left by our Saviour Christ. And *Eusebius* is of more credite in this than *Volusianus*, which in the thirde booke and fourth chapter, & in the fourth booke and thre & twentie chapter, sayth of the report of *Dionysius* bishop of Corinth, that *S. Paule* made *Dionysius* Areopagita (\*) bishop of Athens: he sayth not Arche bishop but Bishop, although he spake twice of it, & in the preface before his workes it is sayd that after his conuersion he went to Rome to Clement, and was sent with others of Clement into the weste partes, and that he came to Paris and was there executed, whether soeuer of these opinions is true that falleth which *Volusianus* affirmeth. And if epyther *Volusianus* or you, shall haue vs beleue that *Dionysius* Areopagita was Archbishop of Athens you must shewe some better authoritie than *Eusebius*, or *Dionysius* bishop of Corinth, and then your cause shall haue at the least some more colour of truth.

(\*) A notable argument.

Io. Whit



to the Admonition  
Jo. Whitgifte.

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Metropo-  
litane.

Thus in deede may you easily wype away all authoritie of Histories, and Fa-  
thers. But this shifte will not serue your turne with wyse and learned men. Volu-  
fianus was very well learned, and a very godly Bishop in his tyme, neyther is it to  
be thoughte that he woulde wyte any thing in suche a matter whiche he had not  
certainely learned of worthy wyters. Your reason broughte out of Eusebius, to  
proue the contrarie, sayleth in two respectes. First, bicause it is negative from au-  
thoritie and that of man: For thus you conclude: Eusebius did not call him Archbishop.  
Ergo, he was no Archebishop: whiche kinde of argument is neuer good in any res-  
pecte, when it is taken from the authoritie of man. Secondly, your argument say-  
leth, bicause Histories be not so curious in calling men by their severall titles. They  
thinke it sufficient, if they vse the common and moste vsuall name, euen as it is the  
common vse amongst vs, to call the Archbishops of Canterbury and Yorke ofte-  
ner by the names of Bishops of Canterbury and Yorke, than by the names of Arch-  
bishops. So that in deede your argument beeing denied, you are not able by any  
sounde reason to confirme it. If Eusebius or Dionysius had denied him to be an  
Archbishop, your argument had bin good.

Chap. 2. the. 10. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 65. Sect. 3.

Erasmus in his argument of the Epistle to Titus, saythe that  
Paule made Titus Archebishop of Crete, but Antichrist was not  
in Paules time, Ergo, the name of an Archbishop was not inuented  
by Antichrist.

T. C. Pag. 69. Sect. 1.

Erasmus followeth, which sayth Titus was Archbishop of Crete, whom I could answer  
with his owne words. For I am sure he will graunt me, that Titus and Timothie had one of-  
fice, the one in Ephesus, & other in Crete, but it appeareth by Erasmus his owne words that Ti-  
mothie was but a Bishop of Ephesus, therefore Titus was but Bishop of Crete. (a) For Eras-  
mus in his argument vpon the first Epistle of Timothie, sayth that S. Paule did informe Timo-  
thie of the office of a Bishop, and of the discipline of the Church. If epyther he had bin an archbi-  
shop, or an Archbishop had bin so necessarie as it is made, he woulde hane instructed him in that  
also.

(a) A slender  
proofe.

Io. Whitgifte.

This maketh wholly agaynst your selfe, for heereby it appeareth that the wy-  
ters vse not any greate curiositie in obseruing proper titles, but they thinke it suf-  
ficient, if that name of office be used that comprehendeth all. Where dothe Erasmus  
saye, that Timothie was but a Bishop? Will you not learne to deale playnely? But  
let vs heare your argument: Erasmus sayth, that S. Paule byd informe Timothie of the of-  
fice of a Bishop, and of the discipline of the Church. Ergo, Erasmus sayth that Timothie  
was no Archbishop. Undoubtedly you had neede beare with other mens unskillful-  
ness in Logike, if you vse suche reasons in good earnest. This argument also is ne-  
gative *ab humana autoritate*, Whatsoeuer is necessarie for a Bishop is necessarie for  
an Archebishop, and the office of a Bishop is the office of an Archebishop. There is  
no difference of Bishop and Archebishop, but onely this, that the Archebishop hath  
authoritie ouer other Bishops, to call them together when occasion serueth, to see  
that they walke according to the lawes and rules prescribed to keepe vnitie and  
concorde in the Church, and suche lyke. There is no difference *quantum ad ministe-*  
*rium*, in respecte of their ministerie and function, but onely *quoad politiam & ordinem*, in  
respect of pollicie and order, as I haue sayde before.

The difference  
betwixte an  
Archbishop &  
a Bishop.



Chap. 2. the. 11. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 69. Sect. 2.

(\*) This is often  
promised, but  
neuer perfor-  
med.

(a) This diuision  
is not so strange  
as you make it.

And I pray you tell me whether Erasmus or the grecke Scholiaste be more to be beleued in this poynt, out of whome is taken that which is in the latter ende of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, where they bothe are called the first elected Bishops that euer were, eyther of Ephesus or Creta: for my parte I thinke they were neyther Bishops nor Archbishops, but (\*) Euangelists, as shall appeare afterwards. But it may be sufficient to haue set agaynst Erasmus authoritie, the authoritie of the Scholiast. And heere if you will caull, and say that the Scholiast which sayth he was Bishop, demeth not but that he also was an Archbishop, because an Archbishop is a Bishop, it may be answered easily, that the Scholiast did not speake nor write so vnproperly, as to cal them by the generall name of Bishop, whome he might as easily haue called (if the truthe woulde haue let him) by a more proper and particular name of Archbishop. And further in (a) this diuision of the ministers, the Archbishop and the Bishop are members of one diuision, and therefore one of them can not be affirmed and sayde of an other, for that were contrarie to the nature of a true diuision.

Io. Whitgifte.

I tell you that Erasmus and the grecke Scholiaste, doe very well agree, and the one dothe expounde the other. I tell you also that your negative argumentes are not worthe a rushe, vse them as ofte as you liste. What you thinke of Timothy or Titus being Archbishops or Bishops, is not materiall, but of what force your reasons are shall be considered, when you vtter them. If Erasmus and the Grecke Scholiaste were of diuers iudgements in this poynte (as they be not) yet were it an vnlearned answere to set the one agaynst the other.

He that calleth an Archbishop a Bishop, speaketh properly, for so he is in the respect of his ministerie, and substance of his office, the name of Archbishop he hathe onely in respecte of order and pollicie. Archbishop and Bishop are members of one diuision, as chiefe Justice and Justice is. Euery chiefe Justice is a Justice, but euery Justice is not a chiefe Justice: euen so euery Archbishop is a Bishop, but euery Bishop is not an Archbishop: neyther is this suche a straunge diuision as you thinke it to be. For Aristotle dyd in like maner deuide πολιτεיא in Regnum, Aristocratiā, & πολιτεיא that is, that which is commonly called πολιτεיא.

Chap. 2. the. 12. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 69. Sect. 3.

\* Nicephorus  
falsified.

And yet I haue a further answere both to Erasmus and Iulianus, and whatsoever other haue written after this sorte, that they spake and gaue titles to those men they wrote of, not according to that which they were, but according to the custome & maner of that age wherein they wrote. And so we may reade that Vincentius and Nicephorus writing of Victor, speake farre otherwise of him than Eusebius doth, which notwithstanding wrote of the same man whiche they did. The one calleth Victor the Pope of Rome: (\*) and the other sayth, that in glorie he passed all the Bishops before him, which Eusebius neuer maketh any word of. Euen so Iulianus & Erasmus, living in the times when as they which were & most esteemed in the ministerie, were called archbishops, call Titus and Dionisius Archbishops, vpon whome depended the chiefe care of those Churches which they gouerned.

Vinc. 10. li.  
cap. 114.  
Nicep. 4. li.  
cap. 38.

Io. Whitgifte.

This is no answere at all, first because Erasmus woulde then haue giuen to Timothy the same title also: secondly because Erasmus being a man of so singular knowledge and iudgement, woulde not otherwyse than truly report of any man, especially in suche a case, and handling matters of diuinitie. Thirdly, because when he wrote, there was neyther Bishop nor Archbishop at Creta, as there was at Rome, when Vincentius and Nicephorus wrote. And if this were true that you saye, then shoulde Eusebius when he wrote of Victor, haue termed him a Patriarke or an Archbishop, or Metropolitane at the least. For these names were vsuall in Eusebius his time.

But



But why doe you vntrely reposte of Nicephorus? for in that booke and chapter he giueth vnto Victor no other name and title, than the same that Eusebius dothe, for he calleth him by the bare name of Victor, without any other title, neyther dothe he saye, that in glorie he passed all the Bishops before him, but this he sayth, that the other Bishops which were with him, did diswade him from excommunicating the Bishops of Asia, and addeth: *Et acius seueriusq; cum illo qui gloria eos anteciret egerunt*: They delt more sharply and seuerely with him that excelled them in glorie. Therefore he saythe that he did excell in glorie those Bishops that were then, not those which were before him. But what is this to your purpose? If he had giuen vnto Victor any other title than was vsuall when he liued, dothe it therfore followe that Erasmus and Volusianus had done so in like maner? will you answere suche learned and notable mens authoritie, with so bayne and childishe coniectures.

### Chap. 2. the. 13. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 65. Sect. 4. & Pag. 66. Sect. 1.

I omitte Anacletus a godly Bishop and Martyr, who liued Anno Domini. 85. whiche in his Epistle, Tom. 1. conci. diuers times maketh mention of Archbishops, Patriarkes, Primates, Metropolitans, and sayth, that S. James, which was called Iustus, was the first Archbishop of Jerusalem.

I omitte also Anicetus, who liued Anno Domini. 155. whiche likewise in his Epistle maketh mention of Archebishops. Bicause these Epistles are not without iust cause suspected eyther to be none of theirs, or else in diuers poyntes corrupted.

T. C. Page. 69. Sect. 3.

There followeth Anacletus, an other of these witnesses which must depose that the name of an Archbishop is not Antichristian, of whom, as of Clement that went before, & Anicetus which followeth after, the common proverbe may be verified: *Blasemy fellowe it I be a theefe*. And althoughe the Answerer be ashamed of him, and sayth therfore, he will omit him: yet euen (a) very neede driueth him, to bring him in, and to make him speake the bittermost he can. And this honest man sayth, that James was the first Archbishop of Jerusalem: but Eusebius sayth, James was Bishop, not Archbishop of Jerusalem, and appoynted by the Apostles. And in the thirde booke, (\*) 22. chapter, he sayth, that the Apostles did appoynt after his death, Simeon the sonne of Cleophas Bishop of Jerusalem. And Ireneus in his fourth booke. 63. chapter, saythe that the Apostles in all places appoynted Bishops vnto the Churches, whereby it may appeare what an idle dreame it is of Clement, Volusianus, and Anacletus, eyther that Peter dyd this by his owne authoritie, or that the primitive Church was euer stayned with these ambitious titles of Patriarke, primate, Metropolitane, or Archbishop: when as the stories make mention, that throughout euery Church, not euery prouince, not by Peter or Paule, but by Apostles, a Bishop, not an Archbishop was appoynted.

(a) This is vntreue as will appeare in the ende.

\* It is the 134 chapter.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

If they be the Anacletus, or Clemens, or Anicetus that commonly they are taken for, and these writings were theirs vncorrupted, then were their witness sufficient, althoughe they were Bishops of Rome. But I neyther will defende their writings, neyther doe I thinke them to be worthy any defense, onely I require but that libertie of vsing them, that no learned man refuse them when they serue his turne. Master Caluine doth alleage this Anacletus his authoritie to proue that the peoples consent was required in the appoynting of ministers. *Instit. cap. 8. Sect. 61.* So doth M. Foxe tom. 1. pag. 12. who writeth thus: VVherfore as we must needes graunt the Bishop of Rome to be called a Metropolitane, or an Archbishop by the Councell of Nice: so we will not greatly sticke in this also, to haue him numbred with Patriarkes or Primates: whiche title seemed in olde tyme to be common to moe Cities than to Rome, both by the Epistle of Anacletus, of Pope Stephanus, and Pope Iulius, and Leo. &c.

Caluin.  
M. Foxe.

Ec. ij.

Master



The name  
of Archbi-  
shop and  
Metropo-  
litane.

M. Iewell.

Pag. 95. sec. 4

## The defense of the answer

Tract. 8.

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Master Iewell also himselfe dothe vse his authoritie in that sorte that I doe. But what neede you be so curious, who haue so often alleaged the Canons of the Apostles: and in your. 95. page you vse the authoritie of Higinus or Pelagius, as greates a counterfeite as this Anacletus is. I speake not this to winne any credite to Anacletus his Epistles or decrees, but to auoyde your cauels, and to shewe that in citing him in this manner and forme that I doe, I doe no other wyle than other godly and learned men haue done. You shal vnderstande ere I come to an ende, that I haue not alleadged him for any neede.

Your argument to proue that James was no Archebishop, because Eusebius and other doe call him Bishop and not Archebishop, is of the same nature that your other arguments be, that is, *ab autoritate negatiua*: and therefore must be sent away with the same answer.

Whether the Apostles placed James and Simeon at Jerusalem, or no, is not the question. But you are something deceyued in your quotation, for you shoulde in the place of the. 22. chapter of Eusebius, haue noted the. 11. chapter.

The place of Irenaeus, though it make not agaynst any thing that I haue spoken, if it were as you doe alleage it, yet muste I tell you, that it is by you not truely vnderstande. For Irenaeus dothe not saye that the Apostles dyd together in euery place appoynte Bishops, but he sayth, *Secundum successiones Episcoporum, quibus illi eam, quae in unoquoque loco est ecclesiam tradiderunt.* According to the succession of Bishops, to whome they committed the Church that was in euery place. Meaning that euery one of the Apostles dyd appoynt Bishops in those Churches, whiche they had planted, as S. Paule did at Ephesus and Crete. And notwithstanding that in some Churches the Apostles together dyd place Bishops, yet that in other Churches whiche they planted, they dyd the same seuerally, it is manifest, not onely by these exampls of Timothy and Titus, but of sundry other, whereof we maye reade in ecclesiasticall histories, and namely of Polycarpus made Bishop of Smirna, by S. John. And you your selfe testifie the same of S. John out of Eusebius, even in the nexte section. Moreover, it can not be gathered, eyther out of the wordes of Irenaeus, or any other ecclesiasticall historie, that the Apostles dyd place Bishops any where, but in the chiefe and principall Townes and Cities, committing vnto them the gouernment of other Villages and Townes, and the appoynting of seuerall Pastors for them, as it is also euident in the foresayde exampls of Timothy and Titus, and the wordes of Irenaeus importe the same. But if they had in euery Hamlet placed Pastors, yet dothe it not followe, but that there mighte be some one in a Dioces or Province, by whome these Pastors shoulde be directed: As Timothy at Ephesus, Titus at Crete.

Irenaeus.

Sometime  
one Apostle  
did appoynt  
Bishops.  
Tertullus. de  
prescript.

### Chap. 2. the. 14. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 69. Sect. vlt.

The maior  
false.

And heere you put me in remembrance of an other argument agaynst the Archbishop, which I will frame after this sorte. (a) If there should be any Archbishop in any place, the same shoulde be eyther in respect of the person or minister, and his excellencie, or in respect of the magnificence of the place: but the most excellent ministers that euer were, in the most famous places, were no Archbishops, but Bishops onely, therefore there is no cause why there shoulde be any Archbishop: For if there were euer minister of a congregation worthy, that was James. If there were euer any Cite that dought to haue this honor, as that the minister of it shoulde haue a more honorable title than the ministers of other cities and townes, that was Jerusalem, where the sonne of God preached, and from whence the Gospel issued out into all places. And afterwarde that Jerusalem decayed and the Church there, Antioche was a place where the notablest men were, that euer haue bin since, whiche also deserved great honour, for that there the Disciples were first called Christians, but neyther was that called the first and chiefe Church, neyther the ministers of it called the Arche or principall Bishops.

Io. Wbise



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

It is a strange matter that you should so grossely erre in making arguments, seeing you haue taken vpon you so great skill in that Arte. But I will not be occupied in examining the forme of it. Your maior is not true, for suche offices maye be appoynted rather in the respecte of the time, and of the persons that are to be gouerned, than of the worthynesse of the minister, or the dignitie of the place: and therefore your maior doth not conteyne a perfect and sufficient distribution. Agayne the worthynesse of the person, and the dignitie of the place, be not at all the causes why suche offices shoulde be appoynted in the Church, but the suppression of sectes, the peace of the Church, and the good gouernment of the same. The worthynesse of the person may make him meete for suche an office, and the place may be conuenient for suche officers to remaine in: but neyther of them bothe can be a sufficient cause why suche offices shoulde be appoynted. I knowe the worthiest cities haue had the preheminance in suche matters, but it was because they were the most meetest places for that purpose, and the place dothe onely adde one peece of title to the office, but it is not the cause of the office. Lastly, you haue not yet proued that there was no Archbishops in those places, or that James had not that office.

Why these offices are appoynted.

*Chap. 2. the. 15. Diuision.*

T.C. Page. 70. Lin. 9.

And Eusebius to declare that this order was firme and durable, sheweth in the thirde booke 23. chapter, that Saint Iohn the Apostle, whiche ouerlived the residue of the Apostles, ordeined Bishops in euery Cite.

This is contrary to that whiche was immediatly affirmed before.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

This is no reason at all: St. Iohn ordeined Bishops in euery Church, therefore there was no one Bishop superiour vnto them to gouerne and directe them in matters of discipline, order and doctrine, if occasion serued: I thinke that St. Iohn him selfe was director and gouernour of them all, and in effecte their Archebishop. And that dothe manifestly appeare in that thirde booke and. 23. chapter of Eusebius. For thus he sayth: In those dayes Iohn the Apostle and Euangelist, whome the Lorde loued, lyued as yet in Asia, whiche did gouerne the Churches there, after he was returned out of the Ile, from banishment, after the death of Domitian. And a little after he saythe, That he went beeing desired, *ad vicina Gentium loca, ut partim constitueret Episcopos, partim totas ecclesias componeret, partim clerum ex his quos spiritus sanctus indicasset sorte deligeret*: Vnto the places of the Gentiles adioyning, partly that he mighte appoynte Bishops, partly that he mighte establishe whole Churches, partly that he mighte by lotte choose suche into the Cleargie, as the holy Ghost shoulde assygne. So that whether he had the name of Archebishop, or no, certayne it is, that he had the gouernment and direction of the rest, and that he appoynted Bishops and other Ministers. Eusebius dothe not saye that he ordeined Bishops in euery Church, for his wordes be as I haue reported them. But if he had so sayde, it had not made any thing to your purpose, but agaynst you. For he appoynted them, not all the Apostles, nor the people, and he gouerned and directed them as their Archebishop.

The office of an archbishop in St. Iohn.

Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 23.

*Chap. 2. the. 16. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 70. Sect. 1. 2.

These two Anacletus and Anicetus you say are (\*) suspected, why do you say suspected, when as they haue bin conuinced and condemned, and stande vpon the pillorie with the cause of forgerie

I say not only suspected, but that they are not without iuste written cause suspected.



written in great letters, that he whiche runneth maye reade. Some of the Papistes them selues haue suspected them, but those whiche mainteyne the truthe, haue condemned them as full of po-  
perie, full of blasphemie, and as those in whome was the very spirite of contradiction to the Apo-  
stles and their doctrine.

And doe you marke what you saye, when you saye that these are but suspected? Thus muche you say that it is suspected or in doubt, whether the whole body of Poperie and Antichristianitie were in the Apostles time, or some after, or no. For Clement was in the Apostles time, and their scholar, and so you leaue it in doubt whether the Apostles appoynted and were the authors of po-  
perie or no. I thinke if euer you had read the Epistles, you would neuer haue cited their autho-  
rities, nor haue spoken so favourably of them as you doe.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I say that they are not without iust cause suspected, whiche you haue left out, and therefore it appeareth that you haue layde asse sinceritie. I haue alleadged them with as little credite vnto them, as eyther master Caluine, or any other dothe. You your selfe haue sundrie times in this Replie vused (as I haue sayde) as forged authors as these be, with lesse defacing of them. Turpe est doctori. &c. I can thew good prooue that I haue read their Epistles: but I am not disposed eyther to boast of my own reading, or to deface other mens: I leaue that to you.

### Chap. 2. the. 17. Diuision.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 66. Lin. 5. & Sect. 1. 2. 3.

But that notable and famous Councell of Nice, muste be, and is of all wyse and learned men nexte vnto the scriptures themselves reuerenced, esteemed, and imbraced. That Councell celebrated  
Concil. Nice. Anno Domini. 330. (when as the Bishops of Rome were as yet learned and godly men) doth not onely allow of the name, but also of the of-  
fice of Metropolitan, Archbishop, Archdeacon, &c.

In the first Canon of that Councell it is thus written: This Councell dothe determine him to be no Bishop, vvhich is made vwithout the consent *Metropolitani Episcopi*, of the Metropolitan.

In the. 13. Canon mention is made of a Patriarche, and of an Archdeacon diuers times, and his office there in diuers poyntes declared, as it is also in the seventh Canon of the same Councell. In the. 25. Canon is named bothe Patriarche and Archebishop, and declared what authoritie they had in their Prouinces, and in admit-  
ting of Bishops. So is it likewise in the. 26. and. 27. Canons of the same Councell.

T. C. Pag. 70. Sect. 3.

You come after to the Councell of Nice, wherein I will not sticke with you that you say it was holden the. 330. yere of the Lord, when it may appeare by Eusebius his computation, that it was holden Anno Domini. 320.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

I know that there is some varietie among the writers, for the time of this Coun-  
cell. Musculus in his common places sayth, that it was celebrated Anno Domini. 313 the writers of the *Pag. Historie*, *cent. 4. cap. 9.* affirme (as they say) out of Eusebius that it was Anno Dom. 320. Master *Fore Tom. 1 fol. 12* thinketh that it was Anno Dom. 340. and so dothe Illyricus him selfe in his defense of the *Pag. Historie*, though he seeme to be of a contrarie iudgement in the *Histoire* it selfe. Pantaleon in his *Crono-  
graphie* placeth it Anno Do. 330. Some there be that say it was. 324. &c. So that to dif-  
fer in the yere is no suche matter as deserueth any suche nippe. But if all circum-  
stances



stances be well considered. It will fall oute that Eusebius himselfe confirmeth that which I haue set downe, touching the time of that Councell. For Constantine began his raigne according to Eusebius his Cronicle Anno. 311. and this is noted also Cent. 4. fol. 62. But the Nicene Councell according to the sayde Centurie fol. 617. was holden Anno. 17. Constantini. So that it must needs be by their owne collection Anno. 328. or very neare. But if we admitte Eusebius Cronicle for the beginning of Constantines raigne videlicet Anno. 311. it will fall out by Eusebius himselfe vpon the time which I haue appointed, for Lib. 4. de vita Constantini, he sayth that the Nicene Councell was holden Anno vicesimo imperij Const. So that it must needs be Anno. 330. or in the beginning. 331. at the vttermoſt, but vnder it cannot be.

## Chap. 2. the .18. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 70. Sect. 3.

And here you take so great a leape, that it is enough to breake the Archbishops necke, to skippe at once. 300. yeares without anye testimonie of anye, eyther father or storie of saythe and credits which maketh once mention of an Archbshop.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

This leape shall not hurt him one whit. For if there were no other testimonie but that Councell, it were of sufficient credite, and habilitie both to saue his necke, and his body from all kinde of harme. For seeing it is thus written in the sixth Canon of that Councell *Antiqua consuetudo seruetur per Aegyptum, Libyam & Pentapolim, ut Alexandria Episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem, quia & urbis Romae Episcopo parilis mos est.* Let the auncient custome be kepte throughout Egypt Libia and Pentapolis that the Byshop of Alexandria haue the gouernment of all these, for the Byshop of the citie of Rome hath the same order. Likewise in Antioche and other Prouinces, let euery Church reteine hir priuileges. But this is generally plaine that if any be made Byshop without the consent of his Metropolitane, the great Synod hath decreed that he ought to be no Byshop. And in the seventh Canon, *Quia consuetudo obtinuit & antiqua traditio, ut Episcopus honoretur, habeat honoris consequentiam salua metropolis dignitate.* For as muche as custome & auncient tradition hath bene such, that the Byshop of Ierusalem be honoured, let him haue honour accordingly, not impairing the dignitie of the Metropolitane citie. It is plaine that Archbishops and their office were long before the Councell of Nice, for else why should the Canon say, Let the olde custome be obserued. &c. And M. Foxe rom. 1. Pag. 12. reporting these two Canons sayth thus. First in the Councell of Nice which was the yeare of our Lorde. 340. and in the sixth Canon of the sayde Councell we finde it is so decreed that in euery Prouince, or Precinct some one Church & Byshop of the same was appoynted & set vp to haue the inspection & regiment of other Churches about him, *Secundum morem antiquum*, that is, after the auncient custome, as the wordes of the Councell do purport. So that the Byshop of Alexandria shoulde haue power of Libia, and Pentapolis in Egypt, for as much as the Byshop of the Citie of Rome hath the like or same manner. Nowe if I might as safely alleage the Canons of the Apostles as you doe, then coulde I tell you that in the 33. Canon (which Canon is alleaged as godd authoritie against the supremacie of the Byshop of Rome) you shall finde Archbishops. For that Canon setting an order among Bishops willethe the Bishops of euery nation to knowe their first or chiefe Byshop, and him to be taken for the head of them. The wordes of the Canon be these. *Cuius gentis Episcopus oportet scire, quisnam inter ipsos primus sit, habereque ipsum quodammodo pro capite, neque sine illius voluntate quicquam agere insolitum.* The Bishops of euery countrie must knowe who is chiefe among them, and must take him as it were for their head, neyther muste they doe any vnaccustomed thing without his will, and euery one must doe those things alone by him selfe which belong to his parish and to the places that be vnder him: But neither must he do any thing without



The name  
of Archbi-  
shop and  
Metropo-  
litane.

Concil. Anti-  
och. Can. 9.

In the 7. Di-  
uision before.

## The defense of the answere

Fract. 2.

the will of all them, for so shall concorde be kept, and God shall be glorified through our Lord in the holy Ghost. Now I pray you tell me what difference there is betwixt the first or chiefe Byshop, or head of the feste and Archbyshop: And least you shoulde thinke this Canon to be of small force (as suspected) you shall heare it almost *verbatim* repeated and confirmed by the Councell of Antioche, In euery countrey it is conuenient that the Byshops should knowe that their Metropolitane Byshop beareth the care of the whole Prouince. Wherefore let all those that haue any businesse repaire to the Metropolitane citie. And for this cause it is thought good that he both shoulde excell in honour, and that the other Bishops do no vnaccustomed thing without him, according to the auncient rule appointed of our fathers, sauing those things onely which belong to their owne Diocesse and to the places that are vnder them. For euery Byshop hath power ouer his owne parish to rule them according to reuerence meete for euery one, and to prouide for all the countrey that are vnder his citie, so that he ordeyne both Priests and Deacons and conteine all things with his iudgement. But further let him attempt nothing without the Metropolitane, neither let the Metropolitane do any thing without the aduise of the other. You haue now the Canon of the Apostles confirming Archbyshops, and the Councell of Neece & Antioche alleaging olde custome for them, and confirming them also. And a little before I declared vnto you out of M. Foxe that there were Archbyshops here in England Anno. 180. So that their fall cannot be very great.

### Chap. 2. the. 19. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 70. Sect. 3.

What? no mention of him in Theophilus Bishop of Antioche, none in Ignatius, none in Clemens Alexandrinus, none in Iustine Martyr, in Irenaeus, in Tertullian, in Origine, in Cyprian, none in all those olde Hystorographers, oute of the which Eusebius gathereth his storie? Was it for his basenesse and singlenesse, that he coulde not be seene among the Byshops, Elders and Deacons, being the chiefe and principall of them all? Can the Cedar of Libanon be hyd among? Bore trees? Bristles in his Whetstone? ad Theodecten sayth that it is a token of contempt to forget the name of an other. Belike therefore if there were any Archbyshop, he had no chaire in the Church, but was as it seemeth digging at the metales, for otherwyse they that haue filled their booke with the often mentioning of Byshops, should haue no doubt remembred him.

### Io Whitgifte.

And what then? is not the Councell of Neece, and of Antioche of as good credite as all these? Shall not Athanasius, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Hierome, Chrysostome, Sozomene, &c. counteruaile them? and yet if you had read these authours, you might haue learned that in the most of them, the office of an Archbyshop is expessed, as my answere following declareth. But still you vse negative reasons *ab autoritate*, and that humane. Your sautes and frumpes I let passe: they are confutation sufficient to them selves.

### Chap. 2. the. 20. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 70. Sect. 3. 4.

But let vs heare what the Councell of Neece hath for these titles.

In the sixth Canon mention is made of a Metropolitane Byshop, what is that to the Metropolitane which nowe is? epyther to the name or to the office. Of the office it shall appeare afterwards. In the name I thinke there is a great difference betwene a Metropolitane Byshop, and Metropolitane of England or of all England. A Metropolitane Byshop was nothing else but a Byshop of that place, which it pleased the Emperour or Magistrate, to make the chiefe cite of the Diocesse or shire, and as for this name, (\*) it maketh no more difference betwene Byshop and Byshop, than when I say a Minister of London and a Minister of Ruington. There is no man that is well aduised, which will gather of this saying, that there is as great difference in preheminnence betwene those two Ministers as is betwene London and Ruington. For his office and preheminnence we shall see hereafter.

(\*) An vnrath  
contrarie to the  
manifest wordes  
of the Councell  
of Nice.

Io Whitgifte.



to the Admonition.  
To Whitgifte.

333 he nTame  
of Archbi-  
shop and  
Metropo-

For the full answering of this it shall be sufficient to set downe the iudgement of certaine of the learned writers of our time, touching the true meaning of that Canon of the Councell of Pyce, as the practise of the Church before that time, at that tyme, and since that time, haue expounded it.

The iudge-  
ment of lear-  
ned writers  
of the. 6. can-  
con. Niceni.  
Caluine.

M. Caluine in his Institutions Chap. 8. Sect. 54. sayth thus. That euery province had among their Byshops an Archbyshop, And that the Councell of Nice did appoynt Patriarkes which should be in order and dignitie aboue Archbyshops: it was for the preservation of discipline. M. Caluine sayth the Councell of Pyce did appoint Patriarkes which shoulde be in order and dignitie aboue Archbyshops. He sayth also that euery Prouince had among their Byshops an Archbyshop.

Illyricus in his catalogue testium veritatis speaking of this Councell sayth thus: *Constitutum quoque haec Synodus, ut singularum prouinciarum Metropolitanis, potestatem habeant in suos Episcopos, sacerdotes & ecclesias, Alexandrinus in Aegypto, Antiochenus in Syria. &c.* This Synode also appoynted that the Metropolitans of euery prouince shoulde haue authoritie ouer their Byshops, Priestes, and Churches: The Byshop of Alexandria in Egypt, and the Byshop of Antioche in Syria. &c. And in his booke that he entitleth a refutation of the inuention of Iunius against the Centuries, he doth interpret this Canon on this manner. Here we see plainly that the Nicene Councell first in this Canon doth giue a primacie to the Metropolitan in euery Prouince, and doth make subiecte vnto him all the Byshops and Priestes of his prouince. Moreouer, that it maketh all the Metropolitan Byshops, as of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioche, and of other Prouinces altogether of equall authoritie amongst them selues. And last, that the subiectes (if that I may so say) of an other, may not appeale to any other Metropolitan, and after this manner the sixth Councell of Carthage doth vnderstande, alleage, and vrge the foresaid Canon in the former Epistle.

Illyricus,

M. Foxe who hath very diligently, and faithfully laboured in this matter, and searched out the truth of it as learnedly, as I knowe any man to haue done, in his firste Tom. Pag. 11. writeth thus. Then followed the Councell of Nyce wherein it was decreed that throughout the vniuersitie of Christes Church which was nowe farre spread ouer the world, certaine Prouinces and Precinctes to the number of foure were appoynted euery one to haue his head Church and chiefe Byshop, called them Metropolitans or Patriarkes to haue the oversight of such Churches as did lye about him: and Pag. 12. he speaketh to the same effecte as it may appeare in his wordes which I haue before recited. And in the same Page he saith: Vwherefore as we must needes graunt the Byshop of Rome to be called a Metropolitan or an Archbyshop by the Councell of Nyce: so we will not greatly sticke in this also, to haue him numbred with Patriarkes or Primates. &c.

M. Foxe.

But the very wordes of the Canon it selfe doth condemne you of a great oversight, For this is the Canon, *antiqua consuetudo seruetur per Aegyptum Libyam & Pentapolim: ita ut Alexandrinus Episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem &c.* Let the auncient custome be kept throughout Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, that the Byshop of Alexandria haue the gouernment of all these. &c. as is said before.

T. C. con-  
demned of the  
truth by the  
wordes of the  
Canon.  
Can. 6.

How say you now? is not this for the name and for the office also of our Metropolitans and Archbyshops? had not they iurisdiction of whole Prouinces, as ours haue? were not all other Byshops and Ministers of the Church subiect to them, as they be to ours? were not they Metropolitans of Prouinces and countreys as ours be? And is this no more to differ, than a Minister of London and a Minister of Ruington? Truly I maruaile that you can be caried vnto so manifest vntruthes, and palpable errors. But for the further declaration of the authoritie of a Metropolitan Byshop, though this which I haue said be sufficient, it may please you to take paines to peruse, in the Councell of Antioche the. 9. Canon. *Per singulas prouincias Episcopos conuenit nosse Metropolitani Episcopum, sollicitudinem totius prouinciae gerere.* In euery prouince it is conuenient that Byshops should know, that the Metropolitan Byshop hath the caryng for of the vvhole prouince. &c. as is mentioned before, in the first Canon of the Councell

The authori-  
tie of the Me-  
tropolitane.

Con. Antioch.

Councell



Councell of Ephesus. It is also euidēt that the Metropolitane of the Prouince (for so is he there called) had authoritie ouer all the Bishops in the same prouince. But to make short bycause I shall haue other occasion to speake of this matter, M. Foxe in the treatise befoze recited concludeth thus, VVhereby it is to be concluded, that to be false that Clement and Anacletus and Anicetus be reported (but falsly) to put a difference betwene Primates or Patriarkes, Metropolitanes, or Archbishops, whereas by sufficient authoritie it is to be proued, that in the olde Church both Primates, first Bishops, Bishops of the first seate, Patriarkes, Metropolitanes, Bishops of the mother Citie, and Archbishops, were all one. First that Primates and Metropolitanes were both one, is before declared in the Canons of the Apostles, and by the Councell of Antioche aforesayd. The same doth Vilierius affirme in his booke *de statu primitiue ecclesie* fol. 26. and proueth it out of Socrates verie manifestly: that is, that Metropolitanes and Patriarkes were all one at the first. I am not ignorant but there is some controuersie among both the Civilians and Canonistes whether a Metropolitane or an Archbishop be all one or no, but in the ende this is the opinion of the most, so farre as I can reade or learne, that they be *idem re*, the same in dedde, but differ *nomine* in name. For he is called an Archbishop in respect of the other Bishops of whom he is the chiefe. But he is called Metropolitane in respect of the Cities that be within his Prouince. But of Archbishops and Metropolitanes moze must be spoken hereafter.

## Chap. 2. the. 20. Diuision.

T. C. Page 70. Sect. vlt.

\*These Canons differ onely in number, and not in matter from those that are not counterfeit.

(a) Noe so, for that is repugnant to the true Canons & therefore counterfeit.

There are alleaged to proue the names of Archbishops, Patriarkes, Archdeacons, the. 13. 25. 26. and. 27. Canons of the Councell of Nice. For the. 25. 26. and. 27. there are no suche Canons of that Councell, and although there be a thirteenth Canon, there is no worde of Patriarke or Archdeacon there contained. And I maruaile with what shame you can thrust vpon vs these (\*) counterfeit Canons, which come out of the Popes mint: yea and which are not to be founde. Theodoret saith, that there are but twentie Canons of the Councell of Nice, and those twentie are in the same of the Councels, and in those there is no mention of any Patriarke, Archbishop, Archdeacon. Ruffine also remembreth. 22. Canons, very little differing from those other twentie, but in length, & in none of those are founde any of these names of Archbishop, Archdeacon, or Patriarke, and it is as (a) lawfull for M. Harding to alleage the. 44. Canon of the Councell of Nice to proue the Supremacie of the Pope of Rome, as it is for M. Doctor Whitgiste to alleage the. 25. 26. 27. to proue the name of Archbishop, Archdeacon, Patriarke: for they are all of one stampe and haue lyke authority.

Li. 1. cap. 8.  
Li. 1. cap. 64.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

Controuersie about the number of 7 Canons conc. Niceni.

Canons ascribed to the Nicene councell, not found in the number extant.

Con. Arelat.

Hieronymus.

Ambrose.

I will not greatly sticke in the defense of those Canons, the sixth & the seventh Canons do sufficiently verifie all that I haue alleaged out of the other, as is declared not onely by the words of the Canons, but by the iudgement of those, whose learning & Religion was neuer as yet stained. I know that there is no small controuersie about the number of the Canons of that Synode. In the booke of the Councels there are only twentie, in Ruffine. 22. Athanasius in an Epistle that he (as some thinke) with the other Bishops of Egypt writte to Marcus Bishop of Rome (if any credite is to be giuen vnto that Epistle) writeth that there were first. 80. and afterwards the same brought into 70. Canons. Modorus in his peface to the Councell, sayth that in the decrees of Pope Julius, there is mention made of. 70. Canons, so that for the number of the Canons there is great difference in the writers.

*Concilium Arelatense* the second, Canon the. 24. doth recite a Canon of the Councell of Nice, touching infamous libels, which is not to be founde among the. 20.

Hierome in his peface vpon the booke of Judith sayth that the Councell of Nice did reckon that booke in the number of the holy scriptures, and yet there is no such thing to be founde among those. 20. Canons.

Ambrose *Lib. 10.* the Epistle. 82. attributeth another Canon to the Councell of Nice concerning second Mariages in clarkes, I could recite moze Canons alleaged by good writers out of that Councell, which are not to be founde in those. 20. or. 22. but it shall not neede.

Where



The name of Archbi-  
shop and  
Metropo-  
litane.

The. 25. 26.  
27. Canons  
differ onely in  
number, not  
in substance  
from the true  
Canons.

Wherefore though I haue alleaged moe Canons than are to be founde in the booke of Councils : yet I haue done nothing which is straunge, neither haue I alleaged any Canon that is not agreeable to the sixth and seventh, wherof there is no doubt: and according to the true meaning of those two Canons, as they be interpreted by the best learned. And in very deede, the. 25. 26. 27. Canons by me alleaged are the verie same with the. 6. 7. differing onely in number, wherin I followed the author that so placed them. And in the. 13. Canon the name of Archbyschop is added, wherof moze shall be spoken hereafter (God willing).

M. Hardings. 44. Canon is plaine repugnant to the sixth Canon, and therefore without all doubt a counterfeit. But the Canons that I haue alleaged agree both with the sixth and seventh, and therefore not vnlike to be truly attributed to that Council, in these poyntes wherein I haue alleaged them.

### Chap. 2. the .21. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 71. Sect. 1.

I feare greatly some craftie dissimbling Papist had his hand in this booke, who hauing a great deale of rotten stiffe, which he could not utter vnder his owne name, being already loste, brought it vnto the author hereof (\*) which hath vpon his credit without further examination set it to sale. (\*) You muste as you see. peradventure you will thinke scoone to be censured and reprehended of a poore minister of the country, and therefore I will turne you ouer for your lesson in this behalfe vnto the Byschop of Salisburie in his replie against M. Harding touching the article of the Supremacie.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Feare not I warrant you, I haue alleaged nothing which I am not hable by sufficient testimonie to proue, that I haue read my selfe. And therefore your surmise is but grounded vpon your owne practise.

Whatsoever the Byschop of Salisburie sayth in his replie against Harding touchyng the Canon alleaged by him is most true, and I doe most willingly acknowledge it so to be, neither doe I take any Canon of that Council as vndoubtedly true, but these. 20. specified in the first Tome of Councils, the other I haue onely mentioned as probable, because they agree with them, and yet all the Canons that I haue alleaged, be extant in print and the booke is commonly to be solde, and therefore I haue not receiued them of any other.

### Chap. 2. the .22. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 66. Sect. 3.

Ambrose also that olde and learned father, both alloweth the name *Ambrose* and office of an Archbyschop, *Lib. de dignitate Sacerdotum. cap. 5.*

T. C. Pag. 71. Sect. 2.

If (\*) all shoulde be allowed of that S. Ambrose alloweth of, then besides other thyngs which he holdeth corruptly, the marriage of the Ministers shoulde go very hard: but it is worthy to be observed with what wordes Ambrose doth allowe of the Archbyschop, that all men may vnderstande, howe lowe it goeth with M. Doctor, for his defence of the Archbyschop: and how the Archbyschop is so out of credit, that there cannot be gotten any to be surtie for his honestie. Ambrose complaining of the Ministers or Byschops in those dayes sayth, if a man aske them who preferred them to be Priests, answer is made by and by that the (a) Archbyschop for an hundred shillings ordeined me Byschop, to whome I gaue an hundred shillings that I myghte get the fauour to be Byschop, whych if I had not giuen I had not bene Byschop: and afterwarde he saythe that this greued him, that the Archbyschop ordeined Byschops carnally or for some carnall respect, and this is all the allowance that Ambrose sheweth of an Archbyschop. Your Archbyschop taketh all thyngs in good part, so that his very dispraise be expounded to his commendation.

(\*) Ambrose is little beholding to you, that cannot be accepted for a witness.

(a) In those wordes Ambrose doth not disallow the office, but the abuse of it by the person.

Io. Whitgiste.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

I know no man whose writings and woꝝkes are so perfect (the writers of the Canonical scriptures excepted) that all things in their booke are to be allowed. But God forbid that we should therefore reiect that which they haue well and truly spoken: you will doe little for Ambrose if you will not allowe him for an historicall witnesse of that which was in his tyme, this is therefore a shifting answere, but nothing commendable. It evidently appeareth by that place, that in his tyme there were Archbishops, for what though he reprove the abuse of some Archbishops in ordeyning Bishops & Ministers for monie, doth he therefore disallowe, either the name or the office? I say this is rather to be concluded, that there were Archbishops in Ambroses tyme, which had authoritie to ordeine Bishops, because Ambrose doth reprove suche Archbishops as for carnall respects ordeined Bishops.

Your vndutifull and arrogant frumpes and scoffes I passe ouer. It seemeth by your so oft vsing them, that you are afraide, least you should be taken for a modest Christian.

*Chap. 2. the .23. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 71. Sect. 3.

\* Anvnlikely  
likelyhoode  
voyde of truth.

And there is great (\*) likelyhoode, that the Archbishop which Ambrose maketh mention of was no other than he which for the time ruled the action wherein Bishops were ordeined, and after the action ended, had no more authoritie than the rest.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

If you had read any auncient storie or fatter: yea if you had but perused M. Caluines Institutions the .8. Chapter, or any writer intreating of this matter, you would neuer haue vttered this vaine coniecture, nor shewed so manifest a token of greates ignorance, and no reading. For it shall appeare by sufficient testimonie, that neyther the name nor office of an Archbishop was any thing at all strange in this time. And the authors of the Centuries: Cent. 4. can tell you that Ambrose himselfe was *Metropolitanus plurimum coniuictarum ecclesiarum administratione fungens*, A Metropolitane gouerning many Churches adioynning together.

Ambrose a  
Metropolitane.  
Cent. 4. cap. 10

Your coniecture that this Archbishop should be no other, than he which for the time ruled the action, wherein Bishops were ordeined and after the action ended, had no more authoritie than the rest, is a mere phantasie of your owne, contrarie to all authoritie, and withoute any grounde or similitude of reason, and yet you often repeate it, and make it the foundation of this your building. But let vs heare your coniectures.

*Chap. 2. the .24. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 71. Sect. 4.

And I am moued so to thinke, first because it is not like, that one onely ordeined Bishops, being contrarie to the olde Canons of the best Councils: but that there were other, and that this which Ambrose calleth Archbishop, did gather the voyces, &c.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

I haue shewed before, that it was not so strange at this time for the Bishop alone to ordeine Ministers. And yet Ambrose in this place signifieth that the people had some what to doe in this matter, for he calleth them *populum nugacem & indoctum, qui talem sibi ascuerunt sacerdotem*: a people that trifeleth and is vnlearned, that hath gotten vnto them such a priest. But I pray you where is now your distinction betwixt election & ordination? For Ambrose speaketh in this place of ordeyning and not of electing. If you

Ambrose.



you wyll needes so distinguish them that they maye not bee at any tyme, nor in any place confounded, then haue you answered youre selfe here, and wyth one coniecture ouerthrowne an other. But howsoever it is, coniectures can not preuaile agaynst so manifest a truthe, being so silly coniectures. For tell mee where you euer redde that he was called an Archbishop that did only gather the voyces, or that this name was attributed to any during the action only, and no longer. This is verie newe Diuinitie vnhearde of in any good Authour that I haue readde, or can heare of.

Chap.2.the.25.Diuision.

T.C.Pag.71.Sect.5.

Secondly, because it was verie vnlyke that there was any absolutely aboute S. Ambrose in those partes where he complayneth of euill bishops or ministers made.

Io. Whitgifte.

Why, to whom or for whom did Ambrose write this booke? for his owne prouince or Diocesse only? therein are you deceyued, that you thinke Ambrose to haue written this booke for his owne prouince onely, when he writte it to profite the whole Church, as it may appeare in the fyrst Chapter of that Booke. Neither doth he complaine of suche euill Bishoppes or ministers as were vnder him (for then should he haue complayned of himselfe, beryng theyr Metropolitane) but of suche he complayneth, as were in other places and prouinces, as may be seene by these wordes of his. *Ita vt videas in Ecclesia passim, quos non merita sed pecunie ad Episcopatus ordinem prouexerunt*, So that a man maye see euery where in the Church suche as *cap.5.* are promoted to the order of a Bishop, not by desertes but by money, and therefore this coniecture is sone answered.

Chap.2.the.26.Diuision.

T.C. Pag.71.Sect.6.

Thirdly, for that Ambrose in an other place (which you after cite) deuiding all the Church into the cleargie and laytie, dothe subdiuide the cleargie into Bishoppes, Elders, and Deacons, and therefore it is not lyke, that there was any which had any continuall function of archebyschoppe: But as he was called *ρχηγος* or leader of the dance which commeth fyrst, and after commyng in agayne in the seconde or thyrde place, is no moze so called, so that bishop was called Archebishop, which for the time present did gather the voyces of the rest of the bishops, which he by and by layde downe, with the dissoluyng of the meetyng. And that thys is not my coniecture only, that there was no ordinary or absolute Archebishop (\*) let the Centuries be seene (a) whych alleadge that place of Ambrose to proue that the office of an archebishop was not then come into the Church, which was foure hundred yeaeres after Christ, and moze also.

(\*) Where, or  
which centuries  
(a) Vntruth.

Io. Whitgifte.

This is a dauncing denise in dede, withoute any shadow of truthe, as it maye appeare by that whiche already is alleadged, and shall do moze and moze by that which followeth. You are marvellous circumspect in your quotations least you shoulde be tripped, and therefore you saye let the Centuries be seene, but you tell not where. Surely you doe verie vntruely reposte the Centuries, for I haue redde them where they doe alleadge that place of Ambrose, and there is not to be founde any suche matter, but the cleane contrarie, as is to be seene in that place by you alleadged of the fourth Cent. the wordes be these: *Episcopi & Metropolitani dicebantur a precipuis seu primarijs ciuitatibus, sicut Basilium Metropolitani Capadocum, Zozomenus vocat lib.3 cap.16. Et Archiepiscopi, qualem Seleucia fuisse Simeonem, idem retulit lib.2. cap.8. Patriarcha, totius alicuius prouinciae dicebatur Episcopus, vt Socrates indicat Lib.5. cap.8.*

Cent.4 cap.7.

ff.

Byshops



Bishoppes and Metropolitane were named of the chiefe and principall Cities, as Zozomenus calleth Basile the Metropolitane of Cappadocia, *lib. 3. cap. 16.* and Archebishoppes, such as he reporteth that Simeon was of Seleucia *lib. 2. cap. 8.* Patriarke of some whole prouince was called a Bishop, as Socrates sheweth *lib. 5. cap. 8.* Wherefore it is too much boldnesse in you to auouche so manifest vntruths. Neyther is it any maruel though you quote not the places, for forgerie seeketh corners.

Forgerie seeketh corners.

And although that whiche hath bin hytherto alleadged out of the Councils of Nice, and Antioche, with the iudgemente of so manie learned men interpreting the same, might serue to perswade any reasonable man, that the office and name of Archebishoppe and Metropolitane is bothe of greate antiquitie and not for one action onely, or a dauncyng office (as you woulde haue it) but fixed and permanent: yet because I haue to doe wyth quarellers, before I goe any further in confuting, I will sette downe the iudgement of other aunciente and famous wytters also, who allowe bothe of these names and offices: And fyrste I will recite suche as haue the names expressed with the offices, then suche as speake of the very thyng it selfe withoute the names. I will begin with Councils.

Councils of the name and office of Metropolitane and Archbishoppe, &c. *Con. Nicen. Can. 4. 6. 7.*

The Council of Nice, as you haue hearde, hath the name of Metropolitane, and dothe limite vnto hym certaine Prouinces, to gouerne and take the care of.

It hath bin declared that bothe M. Caluine, Illyricus, M. Foxe, and others doe acknowledge the names and office of Patriarkes and Archbishoppes, &c. in the same Canon to be conteyned. Neyther doe they, nor any other learned wytter denie these names and offices to haue bene in the primitiue Church, and that fixed to certayne places and persons, not mouable by actions, nor practised by course.

Lykelysse you haue hearde, howe that Council by this clause *Secundum morem antiquum*, according to the auncient custome, doth signifie that these names and offices haue bene in the Church of long tyme, or else it woulde not haue bin saide to be an olde custome.

*Con. Antioch. can. 9.*

Moreover, the nyntyeth Canon of the Council of Antioche before alleadged is most playne and euident, both for the name and the thing, together with the long continuance of them in the Church.

*Can. 20.*

The 20. Canon of the same Council of Antioche sayeth directly, that no Bishoppes may call a seuerall Council withoute the consente of theyr Metropolitanes.

*Con. Arelat. cano. 6. 15. 37.*

In the sixth and 37. Canons *Concilij Arelatensis*, mention is made of the Metropolitane, of his authoritie in ordering of bishoppes, and of the authoritie of his Synode.

*Con. Laodic. can. 12.*

The lyke bothe for the name and the matter also, touchyng ordeynyng of Bishoppes is in the twelfth Canon of the Council of Laodicea.

*Con. Carth. 2. Can. 12.*

In the seconde Council of Carthage in the twelfth Canon it is euident, that there was a Primate in euery Prouince, and that withoute his commaundement it was not lawfull for any to be ordeyned Bishop.

*Con. Carth. can. 13. 17. &c.*

In the 13. and 17. and diuers other Canons of the general Council of Carthage as it is in the Greeke copie the authoritie of the Primate is also expressed.

*Con. Chalcedo.*

In the Council of Chalcedon the name of Archebishoppe is sundry tymes vsed: Flavianus is there called Archebishop of Constantinople, Dioscorus Archebishop of Alexandria and one Atticus bishoppe of Nicopolis, bothe call the saide Dioscorus *Archiepiscopus nostrum*, our Archebishop. Leo is called Archebishop of Rome. &c.

Of the Councils that folowed there is no doubt, and it were but superfluous for mee to stande in reciting of them, and therfore they shall suffice for the Councils, to shew that bothe the name of Metropolitane or Archbishop, and also the authoritie is not vnhearde of in the Church of Christ, or a sitting or syding office.

Fathers and stories of the name and office of Archebishop. *Epiphanius.*

Nowe to the fathers and stories. Epiphanius *Lib. 2. tom. 2. heri. 68.* calleth one Peter Archebishoppe of Alexandria. And that it maye fully appeare, that it was bothe a continuall office and of greate authoritie and iurisdiction, I will sette downe his wordes.



*Et Meletius quidem in carcere detentus erat una cum predictis Martyribus, ac Petra Alexandria Archiepiscopo. &c.* And Meletius truly was kepte in pryson together with the forenamed Martyrs, and Peter the Archbishop of Alexandria: and Meletius seemed to excell the other bishops of Egypt, for he had the seconde place after Peter in his Archbishoprike, as being vnder him to helpe him, and looking to Ecclesiasticall matters vnder him: For this is the custome, that the Byshoppes of Alexandria haue the Ecclesiasticall gouernement of all Egypte, Thebais, and Marcota, and Libya, and Ammonica, and Mareotis, and Pentapolis.

In the same lease he calleth this Peter Archbishop thre times. This Peter liued in the yeare of our Lorde thre hundred and foure, twentie yeres at the least before the Councell of Nice.

The same Epiphanius in the same Booke and Tome bare. 69. writeth thus: *Quotquot enim Ecclesie in Alexandria catholice Ecclesie sunt, sub vno Archiepiscopo sunt.* All the Churches that are Catholike Churches in Alexandria, are vnder one Archebyshoppe. And a little after he calleth Meletius Archebyshoppe of Egypte, but yet subiecte to Alexander the Archebyshoppe of Alexandria, and all this was before the Councell of Nice.

Peter, Arche-  
bishop of Ale-  
xandria aboue  
twentie yeres  
before the  
Councell of  
Nice.  
Idem.

What can be spoken moze aptely, and moze playnely to my purpose? And if T. C. will canill at the authoritie of the authour (whyche is the poorest shifte that can bee, especially when the authour is so generally allowed) then for breuities sake, I doe referre hym to the Epistle of Ianus Cornarius prefixed before this Booke, and to that whiche afterwarde I haue alledged in his defense out of the Centuries.

Athanasius was called Archebyshoppe of Alexandria: and that it may appeare that it was not a bare title, but an office of Gouernment, you shall finde these wordes in his second Apologie:

*Ischaras quidam, ut nequaquam clericus, ita moribus improbius conatus est sui pagi insulas decipere, iactans sese clericum esse. Id ubi rescivisset eius loci Presbyter, mibi tum Ecclesias perlustranti renunciavit: ego igitur. &c.* A certaine man named Ischaras, as hee was no Clarke, so was hee most wicked in manners, who wente aboute to deceyue the yles of his precincte, boasting that hee was a Clarke: when the Prieste of that place vnderstoode thereof, hee tolde it vnto mee, when I was visiting my Churches, so I sente the same man together wyth Macharius the Prieste to fetch vnto mee Ischaras, whome when they founde sicke in his chamber, they commaunded hys father to warne hys sonne, that hee attempted no suche thing as was reported of him. And after in the same place followeth Ischaras Letters of submission to Athanasius. In the same Apologie there are Letters of submission written by Arsennius Byshoppe of Hipfell, and the Ministers and Deacons of the same Diocese to Athanasius: the beginning of the Letters is this: *Et nos quoque diligentes pacem & vnanimitatem cum ecclesia catholica, cui tu per Dei gratiam presectus es, volensque ecclesiastico Canon, pro veteri instituto, subijci, scribimus tibi (Papa dilecte) promittimusque in nomine Domini nos deinceps non communicaturos cum schismaticis. &c.* And we also louing peace, and concord with the Catholike Church over whiche thou arte by the grace of God appoynted, and willing accordyng to the olde custome to be subiecte to the Ecclesiasticall Canon, write to thee (louing father) and in the name of the Lorde promise, that wee henceforth will not communicate with the Schismatikes.

Athanas.  
Apol. 2.

By this it is playne that Athanasius had great iurisdiction over many Byshoppes, and other Ministers, and ecclesiasticall persons. Again in the same Apologie mention is made of an Archbishop.

In the same Booke the Priestes and Deacons of the Churches of Marcota, in an Epistle that they writte to the Synode, besydes that they call Athanasius, *Episcopum nostrum*, oure Byshoppe, they shewe that hee vsed to visite the Church solemnly accompanied. The wordes are thus: *Episcopus qui non longis finitus ab Episcopo distans,*



The name  
of Arche-  
bishop and  
Metropo-  
litane.

## The defense of the answer

Tract. 8

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*mus, & comites in lustranda Mariotesi cohascentia, nunquam enim ille solus visitandi causa iti-  
nere obire solet: sed comites secum trahere, Presbyteros & Diaconos & non paucos ex plebe. Bicause  
we dwell not farre from the Byshoppe, and we accompanied him whilest he visited Mariot-  
tes, for he is neuer wont alone to take iourneyes in visitations, but to take companions with  
him, Priestes and Deacons, and many of the people. And his own wordes a little before  
that Epistle speaking of these Priestes, and Deacons, be these: *Et necum Prouincias  
lustrabant*. And they visited the Prouinces with me. Wherby also it is euident, that he  
had a large iurisdiction, and that he did visite his Prouinces. The same Athanasius  
in that Apologie, declaring what this place called Mariotes is, sayth: *Mariotes ager est  
in Alexandria, quo in loco nunquam fuit Episcopus: imo ne Chorepiscopus quidem, sed vniuersa e-  
ius loci Ecclesie Episcopo Alexandrino subiacent: tamen ut singuli pagi, suos presbyteros habeant.*  
Mariotes is a tetratorie of Alexandria, where there was neuer Byshop, no not so muche as a  
Byshops deputie, but all the Churches of that place are vnder the Byshop of Alexandria, yet  
so that euery village haue their Priestes.*

In his Epistle *Ad solitariam vitam degentes*, he calleth Lucius Metropolitane of Sardi-  
nia, and Dionysius Metropolitane of Mediolane.

Socrates.

Socrates *Lib. 5. cap. 8.* sayth, that in the Councell of Constantinople, They confirmed  
the saythe of the Nicene Councell, and appointed Patriarkes, assigning their Prouinces,  
that the Byshoppes of one Dioces shoulde not intermedle in other Churches (for this before  
was indifferently vsed by reason of persecution) And to Nestarius was allotted Megalopo-  
lis, and Thracia. &c.

Iustinian.  
Illyricus.  
Cent. 4.

The same is to be seene in the Canons of that Councell of Constantinople.

I omitte Iustinian the Emperoure, who so often mentioneth these names and  
offices in his Constitutions. I also omitte that Illyricus calleth Cyprian Metropo-  
litane of Carthage: and the fourth Centurie, where Ambrose is called Metropoli-  
tane, hauing governments of many Churches. Neyther shall I neede to repeate  
the places of Caluine, M. Foxe, M. Beza *Lib. conf. cap. 5.* or other late wyters iudge-  
mentes, who directly confesse, that these names were vsuall in the Primitive  
Church, and that the office was permanente: for this that is spoken, maye  
 suffice.

The office of  
Metropolitan  
& Archbishop  
without the  
name.  
Cyprian.  
Greg. Naz.

I will come to those Authours and places, where the office and iurisdiction is  
spoken of, though the name be not expressed.

Cyprian *Lib. 4. Epist. 8.* sayeth, that he hadde a large Prouince, *Habet enim Numi-  
diam & Mauritaniam sibi coherentes*, for it hath Numidia and Mauritania annexed  
vnto it. And Gregorie Nazianzene in the Oration that he made in the commen-  
dation of Cyprian sayeth, that he diuise rule and gouerne not onely the Chur-  
ches of Carthage or Affrike, sed & *Hesperia vniuersa: imo Orienti fere ipsi ad finem us-  
que meridiei & Septentrionis*: but of all Spayne, and almoste of the whole East, vnto the  
ende of the Southe and the North. And what was this else, but to be an Arche-  
bishop?

Eusebius.

Eusebius *Lib. 6. cap. 1.* sayeth, that Demetrius was Byshop of the Parishes of Alex-  
andria, and of Egypt, and this Demetrius liued *Anno Domini. 191.* Eusebius testifieth  
there likewise that one Iulianus was before him in the same roume.

Athanasius.

Athanasius in an Epistle that he writte *De sententia Dionysij Episcopi Alexand. contra Arri-  
anos*, affirmeth, *ad Dionysium Alexandria Episcopum curam etiam Ecclesiarum in Pentapoli su-  
perioris Libye pertinuisse*, that vnto Dionysius Bisshoppe of Alexandria the care of the Chur-  
ches in Pentapolis of the higher Libye perteyned. And it is manifeste in the same  
Epistle, that these Churches had their Byshoppe besides. For Eusebius *Lib. 7. cap. 26.*  
writeth, that Basilides was Byshoppe of the parishes of Pentapolis while Dionysius liued:  
so that it is euident that Dionysius was an Archebishoppe. And this is that Diony-  
sius that is called Alexandrinus, whose wordes be extante, and is one of the most an-  
cient wyters. The same Eusebius sayth, that Gregorie did gouerne the Churches  
throughout Pontus.

Euseb.

Sozom.

Sozomen. *Lib. 7. cap. 19.* sayth, that though there be many cities in Scythia, yet they  
haue



haue but one bishoppe.

Theodoret. lib. 4. cap. 11. tellisfeth, that Amphilocheus to whome the Metropolitane citie of Licaonia was committed to be gouerned, did also gouerne that whole countrey, and did driue from thence the heresie of the Messalians: And in the same Chapter we reade that Letorius gouernour of the Churches of Militia, burned Monasteries infect-  
fed with that heresie: whiche declareth that Bishops had then greate authoritie in gouernment.

Aurelius Bishop of Carthage in the Councell of Affrike sayd, that he had the o-  
uersyght and care of many Churches.

But what neede I labour so muche in a matter that can not be vnknowne to any that is of any reading, this therfore shall suffice bothe for the name and office of an Archebishop & Metropolitane. et. against the vnlearned distinction that you haue vled in answering S. Ambrose,

Con. Afric.  
can. 55. in  
graco.

### Chap. 2. the. 26. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 66. Sect. 5.

Sozomenus lyke wyse Lib. 2. of his Ecclesiasticall historie cap. 8. calleth Symeon Archbishop of Seleucia, and Basile the greate Metro-  
politane of Cappadocia. Lib. 3. cap. 16.

T. C. Page. 71. Sect. vlt.

Basill you saye, the great Metropolitane of Cappadocia. I haue shewed what the wordes Metropolitane signifyeth, and howe there was not then, suche a Metropolitane as wee haue now, and as the Admonition speaketh agaynst. You playe as he whiche is noted, as none of the wyfeliest among the marchantes, whiche thought that euery shippe that approached the haueu was his ship. For so you thinke that wheresoeuer you reade Metropolitane or Archebishoppe, forthwith you thinke, there is your Metropolitane, or your Archebishop, where as it shall ap-  
peare, that besydes the name, they are no more lyke, than a bishop with vs is lyke a minister.

### Io. Whitgiste.

What this worde Metropolitane signifyeth, what office and iurisdiction he had, is before sufficiently declared, and may more at large appeare in the con-  
stitutions of Iustinian. Lyke wyse whether our Metropolitans in office any thing at all differ from them, Surely he that shall well consider your bnapte answers and your vtopicall iestes, may thinke that you weare the liuerie of those marchantes you talke of, and may verie wel sayle in their ships.

### Chap. 2. the. 27. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 72. Sect. 1.

I can not tel whether you would abuse your reader here with the fallation of the accent, by-  
cause this worde great is so placed betwene Basile and Metropolitane, that it may be as well re-  
ferred to the Metropolitane, as to Basile, and so you hauing put no comma, it seemeth you had as  
lieue haue your reader, reade great Metropolitane as great Basile. But that the simpler sort be not  
deceyued therby, it is not out of the way to let the reader vnderstande what a great Metropolitane  
this was, whiche appeareth, for that when he was threatned by the magistrate confiscation, of his  
goods, answered, that he was not afrayde of the threatnings, and that all his goodes were a very  
fewe bookes, and an olde gowne: suche were then those Metropolitanes, vnder whose shadowes  
M. Doctors goeth about to shroude all this pompe and princely magnificence of Archbishops.

Sozom.  
6. l. 16.

### Io. Whitgiste.

You search verie narrowly when you misse not a comma, but you knowe what  
nugator signifyeth. All men of learning can tell that Basile is in common speach  
called Basile the great. And yet if he were called great Metropolitane, the  
title might verie well agree vnto him: for he had large and ample iurisdiction, being  
bishop

ff. iij.



The name  
of Arche-  
bishop and  
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litane.

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## The defense of the answere

bishoppe of Cappadocia, as Athanasius dothe also witnesse in his Epistle written to Palladius.

The contention is for the name and the office, not for the riches, although I thinke that there both are and haue bene Bishops in Englands as yore as Basile if they had ben taken so soone after they were placed in theyr bishoprikes, as Basile was now at this tyme.

## Chap. 2. the. 28. Division.

T. C. P. ag. 72. Sect. 2. 3. 4.

\*An vndisfined  
answer.

As for Symeon Archbishop of Seleucia, I will not deny, but at that time was the name of Archbishops. For then (\*) Satan had made thorough the titles of Archbishops, Synodes, and Patriarches, as it were three staires, whereby Antichrist might clyme by into his cursed seate, notwithstanding there wanted not good decrees of godlie councelles which did strike at these proude names, and went aboute to keepe them downe. But the swelling waters of the ambition of byters, coulde not by any banks be kept in, which hauing once broken out in certaine places, afterwards covered almost the face of the whole earth.

This inuention of godly men may appeare in the Councell of Carthage, which decreed, that the bishop of the first seat shold not be called *ἐπίσκοπος τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἡ τοῦ πρώτου τῆς πόλεως*, that is, either the chiefe of the priestes, or the hygher priest, or any such thing, by which wordes (any such thing) he shutteth out the name of Archbishop, and all such haughty titles. Con. Carth. cap. 39.

The same decreet also was made in the Africane councell, and if you saye that it was made against the Pope of Rome, or to forbidde that any man shoulde be called Archbishoppe, shewe me where ther was epyther bishop of Rome, or any other that euer made any such title or chalenge to be the generall Bishop of all at that tyme, when this councell of Carthage was holden, when as the first of those which did make any such chalenge, was the bishop of Constantinople, which notwithstanding (a) chalenged not the preheminent first ouer all, but that he might ordeyne bishops of Asia, Pontus, Thracia, which were before appointed by theyr Synodes, and this was in the councell of Chalcedon, which was long after that councell of Carthage before remembred. Con. tom. 1 cap. 6.

(a) An vntuall.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

It is before sufficiently declared, that these names and offices were allowed and confirmed by the Councell of Nice, and therefore not brought in by Satan. Moreover this Symeon Archbishop of Seleucia, liued as it may appeare by most Chronicles aboute the tyme of the Councell of Nice, and was martyred by Sapores the king of Persia.

Which peradventure if you had vnderstande, you woulde not haue burst out into this heate of wordes, for then might you haue made the same answere to Ambrose his authoritie which was long after him, & so kept secret your owne fond deuise.

The Councell of Carthage and also of Affrike was at that tyme, wherein the Bishop of Rome by his Legates didde clayme the right of hearyng of appeales, from whome soeuer they were made, and for his purpose alleaged a counterfeit Canon of the Councell of Nice. Wherefore it is moste certayne, that then the Bishop of Rome beganne at the leaste to clayme the superiouritie ouer all Churches, and to take vpon hym as it were the name of vniuersall Bishoppe: and therefore this canon is made against him.

And that this is true, the Epistle of the Councell of Affrike written to Celestinus, then Bishoppe of Rome declareth. For after that they haue respoynded hym that he woulde admit no such appeales, nor absolue such as they shoulde excommunicate, because that was to doe agaynst the decrees of the Councell of Nice, and to abridge them of their iurisdiction and libertie: they adde and saye:

Both because this priuiledge hath bin taken from the Church of Aphrike by no constitution of the fathers, and also the decrees of the councell of Nice hath committed bothe the inferiour Clarke and the Bishops themselues vnto their Metropolitans: for it was discretely and rightly consydered, that all matters are to bee determined in the places, where they began, and that no prouince can lacke the grace of the holie ghost, whereby the priest of Christe may be hable, both wisely to see, and also constantly to mainteyn the right: especially



cially for that it is lawfull, for every man that shall mislike the discretion of the iudges, to appeale either to particular councels within the same prouince, or else to an vniuersal coun- cell: vnlesse perchaunce some man will thinke, that God is able to inspire the triall of iu- stice into one man alone, and will not inspire the same into a greate number of priests meeting togyther in Councell. And how may such beyond sea iudgemente be thoughte good, wherevnto the persons of the witnesses which in triall of truth are thought necessary either for that they be women, or for the infirmitie of their age, or for many other incident lets, cannot be brought. Now that any should be sent abroad as it were from your ho- linesse side, we find it not decreed in any Councell. And a little after, And send you not any your Clerks hither to execute iustice at any mans request, least we seeme to bring the smoke puffs of the world into the Church of Christ. &c.

Whereby it is plaine, that they only prohibite that title of vniuersalitie and of generall iurisdiction, that the Byshop of Rome now claymed and at that time began to claime ouer all Churches, and not the names of superiortie due vnto any in their owne prouince. For that prerogative of iurisdiction ouer Byshops and other mini- sters they acknowledge to be due to the Metropolitane, as it is euident in the words of that same epistle, which I haue recited.

Moreover it is manifest that this name Archbyshop was then vsed, and after that time continued and not disallowed by any, as it may appeare by that which hath bin hitherto witten. And this name Primate (whiche is as haucie as the name of Arch- byshop) is allowed euen in that counsell of Carthage, as may appeare in the. 13. 17. and. 23. canons, as it is in the Greeke copye. Wherefore in my opinion M. Foxe doth aptly decide this controuersie, in that learned treatise of his firste tome, where he speaking of this same Councell and of this Canon which you haue recited, (for I sup- pose you did borrow it there) signifyeth in effect that neyther the name of Primate, Archbyshop or Metropolitane, is by that Canon prohibited, but rather these ambitious titles of vniuersall Byshop, prince of all priests, head of all priests, and such like. Whiche names seeme to derogate authoritie both of iurisdiction and office from all other prie- stes, and therefore a little after he saith. Thus then these titles aboue recited, as Byshop, Metropolitane, Byshop of the first seate, Primate, Patriarke, Archbyshop, that is to meane, chiefe byshop or headbyshop to other byshops of his prouince, we denie not but were then in old time applyed and might be applyed to the Byshop of Rome, like as the same also were applyed to other Patriarks in other chiefe cities and prouinces. And in the same place, af- ter he hath declared this title (*summus orbis Pontifex*) as it is now vsed in Rome to be in- hard of in the primitiue time of the Church, that is five hundred yeares after Christ. He saith the like is to be affirmed also of other presumptuous titles of like ambi- tion, as the head of the vniuersall Church, the vicar of Christ in earth, Prince of priests, with such like, which be all new found termes. &c. so that it is plaine, that these general titles of vniuersall iurisdiction ouer all, and not the particular names of superiortie ouer seuerall Churches, is by this Councell fo:biden.

Thys farther appeareth in the fiftth Councell of Constantinople where John not being content with the name of Patriarke of Constantinople would needes haue it ratified by the counsell that he should be called *Oecumenicus Patriarcha*, that is vniuer- sall Patriarch. Against which title not of Patriarch but of vniuersall Patriarch, both Pela- gius and Gregory at that time byshops of Rome, the one succceding the other, did ear- nestly write, and this is the true meaning of that Canon.

Ignatius immediatly after the Apostles time calleth a Byshop *principem sacerdo- tum*, the Prince of priests, or chiefe Priest: and so doth Ambrose in the fourth *ad Ephe- sios*. But this they do not attribute to any one as hauing vniuersall authoritie ouer all, but to every byshop in respect of such as be vnder him.

Touching the byshop of Constantinople, your are deceyued very muche, and de- clare in hym the same vnskilfulnesse that you haue done in the other. For it is euident that he required thys name and title of vniuersall Patriarch ambitiously as haing desirous to be superiour to all the Patriarchs in the worlde. This to be true is manifest by the decrees of Pellagius *Distinct. 99. Canon Nullus*. And by the Epistles of

The name of  
Primate al-  
lowed in the  
Councell of  
Carthage.  
M. Foxe.

Con. Const. 9  
ch. 2.

Ignatius epist.  
ad Smirn.  
Ambros. in. 4.  
Eph.

Distinct. 99.



Gregory written purposely of that matter. Neyther do I reade in any appoyned author to the contrary.

Con. tom. 2.

Agayne you are deceived greatly in the Councell. For though the Byshoppe of Constantinople did challenge in the Councell of Chalcedon the righte of ordering Metropolitans in those places, yet doth he not in that Councell challenge the title of vniuersall Patriarch, whiche notwithstanding was offered to the Byshoppe of Rome in that Councell of Chalcedon, but first giuen to the Patriarch of Constantinople, in the seconde Councell of Constantinople: or as it is termed in the booke of Councells, the fiftte, bycause it was the fiftte generall Councell, as it may appeare in the same councell. Whereouer whereas you say, that the Byshop of Constantinople required that he might ordeyne Byshops in Asia. &c. if you marke the wordes diligently, you shall perceiue that he required therein nothing but according to the sixth Canon of the Councell of Nice, whiche is also there alledged for that purpose: but I haue shewed before how the Byshop of Rome made this challenge of vniuersalitie in effect, and indeede, euen in that Councell of Carthage, where this Canon by you alledged is, and therefore I neede not stand any longer vpon this point.

### Chap. 2. the. 29. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition Page. 66. Sect. 6. 7. 8.

& Page. 67. Sect. 1. 2.

Archdeacons

Damasus calleth Stephen an Archdeacon.

Hierome in his epistle ad Euagrium hath this name Archdeacon.

Sextus in his decrees saith that Laurence the Martyr was an Archdeacon.

Sozomenus lib. 7. cap. 19. maketh mention of an Archdeacon reading the scriptures.

Socrates in the seuenth booke of his ecclesiasticall historie speaketh of one Timothie an Archdeacon.

T. C. Pag. 72. Sect. 5. 6. 7.

(\*) T. C. saith in his accompt, and telleth but fower, for fise. (b) in what part of Gratian.

For to proue the lawfulnessse of the name of an Archdeacon, the antiquitie, the necessitie of it, the testimonies of (a) foure are brought, which neyther speake of their lawfulness nor of their necessitie, and they say not indeede so much as god saue them, and two of these witnessses are Idopes, whercof the first and best, or dayned that if the Metropolitane did not fetch his pall at the Apostolike see of Rome within three moneths after he be consecrated, that then he should lose his dignitie, as (b) Gratian witnesseth in the decrees that he ascribeth vnto Damasus.

(c) This is vnto true, for Sixtus is more ancient.

I doubt not therefore that this is but a forger vpon whome you would father the Archdeacon: for that Damasus in whose place you put this forger liued Anno. 387. at what time the see of Rome had no such tyrannie as this and other things which are fathered of him do pretend. And if this be enough to proue Archdeacons I can with better witnessse proue subdeacons, Acouthes, exorcists, lectors, ostiaries, these doth Celsus make mention of, and (c) auncienter writer than any you bring: and out of Rufine, Theodorete, Sozomene, Socrates, &c. monkes almost in euery page, and herevpon it is more lawfull for me to conclude, that monkes, subdeacons, exorcists, acouthes, ostiary, lectors, are necessary ecclesiasticall orders in the Church, as you conclude the necessitie of the Archdeacon.

(d) What haue you else but conjectures?

I perceiue you care not whether the Archdeacon saie or no, that you bestow so little cost of him, and leaue him so nakedly. And if I would be but halfe so bold in (d) coniectures and diuinations as you are, I could say that this sleight handling of the Archdeacon, and sweating so much aboute the Archbysshop, is therevpon, that you would be loth to come from being Deane to be an Archdeacon, and you liue in some hope of being Archbysshop: but I will not enter so farre: and surely for any thing that I see, you mighte haue trusted by the Archbysshop as shotte as you do the Archdeacon, for they stand vpon one pynne, and those reasons which establish the one establish the other. Wherevpon also commeth to passe that all those reasons which were before alledged against the Archbysshop, may be drawn against the Archdeacon.

The vntoward dealing of the replier, & his vnusurp'd answer.

Io. Whitgiste.

My purpose in that place is (as you mighte haue scene if you would) to proue that the names of Archbysshops Archdeacon, &c. be not Antichristian names.



names, that is, names inuented by Antichriste, but most auncient, for those be my very words, & as I haue proued that to be most true in Petropolitanes and Archbishops, by shewing that they were in the Church, before the Pope was Antichrist, so I do the like of Archdeacons. And where I haue brought in five witnesses, you say I haue brought in fewer. Damasus, Hierome, Sixtus, Sozomene and Socrates be in number five, and of these five you haue answered only two, and that after your vsuall manner, by reiecting the Authoys. What is falsely attributed to Damasus in other matters is no answer to this, that he reporteth of Archdeacons, whiche also the third Centurie alledgeth as true. And though he were Bishop of Rome, yet was he a vertuous, learned, and godly Bishop. So was Sixtus in like manner, who liued Bishop of Rome Anno. 265. So that Damasus was neyther the first nor the best. For Sixtus was martyred for the Gospell, so was not Damasus. They speake as much for Archdeacons as I require, that is that their names were not inuented by Antichrist: and if there were then no such tyrannie in the Church of Rome, as you here mislike, and yet this name in that Church, it is not like to be a tyrannicall name.

But I maruaile you will deale so barely in this matter, knowing that Hierome, who liued in Damasus his time, hathe this name Archdeacon oftner than twise or thrise. Without doubt you do not well consider what you write.

This Answer of yours was neuer as yet approued of any learned mā. For what if Eusebius make mention of Subdeacons, Acolythes, &c. which were peraduenture profitable offices in the Church at that time, doth it therefore follow that it is unlawfull to haue Archdeacons? I conclude no necessitie of the Archdeacon, but I conclude by antiquitie, and bycause you cannot answer that, you fall to scoffing and vnseemly telling as your manner is, and so do you shift off thre of my witnesses.

### Chap. 2. the. 30. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 72. lin. 2. & Sect. 1.

Having therefore before proued the unlawfulness of them, I will here set downe the difference betwene those Archdeacons that were in times past, and those whiche are nowe, whereby it may appeare they are nothing like but in name.

They were no ministers as appeareth in (\*) Sozomene, ours are.

(\*) Vntruth, no such thing appeareth.

### Io. Whitgifte.

What one reason haue you'bled to proue the unlawfulness of them. If you meane such reasons as you haue against Archbishops, they be fully answered.

Not one word is there in the seuenth booke and nineteenth Chapter of Sozomene to proue that Archdeacons eyther then were not, or now may not be ministers. For all that he speaketh in that chapter is this. And this also is a strange thing in the Church of Alexandria, whiles the Gospels are a reading, the Bishop doth not rise vp, which I haue hard of others. This holy booke a Monke that is an Archdeacon readeth there, in other places Deacons: in many Churches the priests only: but in principall feasts Bishops. Nowe you can conclude that Archdeacons were not then ministers by any thing here spoken, surely I know not, for if you meane, bycause he saith that in some churches only Priests did reade, you can no more thereof conclude that Archdeacons were then no Priests, than you may that they were no Deacons, or that Bishops be no Priests, neyther is it necessary that they shoulde be nowe ministers, it is sufficiente if they be Deacons: yet may they be ministers and meete it is that they should so be, and you cannot proue the contrary.

Chap.



*Chap. 2. the. 31. Division.*

T. C. Pag. 73. Sect. 2.

They were tyed to a certaine Church, and were called Archdeacon of such a congregation or Church, ours are tyed to none, but are called Archdeacons of such a shire.

Con. Vrba:  
num.  
Sozo. 7. lib.  
cap. 19.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

There is no other words in that booke and chap. of Hierome touching Archdeacons, than these whiche I haue before recited: what they make for your purpose let the reader iudge. Your *Vrbanum Concilium* is very obscure, for there is none such to be found in all the volumes of Councils. But to put you out of doubt, we haue no Archdeacons, but such as be tyed to one Church, though they haue the names sometimes of the shire, wherein their iurisdiction lyeth.

*Chap. 2. the. 32. Division.*

T. C. Pag. 73. Sect. 3.

They were chosen by all the deacons of the Church where they be Archdeacons, ours are appointed by one man, and which is no Deacon.

Ierom. to  
Euagri.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

There can be no such custome gathered of Hieroms words in that place, only he vsing an example to declare what the manner of choosing their Bishop was in the Church of Alexandria saith, that they elected one from among themselves whome they placing in an higher room called him a Bishop, as if the souldiers should choose their captain, or Deacons should choose one of them whome they know to be painfull, and name him archdeacon. You can no more hereof conclude, that it was then vsual for deacons to choose their Archdeacon, than you may that it was also vsual for souldiers to choose their captain: neyther can you here by proue that our Archdeacons are not like vnto theirs (if this were true) no more than you can, that our Captaines are not like vnto theirs, because the souldiers do not choose them. But what greater matter is it, if they were then chosen by Deacons and be not so now: and doth not the Bishop appoint them and is not the Bishop more than a Deacon?

*Chap. 2. the. 33. Division.*

T. C. Pag. 73. Sect. 4.

They were subject to the minister of the word, ours are above them, and rule over them.

Con. Nicen  
can. 14. and  
after Ruf. 10

*Io. Whitgifte.*

There is not one word of Archdeacons in the fourteenth Canon of the Council of Nice, nor in the 20. after Rusine, and therefore you do but abuse the reader. That which is in that place is spoken of Deacons onely, and is at this day obserued in this Church.

*Chap. 2. the. 34. Division.*

T. C. Pag. 73. Sect. 5.

It was counted to them great arrogancie if they preferred themselves to any minister or elder of the

Ierom. ad  
Euag. Aug.  
quæst. noui  
& vet. test.  
q. 101.

Vntruthes, for  
neyther of them  
speake of  
Archdeacons in  
those places al-  
leged to this  
purpose.



of the Church: ours will not take the best ministers of the Church as their equals. If therefore Archdeacons will haue any benefite by the Archdeacons of old time, it is meete they shoulde content themselves with that place which they were in.

### Io. Whitgifte.

No such thing is in that epistle of Hierome: only he speaketh of deacons, touching that matter, whome he also sheweth in the Church of Rome to haue bin in certaine points preferred before ministers, neyther is there one word of Archdeacons in that booke of Augustines, but only of Deacons. You must learne to make a distinction betwixt an Archdeacon and a Deacon, and not to make the reader beleue that the authors you quote in the margente, speake of Archdeacons, when they onely speake of Deacons. My witnesses how few so euer they be, are sufficiente to withstand thys cowardly assault of yours, wherein there is neyther strength nor truth.

### Chap. 2. the 35. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 67. Sect. 3.

Augustine in his first booke *de moribus ecclesie Catholice*, maketh mention of Deanes, and their offices.

T. C. Pag. 73. Sect. 6.

As for the office of a deane, as it is vsed with vs it is therefore (\*) vnlawfull, for that he being minister, hath (\*) no seuerall charge or Congregation appointed wherein he may exercise his ministerie, and (\*) for that he is ruler and as it were master of diuers other ministers in his Colledge, which likewise haue no seuerall charges of congregations, and for that (which is most intollerable) both he himselfe oftentimes hauing a seuerall Church or benefice (as they call it,) is vnder the coure of his deanship absent from his Church, and suffereth also those that are vnderneath him, to be likewise absent from their Churches. And whereas M. Doctor alledgeth S. Augustine to proue this office to be auncient: indeede the name is there found, but besides the name, not one propriety of that deane which we haue. For Augustine speaking of the monks of those dayes, sayeth that the money which they gate with the labor of their hands, they gaue to their deane, which did prouide them meate and drinke and cloth and all things necessary for them: So that their monks shoulde not be drawen away from their studies and meditations, through the care of worldly things: So that this Deane which he speaketh of, was seruaunt and steward and cater to the Monks, and therefore only called Deane, because he was steward and cater to ten Monks. Now let it be seene what Augustines deane maketh for the deane which is theirs, and what faith and trust M. Doctor vseth, in reciting of the old fathers.

(\*) Votaries.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

All thys is but your owne fancies taken for principles and groundes. For firste it is vntreue that euery Minister muste of necessitie haue some seuerall charge, as I haue declared before. Secondly it is as vntreue, that a Deane hath no seuerall charge or congregation, wherein to exercise his ministerie. For there is no Cathedral Church withoute a congregation and charge. The third that followeth, is builded of the same groundes that these two firste be, and may as well be spoken against the masterships of suche Colledges in the vniuersities, wherein any preachers or ministers bee maynteyned. Whyche argueth that you meane the same to Colledges that you doe to Cathedral Churches, and that you woulde haue ministers free from subiection. Last of all, that whyche you say is most intollerable, you speake withoute any tolerable reason: For Master Deane and his Prebendaries do more good both in the Church of Englande generally, and in their

Tract. 4.



their severall Churches particularly, and take moze paines in one moneth, than you and your companions (whereof some notwithstanding are contente without doing any dutie at all, to enioy pzebendes moze than one) in one whole yeare. And if eyther Master Deane or the Pzebendaries neglect their duties, there be superiours and lawes to refozme them.

The place of Augustine proueth the name of a Deane: it proueth a College and societie, whereof he is Deane: it argueth a superiortie and gouernmente, for he saith they be called *Decani*, *ideo quod sint deus prepositi*, Deanes, bycause they are set ouer tenne: it sheweth an office to care and prouide for them, and see that they haue all thynges necessary: it declareth dayly exercise of praying and teaching: for he addeth thus. *Conueniunt autem diei tempore extremo de suis quisque habitaculis, dum adhuc ieiuni sunt, ad audiendum illum patrem, & conueniunt ad singulos patres terna ad minimum hominum milia: Nam etiam multo numerosiores sub vno agunt.* They come togyther at night euery man from his lodging whilest yet they are fasting, to heare that father: and they come togyther to euery father, three thousand men at the least, for a greate meanie moue vnder one. &c.

Aug. de moribus ecclesie.

Now sir if God of his singular godnesse hathe to the greate and vnspokeable benefyte of his Church, moued the harts of princes and men of wealth, so to indue suche places with possessions and reuenewes, that they hauing thynges necessary prouided for them, may bestow that tyme in studying, praying, preaching, and other godly exercises, whiche these that Saint Augustine speaketh of, did in labouring with their handes, is Master Deanes name or office euer the worse: howsoeuer it please you to terme these companies, that Saint Augustine here speaketh of: Yet were they Godly societies, and do very aptly set forth the vtilitie, and the antiquitie of Churches and Colledges: the Deanes and Masters whereof, haue indeede the chiefe and speciall care of all externall things pertyning to them, whether it be landes, prouisions, or any thing else that is necessary: And therefore the liker to Saint Augustines Deane, and the place moze aptly alledged to proue the antiquitie of this name and office. If Master Doctor should vse no moze faith in reciting the Doctors than you do, I woulde he were whipped at the crosse in Cheape.

### Chap. 2. the. 36. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag 67. Sect. 4.

Hitherto Antichrist had not inuaded the Church of Rome. But what shoulde I trouble you with any moze authorities: those that be learned may easily vnderstand that these names Metropolitane, Archbyshop, Archdeacon, Bishope, Patriarke, and suche lyke, be most auncient and approued of the eldest, best, and worthiest Councils, fathers, and writers.

T. C. Pag. 73. Sect. 7.

And vnto the end that these testimonies might be moze autentick, and haue some waight in them, Master Doctor addeth, that hitherto Antichrist had not inuaded the seate of Rome. You shall haue much to do to proue that Antichrist had not inuaded the see of Rome, when your Clement Inaclete, Inicere, and Damasus wrote: nay it is most certayne, that then he had possessed it: but what is that to the purpose, although there was no one singular head appeared or lifted vp, yet corruptio of doctrine & of the sacraments, hurtful ceremonies, dominion & pompe of Cleargie, new orders, & functions of ministerie, which were the hands that pulled him, & feet which brought him,



him, the shoulderers that lifted and heaved him up into that seat, were in the Church. Neither while you so thus speake, do you seeme to remember, that this monster needed not nine monethes, but almost nine hundred yeares, to be framed and fashioned, or ever he could with all his parts be brought to light. And although the tower of this Antichristian building were not set up: yet the foundation thereof being secretly and under the ground laid in the Apostles time: you might easily know that in those times that you speake of, the building was wonderfully aduanced & growen very high, and being a very dangerous thing to ground any order or policie of the Church vpon men at all, which in deepe ought to haue their standing vpon the doctrine and orders of the Apostles, I will shew, what great iniurie M. Doctoz doth, to send vs for our examples and patterns of government to these times which he doth dicte vs vnto.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

These be but wordes, the same mighte be also spoken of the Apostles times. For euen then Paul speaking of Antichrist sayd, *Nam mysterium nunc agit iniquitatis*, for the mysterie of iniquitie doth already worke: And S. John sayd that there then began to be many Antichristes: but doth this detract any thing from the truth taught in that time? or shall we therefore refuse to take such examples of it, as is conuenient for our time? There is no man of learning and modestie which will without manifest proofe condemn any order, especially touching the gouernment of the Church, that was vsed and allowed during the time of the primitive Church, which was the next 500. yeeres after Christ, within the which time, most of my authorities are contained. Perther was there any fondis or office brought into the Church during al that time, allowed by any generall Councel or credible wyter, which was not most mete for that time, and allowable by the word of God.

I graunt that Antichrist was working all this time, and grewe more and more, for else could there neuer haue bene so many sectes and heresies from time to tyme spread in the Church, which was the cause of so many singular and notable Councils, so many profitable and necessary booke, written by such learned and goodly Doctoz, as did with might and maine strue against the in. Out of the which Councils and fathers, and best witnessses what was done in those times, I haue fetched my proofes: euen out of them (I say) that did with might and maine labour to kepe out Antichrist from the possession of the Church, and therefore not to be suspected to consent to Antichrist.

I knowe that those sectes and heresies gaue strength vnto Antichriste, and at the length were one speciall meanes of placing him in his throne, euen as I am also persuaded that he worketh as effectually at this daye by your stryres and contentions, wherby he hath and will more preuaile against this Church of England, than by any other meanes whatsoever. Therefore it behoueth you to take heede, how you deuise the armie of Christ, which should vnamiter fight against that Antichrist. As for vs we must follo the examples of those good fathers, and labour, accordingly to restore vnitie, and to preserue it.

### Chap. 2. the 37. Division.

T.C. Pag. 73. Sect. vlt.

Enclines out of Egesippus wytereth, & as long as the Apostles lyued, the Church remained a pure virgin, for that if there were any that went about to corrupt the holy rule that was preached, they did it in the darke, and as it were digging vnderneath the earth. But after the death of the Apostles, and that generation was past, whiche God vouchsafed to heare the diuine wisdom with their owne eares, then the placing of wicked error began to come into the Church.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

It is euident in diuerse places of the Scripture, namely in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Galath. that there were many grosse and greates corruptions openly professed in the Church, by diuerse, not onely in maners, but al

Eg.

so

Antichrist began in the Apostles times  
2. T. best. 2.  
1. Jo. 2.

Antichrist worketh in England by contentious persons.

Encl. lib. 3.  
cap. 32.

Encl. lib. 3.  
cap. 32.

Corruptions in the church in the Apostles time.



Euseb. lib. 2.  
Cap. 13.  
Id. lib. 3.

so in doctrine, even in the Apostles tyme, and Eusebius hymselfe declareth that there was one Simon mentioned Acts. 8. whom he calleth the author of all heresie, Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Likewise he sheweth Lib. 3. that Ebion, Cerinthus, and the Nicholaites, all horrible heretikes were in the Apostles time. Wherefore if this be a good reason, then is it not safe for us to follow, no not the Apostles time.

### Chap. 2. the. 38. Division.

T. C. Page. 74. Sect. 1.

Clement also in a certayne place, to confirme that there was corruption of doctrine immediately after the Apostles time, allegeth the proverb that there are some sonnes like their fathers.

Li. fromat,  
somewhat  
after the be-  
ginning.

### Io. Whitgifte.

I can finde no such thing in Clement, but the matter is not great whether he saye so or no. The argument is starke noughte: for if this followe, that we may take no example, paterne, or testimonie of government, out of that time, because it was corrupte, then by the same reason muste we not take examples of any tyme, no not out of the Apostles time, because that was also corrupte as I have saide. Your argumentes be passing strong, surely I marvelle with what boldnesse you write them.

### Chap. 2. the. 39. Division.

T. C. Page. 74. Sect. 1.

And Socrates sayth of the Church of Rome and Alexandria, which were the most famous Churches in the Apostles tymes, that aboute the yere. 430. the Romane and Alexandrian Bishops (\*) leavynge the sacred function were degenerate to a secular rule or dominion, wherby they see, that it is safe for us to goe to the Scriptures, and to the Apostles tymes, for to fetch our government and order: and that it is very dangerous to drawe from those rupts the somtymes wherof are troubled and corrupted, especially when as the wayes wherby they runne are muddier and more fenkie, then is the head it selfe.

Li. 7. c. 11.

(\*) Socrates falsified.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Socra. lib. 7.  
Cap. 11.

You falsifie the wordes of Socrates, for thus he sayth, For even till that tyme the Novatians flourished marvellously at Rome, and had manye Churches and had gathered muche people. But envie took hold of them, when as the Byshoppricke of Rome and of Alexandria nowe a good whyle was passed beyonde the Limites of Priesthoode to an outward Dominion. He sayth not leavynge the sacred function, were degenerate to a secular rule and dominion, as you translate it.

Socrates a  
favourite of  
Novatians.  
Niceph. lib. 6.  
Cap. 37. c.  
lib. 9. 13.

But why both Socrates burle out into this reprehension of them, even because they expelled the Novatian heretikes, of whome Socrates was a fauto, as it may appeare in Nicephorus, wherfore he dothe in that place affectionately, and untruly reproove both the Byshop of Rome, and Alexandria, for stoutly resisting those heretikes and expelling them from their Churches, especially they nowe increasing to so great a multitude, as it may seeme by Socrates wordes they dyd. And althoughe the wordes of Socrates whiche I have already recyted suffice this to be true, yet both his wordes followynge declare the same moze evidently. For he commendeth the Byshop of Constantinople because he friendly intertyned the Novatians, & suffered them quietly to remayne wythin the Citie, and yet it is certayne, that the Byshop of Constantinople, had as large authoritie as the Byshop of Alexandria, wherfore Socrates in this point is no moze to be belovied against those Byshops, than you are against the Byshoppes in this Church, whose authoritie you maligne upon the lyke occasion.

Socrates be-  
ings agreeable  
to our time.

Shap.



## Chap. 2. the 40. Division.

T. C. Pag. 74. Sect. 3. 4.

And (a) although M. Doctor hath brought neither Scripture nor reason, nor Councell where in there is either name of Archbyschop, or Archdeacon, or proued that there may be: And although he shew not so much as the name of them foure hundred yeares after our sauour Christ. And although where he sheweth them, they be either by counterfeit authoꝝ, or without any worde (b) of approbation of good authoꝝ: yet as though he had shewed all and proued all, hauing shewed nothing nor proued nothing, he clappeth the hands to himself, and putteth the crowne vpon his owne head, saying, that those that be learned maye easily vnderstande, that the names Archbyschop, Archdeacon, Primat, Patriarke, be most auncient, and appoynted of the eldest, best, worthiest Councells, fathers, wyters: and a little afterwarde, that they are vnlearned and ignorant: which saye otherwyse.

(a) Where is truth become.

(b) Would you haue better approbation than decrees for their authoritie, and continuall practice.

Here is (c) a victorie blowne with a great and sounding trumpet, that myght haue bene piped with an oten straw, and if it shoulde be replied againe, that M. Doctor hath declared in this little learning little reading, and lesse iudgement, there myghte growe controuersies without all fruite.

(c) Vainitie.

## Io. Whitgifte.

If I were not acquainted with this spirit, it would make me muse at such euident and manifest vntruthes, ioyned with so prophane testies and tauntes. If I had alleaged no moe authorities but onely the Councell of Nice, it had bene sufficient to haue disproued this so bolde assertion of yours. But seeing I haue alleaged other testimonies also, which euidently proue my purpose, I muste needs thinke you not to be a man that greatly careth for your owne credit, but if you thinke they are few, & therefore accompt them for none, I haue now I trust in this Chapter. 25. Division supplied their want, and made vp the number:

What Scriptures I haue appeareth afterwarde. It is sufficient if I finde there the office of an Archbyschop, as I doubt not but I shall, and therefore I say againe, that to doubt of the antiquitie of these names and offices, argueth great penurie of reading the auncient wyters.

## Chap. 2. the 41. Division.

Ansver to the Admonition. Pag. 67. Sect. 4.

And for as much as the originall and beginning of these names Metropolitane, Archbyschop, Archdeacon, Primat, Patriarke, and such like (such is their antiquitie) cannot be found so farre as I haue reade, it is to be supposed they haue their originall from the Apostles themselves. For as I remember S. Augustine hath thys rule in hys 118. Epist. ad Ianuar. Those things that be not expressed in the Scriptures and yet by tradition obserued of the vvhole Church, come eyther from the Apostles or from generall Councells, as the obseruing of Easter, the celebrating of the day of the ascension, and of the comming of the holy Ghost, & suchelike. Very vnlearned therefore and ignorant be those which so boldly affirme that these names vsed in the purest time of the church, be Antichristian.

August.

T. C. Page. 74. Sect. 4. 5.

And by and by in saying that the Archbyschops beginning is unknowne, in steade of a (a) bastard which some brought into the Church, that hid themselves because they were ashamed of y child, he will make vs beleue that we haue a newe Melchisedech, without father, without mother, & whose generation is not knowne, and so concludeth with the place of S. Augustine, as farre as he remembereth, in the 118. Epistle to Ianuarie, that the originall of them is from the Apostles themselves.

(a) Modestie.

Here (b) M. Doctor seemeth to seeke after some glory of a good memory, as though he had not Augustine by him when he wrote thys sentence, and yet he maruellously forgetteth himselfe, for he vsed this place before in hys 23. Page, and cyteth it there precisely and absolutely, where also I

(b) This is from the matter.

Eg. 9.

haue



haue shewed, howe vnaduisedly that sentence of Augustine is approued: and howe that thereby a window is open to bying in all *Popery* & whatsoever other corrupt opinions. That the names of *Ordres* and honour as they are vsed in this Realme, are not meete to be giuen to the Ministers of the Gospell, there hath bene spoken before.

### *Jo. Whitgiste.*

This place of Augustine is of greater force and credite with those that be learned, than that it can be shifted off. I haue answered whatsoever you saye against it in that place, and shewed of what credite it is with some famous wylters of our time, namely with Master Zuinglius, Master Caluine, and Master Gualter. And surely I thinke no learned man doth dissent from them.

Your iesses are to vsuall and vnseemely for a Diuine, especially when you abuse the scripture to make sport withal. I might haue sayd also of you, if you sought after some glory of a good memorie, when as you vsed the like kinde of speech, in alleaging of Gildas and Lumbard, Pag. 68. but that I am not delighted with such kinde of eloquence.

Pag. 68.  
Sect. 4.

### *Chap. 2. the. 42. Diuision.*

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 65. Sect. 5.

Whether that the name of *Prelate* of the Garter, Earle, Countie Palatine, Honor, high commissioner, Justice of peace and Quorum, being necessary offices in this common weale, partly for the honour of the Prince and Realme, but especially for good government of all estates and degrees of persons, be Antichristian, let those consider to whom God hath committed the sword of government: such insolent audacitie against states and lawfull regiment, is rather to be corrected with due punishment, than confuted by argument.

Ciwill offices  
giue to eccle-  
siasticall per-  
sons.

T. C. Page. 74. Sect. 6. 7. 8.

As for *Prelate* of the Garter, if it be a needefull office, there are inowe to execute it besydes the Ministers, which for as much as they be appointed to wathe ouer the soules of men, purchased with the bloude of Christ, all men vnderstand that it is not meete that they shoulde attend vpon the bodie, muche lesse vpon the legge, and least of al vpon the Garter. It is not vnlawfull for Princes to haue Ministers of their honor, but also it is not lawfull to take those that God hath appoynted for another ende, to vse to such purposes.

(\*) Vntruth.

Thou seest here good reader that M. Doctor kepeth his olde wont, of (\*) manifest peruertering of the wordes and meaning of the authors of the Admonition. For wher eas they saye that the name of Earle, Countie Palatine, Justice of peace and Quorum, Commissioner, are Antichristian, when they are giuen to the ministers of the Church, whose calling wil not agree with such titles, he concludeth simply, that they saye they be altogether vnlawfull, and simply antichristian, as if I should reason, that it is not meete that the Queenes Maiestie shoulde preache or minister the Sacramentes, therefore it is not meete that there shoulde be any preaching or Ministering of the Sacramentes.

Howe letting passe all your hard wordes and vnbrotherly speeches, with your vncharitable prognostications, and colde prophesies, I will come to examine, whether you haue any bett or hay in prouing the office, than you haue had in prouing the name.

### *Io. Whitgiste.*

I see no cause why he that is *prelate* of the garter, maye not also sufficiently discharge his duetie in watheing ouer the soule, for I thinke the garter dothe not require such continuall or great attendance. Those that are appointed to wathe ouer the soule are not exempted from bodily seruice to their Prince, excepte you will take from the Prince, not onely authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters, as you haue done, but ouer Ecclesiasticall persons also, as by this and such other lyke assertions you seeme to doe.

But



But here of more in place. I peruert not the wordes of the Admonition, as appeareth by their manifest wordes: what their meaning is God knoweth. But how little authoritie these offices should haue, if your plat forme were framed, shall be declared when I come to your seignorie: neyther the names nor offices that come from a Christian Prince, that detesteth Antichrist, can be called Antichristian, vpon whom soeuer they be bestowed. Wherevnto this your example tendeth of the Quenes Maiestie, wise men may easily coniecture. It smelleth of that Papisticall canillation, *Scilicet* that we giue to hir Maiestie authoritie to preach and to administer the sacramentes, because we acknowledge hir lawfull authoritie in Ecclesiasticall causes.

I pray God my prognostications be not to true: the more I consider of your booke, the more I am driuen to suspect it. My hard speeches be within the bondes of modestie, but yours may better beseme the order you talke of, then a man of your profession.

### *Chap. 2. the 43. Diuision.*

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 68. Sect. 1. 2.

Lordes Grace, Lordbishop, honoz. &c. be names of reuerence, teaching vs to acknowledge our duetie towardes our superiours, and their authoritie ouer vs. And it is much more to be reprehended, not to giue honoz to whom honoz is due, then to receyue honoz when it is due. You maye and you please in verie auncient Histories and in greate learned fathers, see as honozable and reuerent titles giuen vnto Byshops as these be. And surely it is not Antichristian to be called by names and titles, not ambitiously soughte for, but orderly and lawfully giuen according to the condition and state of the place wherin a man is. But it is Antichristian, that is proude, presumptuous, disdainfull, arrogant, and contemptuous, to refuse to giue to euery one that name and title that by law, ciuilitie, and duetie of vs is required, and expresseth our reuerence, duetie, and obedience.

*Titles of dignitie in ministers (not Antichristian).*

You would speake as much of names of honoz and reuerence in other persons if you durste be so bolde wyth them, as you thinke you may be with some.

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

*Nothing is sayde to this.*

The offices of Archbishops, &c, are not strange or vnheard of in Christes Church: and of superioritie among the Cleargie.

### *Chap. 3. the first Diuision.*

Ansvere to the Admonition. Page. 68. Sect. 3. 4.  
& Pag. 69. Sect. 1.

Nowe it followeth to proue that the offices signified by these names are not straunge and vnheard of in Christes Church, neyther yet plainly in Gods worde forbidden, that they are not to be remoued, but as most necessarie to be reteined.

*Eg. iij.*

*It*



Antiquitie of  
the offices.

It is without all doubt that both these names and offices haue bene in Christes Church, long before Nicene Councell, and that they haue had in the same continuance euen to this daye: as partlye it may be gathered by that which I haue spokē before, and most manifestly by all histories and learned writers from before that Councell of Nye to this instant houre: and therefore they little considered what they wrote, when they set it downe that these names and offices were straunge and vheard of in the Church of Christ.

These men contemning auncient writers neuer read them, & that is the cause of such vnlearned assertions.

T.C. Pag. 75. Sect. 1.

And whereas in the former treatise of the name of the Archbysshop, he blew the trumpet before the victorie: heere in this of the office he bloweth it before he cometh into the fildes, or striketh one stroke, saying that they little consider what they write, that they are contemners of auncient writers and that they neuer read them, and that they are vnlearned which denie these things which he affirmeth. Well what we reade & howe vnlearned we are, is not the matter which we strue for, the iudgemente thereof is first with God, then with the Churches, and in their iudgements we are content to rest. But if you be so greatly learned, and we so vnlearned and smally read, then the truth of oure cause shall moze appeare that is mayntained with so small learning and reading, as gaynst men of such profound knowledge & great reading. And yet I knowe not why if we be not too idle, we should not be hable to reade as much as you, which may haue leysure to reade a good long writer, or euer you can ryde onely to see and salute your houses and lyings, being so many and so farre distant one from an other. And if we be so vnlearned and holde suche daungerous opinions of Papistrie and anabaptisme, as you beare men in hand we doe, why do you not by the example of the Ministers in Germanie, procure a publike disputation, where you may both winne your spurs and suche detestable opinions with the ignorance of the authoys, may be displayed vnto the whole world: But let vs heare what is sayde.

Io. Whitgiste.

I haue sayd nothing of the authoys of the Admonition, which their owne dolings proueth not to be true, and if you will also take it vnto your selfe, who can let you. If notwithstanding al my iourneys to see and salute my houses and lyings, I be founde to discharge my duetie there, and also to haue read as much as you, that haue suche leysure, it is at the least an argument that I am not idle. I loue not to boast of my self. Your too too arrogante and contemptuous speeches prouoke me further than modestie requireth. I am not ashamed of my reayding, and yet I will make no comparisons.

Conference  
offered hath  
bene refused.

I haue sundrie times both priuately and publikely, as I am able to proue by sufficient testimonies, and you cannot denie, offered you conference by writing of these matters, I haue earnestly moued you vnto it, and you haue alwayes refused it. This had bene a quiet and the best and most assured way: for *littera scripta manet*, That which is set downe in writing remaineth. Howbeit I refuse no way that shall be thought conuenient to the Magistrate, neyther am I afrayde of your stoute bragges, for I knowe what substance is in you: but yet by the way this may be noted, what you hunt after and seeke for, when you refuse priuate conference by writing offered vnto you, and cry out for publike disputation: *scilicet popularem laudem*, popular praise: But therein do you follow the vaine bragges of other sectaries. &c.

Chap. 3. the .2. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 69. Sect. 2. 3.

& Pag. 70. Sect. 1.

Of the office  
of an Archbys-  
shop.

Cyprianus Lib. 1. Epist. 3. ad Cornelium speaking of the office of an Archbysshop, sayth on this sort, *Neque enim aliunde hereses oborta sunt, aut nata schismata, quam inde quod*



*quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec vnus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, & ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatur, cui si secundum magisteria diuina obtemperaret fraternitas vniuersa, nemo aduersus sacerdotum collegium quicquam moueret:* Neyther haue heresies or schismes rylen of any other occalion, than of that, that the Priest of God is not obeyed, neyther one Priest for the tyme in the Church, and one Iudge for the time in the steade of Christ thought vpon, to vvhom if the vvhole brotherhoode vvoulde be obedient, according to Gods teaching, no man vvould moue any thing agaynst the Colledge of Priests.

**Cornelius** beeing Bishop of Rome, and hauing excommunicated certayne notozious wicked men, and afterwarde beeing threathned and ill vsed at their handes, beganne to faynte and to be weerie of his office: Cyprian hearing thereof, wrote comfortably vnto him, and willed him in any wise to proceede, shewing further what sects and schismes ensueth in any Prouince or Diocesse, whereas the Bishops authoritie is despised. For in these wordes he speaketh not of the vsurped authoritie of the Bishop of Rome ouer all Churches, but agaynst the insolencie of some, whiche despising their Metropolitane, or Archebishop, did with their factiousnesse trouble the Church. For he woulde haue an Archebishop in euery Prouince, whiche shoulde beare the chiefe rule ouer the rest of the Cleargie, and so doe the godlyest and best learned expounde Cyprian.

The same Cyprian writing to one Florentius Dupianus, speaking in his owne behalfe beeing Bishop of Carthage, sayth on this sorte: *Vnde schismata & hereses abortiuntur & oriuntur, nisi dum Episcopus qui vnus est, & ecclesie praestit, superba quorundam presumptione contemnitur, & homo dignatione Dei honoratus, ab hominibus indignis iudicatur?* From vvhence haue heresies and schismes sprong heeretofore, and vvhercof spring they novve, but that the Bishop vvhiche is one, and gouerneth the Church, by the presumptuous disdainne of certayne is despised, and a man preferred by Gods allovance, is examined and iudged by vnnworthy men. For it is the chiefe and principall office of an Archebishop to keepe vnitie in the Church to compounde contentions, to redresse heresies, schismes, factions, to see that Bishops, and all other of the Cleargie whiche be vnder him doe their duetie. &c.

T.C. Pag. 75. Sect. 2. 3.

Cyprian (sayth he) speaking of the office of an Archebishop. &c. (\*) Unless (good Reader) thou wilt first beleue that Cyprian speaketh of an Archebishop, and halte before conceived a strong imagination of it, M. Doctor can proue nothing. Aristotle sayth, that vncunning paynters write the names of the beastes whiche they paynt in their tables, for because otherwise it could not be knowne what they paynt: So M. Doctor mistrusting that the Archebishop will not be knowne by his description, writeth first the name of that he will paynt out.

This is it whiche we strue about, whereof the controuersie is, and this M. Doctor taketh for graunted. He accuseth the authors of the Admonition for faulting in the petition of the principle, or desiring to haue that graunted which is denied, and yet I am sure that in the whole Admonition there is not suche a grosse petition as this is. Where or in what words dothe S. Cyprian speak of the office of an Archebishop?

### Io. Whitgife.

It is the chiefe and principall office of the Archebishop, to prouide that peace and vnitie be kepte in the Church, to suppress schismes and heresies, &c. This dothe Cyprian in this place signifie in playne words.

Eg. iij.

That

The principall office of an archbishop.



Cyprian a  
Metropo-  
litane.

Cap. 2. diui. 25

Pag. 95. ſec. 2.

That he meaneth of an Archbiſhop and Metropolitane, though he expreſſe not the name, it is euident by his words: for in the firſt place he ſpeaketh of Cornelius, then Biſhop of Rome, who had gouernment ouer that whole Province. And in the ſecond place he ſpeaketh of him ſelfe, who had a very ample and large iuriſdiction. For being Biſhop of Carthage, he had the charge & ouerſight of the Churches in Affrike, in Numidia, and in both the Mauritanies, as he him ſelfe doth teſtifie, *lib. 4. Epiſt. 8.* And as I haue beſore ſhewed out of Gregorie Nazianzene, he did not onely rule the Church of Carthage, but alſo of Affrike, of Spayne, and almoſte of the whole Eaſt partes: for the whiche cauſe Illyricus as I alſo ſayde beſore, dothe call him Metropolitane. And therfore I haue truly affirmed, that in thoſe places he ſpeaketh of the office of a Metropolitane or Archbiſhop: neyther is this a petition of the principle: but a true principle: but it is ſtraunge to ſee howe you forget your ſelfe, for afterwards in the 95. page of your booke, you acknowledge that Cyprian was a Metropolitane Biſhop, which ſufficiently iuſtifieth my ſecond place out of Cyprian.

### Chap. 3. the. 3. Diuiſion.

T.C. Pag. 75 Sect. 3.

(a) Truly.  
(b) Faſſly.(c) In deede you  
knowe this is  
vnttrue.

And heere by the way it is to be obſerued of the Reader, howe neere a kinne the pope and the Archbiſhop be. For this office is confirmed by the ſame (a) places that the (b) popes is. The places and arguments which are brought agaynſt him are ſoluted with the ſame ſolutions that they uſe which maynteyne the Papacie. For theſe places of Cyprian be alleadged for the popes ſupremacie, and (c) in deede they make as muche for the pope as the Archbiſhop. For althoughe they be two heads, yet they ſtande vpon one necke, and therfore the reformed Churches whiche cut righte byd ſtrike them both of at one blowe.

### Io. Whitgiſte.

This argueth eyther wilfull ignorance, or profeſſed malice: for you can not but knowe that Cyprian meaneth of the ſubiectiō that ought to be giuen to Cornelius in his owne Province, and that the Papiftes wreſt the ſame to proue his vniuerſall iuriſdiction ouer all Chriſtendome. Nowe if a man maye not alleadge that truly, according to the true ſenſe and meaning of the authoꝝ, whiche the Papiftes abuſe to ſerue their turne, then muſte we abſtayne from alleadging diuers places of the Scripture.

It is true that the Papiftes uſe this place for the Popes ſupremacie, but faſſly: for Cyprian onely meaneth of the ſuperioritie of a Metropolitane or Biſhop in his Province or Dioceſſe. And the Papiftes them ſelues haue giuen ouer their holde, that they toke of thoſe places of Cyprian, confeſſing that he ment of euery ſeueral Biſhop in his owne Dioceſſe or Province, as appeareth in Dozmans & Hardings latter bookes, and others. And is this kinde of reaſon ſo neare a kinne to the Papifts, which vtterlye ouerthroweth one of their ſtrongelt argumentes? Surely I marvel that your deſire is ſo muche to write agaynſt the perſon, that in the meane time you neglect the common cauſe, and giue ſtrength as muche as lyeth in you to the reaſon of the aduerſarie, whyleſt you ſay, that this place maketh as muche for the Pope, as it dothe for the Archbiſhop. But the trueth of this your Replie ſhall appeare, when I haue answered your other cauilles.

### Chap. 3. the. 4. Diuiſion.

T.C. Page. 75. Sect. 3.

In neyther of the ſentences heere alleaged out of Cyprian, nor in all his works as hath bin beſore noted, is there one worde of an Archbiſhop, and yet M. Doctor ſayth, that he ſpeaketh of an Archbiſhop: beſore he ſhewed the name without the office, and now he goeth about to ſhew the office without the name: ſo that he can neuer make both the name and the office meete together. To ſhape out an Archbiſhop here, you muſt needes interpete the words Biſhop and prieſt, Archbiſhop and high prieſt: for Cyprian maketh mention of no other name of miniſterie in thoſe places, and if you may haue this ſcope of interpreting, it will not be harde for you to proue that ſtones be bread, and that chaffe is cheefe.

Io. Whit



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Epiphanius *lib. 2. tom. 2. her. 69.* dothe call the Bishop of Alerandria sometyme Bi-  
shop, and sometime Archbishop. The Councell of Calcedon in like maner calleth the  
same men, as Flavianus, Dioscorus, Leo, & other, sometimes Bishops, and sometimes  
Archbishops: the lyke is to be scene in other authors and wyters. So that the o-  
mitting of the title is no reason at all to disprove the thing. It is certayne that in  
Cyprians time, this name *Papa* was a common name to many Bishops, those espe-  
cially that were of fame, as M. Foxe at large declareth, *tom. 1. fol. 11.* And yet doth not  
Cyprian vse that title commonly when he wyrteth to Cornelius, or to any other Bi-  
shop. This therfore is but a feeble argument.

*Chap. 3. the. 5. Diuision.*

T.C. Page. 75. Sect. 3.

Let vs see what is a Bishop or Priest, I vse the name of priest agaynst my will, but because  
it is sacerdos, and you so translate it, that it may better be vnderstanded what I answere to you,  
I am content to followe you so farre. I saye, let vs consider what is a Bishop or priest by S. Cy-  
prian, and thereby wee shall knowe what an Archbishop he setteth forth vnto vs, whiche thing  
may appeare manifestly, by that which he sayth in the same Epistle, that the Bishop that is ap-  
pointed into the place of him that is dead, is chosen peaceably, by the voyce of all the people. (\*) I  
thinke you will not say, that all the people throughout the whole Province, or throughout a whole  
Diocesse (as we count a Diocesse) met together, for that had bin both a great disorder and confu-  
sion, a great charge to the Church, and in the time of persecution as that was, to haue offered the  
whole Church in all the province into the mouth of the wolfe.

(\*) A cauill.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

If you had read Ecclesiasticall histories, then shoulde you vnderstande that the  
Metropolitans and Bishops of euery Province and Diocesse, were chosen in the  
presence of the people of that place, and citie, whereof they had their names, and  
that the consent of no other of the people in that Province or Diocesse was required.  
So Cyprian himselfe, though he had so ample a charge as I haue shewd before:  
yet was he chosen onely by the people of Carthage. The same is to be scene also in  
other suche elections: and especially of the Bishop of Rome, after that he was in his  
greatest glorie, and therefore this is a poore argument. The Bishop of Rome or of  
Carthage were chosen by the consent of the Citizens onely, and not of the people in  
other places of the Province, Ergo their authoritie & iurisdiction extended no farther  
than these Cities: and yet the whole Diocesse, that is, the Christians in the Dio-  
cesse (suche I meane as were appointed for that purpose) mighte haue met in that  
time without perill, or any other such inconuenience as you speake of, for such a pur-  
pose, as well as they did in the same time to Synodes, whiche were frequent both in  
Cyprians time, and before.

*Chap. 3. the. 6. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 75. Sect. vlt.

And least peraduenture you should haue this hole to hide your selfe in, saying that it might be  
procured, that in euery Church or parish throughout eether the Province or Diocesse, the consent  
of the people mighte be asked, and they tarie in their places where they dwell, Cyprian in the next  
Epistle doth put the matter out of all question, saying that the priest (whome he after calleth Bi-  
shop) is chosen in the presence of the people, & in the eyes of all. So that Cyprians Bishop whom  
you wil needes haue an Archbishop, had neyther province nor dioces, as we cal a dioces, but only a  
Church or congregatio, such as the ministers & pastors with vs, which are appointed vnto seuerall  
townes: whiche may further appeare in that Cyprian sayth, that oute of (\*) one province there  
were, 90. Bishops which condemned Praxianus. Howe if there were, 90. Bishops in one pro-  
vince met, and yet not all that were in that province (as may appeare out of the same Epistle) all  
men doe vnderstande, that the scope that Cyprians Bishop or Archbishop, as you will haue him,  
had, was no suche thing as a Dioces or a province. I could bring infinite testimonies out of Cy-  
prian

(\*) Vnto the, for  
Cyprian nameth  
not a Province.



prian to proue that the Bishop in his time was nothing else but S. Paules Bishop, that is, one that had cure and charge of one flocke, whiche was so placed as it might be taught of him, and overseene by him, and gouerned by him, and of whome in matters pertainyng to God it mighte depende.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

1. Lib. Epi. 4.

Cypr. lib. 4.  
Epist. 2.

All the Bishops agreed to Cornelius his election.

A Bishop about a priest in Cyprians time.

Cornelius chosen by others, than the Romanes.

Collections out of Cyprian.

Your p[ro]ofes goe very lowe when you vse suche slender ones: the words of Cyprian in that Epistle be these: *Quod & ipsum videmus de diuina auctoritate descendere ut sacerdos, plebe presente, sub omnium oculis delegatur. &c.* The whiche thing we see to discende from the authoritie of God, that the Priest be chosen the people beeing present before them all. &c. What can you else gather of this, but that a Priest must be chosen in presence of the people, and that then he is sayde to be chosen *sub omnium oculis*, before all their eyes, when he is chosen publikely, and openly in the sighte of many. But what is this to the strayghtning of his charge? A man mighte as well reason thus: All the Citizens of Rome were not at Cornelius election, therefore he is not Bishop of all the Citie of Rome. But to the ende that you maye vnderstande, the vanitie of this your assertion, and that it may appeare that Cyprian maketh the Bishop in degree to be aboute a Priest, & also that at the election of the Bishop of Rome, moe were present than those of the Citie: I will set downe his wordes as they be. Lib. 4. Epist. 2. I come nowe vnto the person of our fellowe Cornelius, that you may more truely knowe him, as well as we, not by the lyes of malicious men and backbiters, but by the iudgement of God, whiche made him Bishop, and by the testimonie of his fellow Bishops, the whole number whereof through all the worlde dyd ioyntly agree. For (whiche thing did greatly commende our welbeloued Cornelius vnto God, and to Christ, and his Church, and also to all his fellowe ministers) he did not sodenly come to the Bishopricke, but beeing promoted by all the ecclesiasticall offyces, he ascended to the high dignitie of Priestthoode, by all degrees of religion. Then afterwarde he neyther desired nor would haue the Bishopricke it selfe, neyther as others vse whiche are puffed vp with pride and arrogancie, dyd he inuade the See by force: but beeing quiet and modest, and suche a one as they vse to be whiche are chosen vnto this place by God, for the moderation of his chaste conscience, and the humblenesse of his naturall and preserued shamefastnesse. He dyd not (as some men doe) vse violence, that he might be made Bishop, but suffered violence, that he mighte by compulsion be driuen to receyue the Bishopricke. And he was made Bishop of many of our fellowe Bishops, whiche were then at Rome, and whiche sente very honorable and commendable letters vnto vs of his ordination. But Cornelius was made Bishop by the iudgement of God, and his Christ, by the testimonie almoste of all Clearks, by the suffrages of the people whiche was then present, and by the Colledge of the auncient Priestes, and of good men.

In these wordes first it is to be noted that he sayth Cornelius was made Bishop by the testimonie of his fellowe Bishops: *Quorum numerus vniersus per totum mundum concordia vnanimitate consensit*, The whole number whereof through all the worlde did ioyntly agree. Secondly that he was promoted to the highe dignitie of Priestthoode, *per omnia ecclesiastica officia & cunctis religionis gradibus*: Through all ecclesiasticall offyces, and by all degrees of religion, and then afterwarde was made Bishop. Thirdly, that Cornelius was made Bishop by the iudgement of God and Christ, by the testimonie almoste of all Clearkes, and by the suffrages of the people, whiche was then present, and by the Colledge of auncient Priestes, and good men. Howe farre these thinges differ from your collections, and howe farre from Cyprians meaning you gather your coniectures, let the Reader iudge. I haue before sufficiently p[ro]ued by auncient testimonies, that the Bishop of Rome, Carthage, and other, had not one Citie onely to gouerne, or one parish, but diuers places, whole Prouinces and Countreys, as Cyprians owne wordes befoze rehearsed maketh manifest. Wherefoze all this you doe but speake of pleasure.

If you had tolde me in what place Cyprian sayth, that out of one Prouince there was 90. Bishops that condemned Primate, I woulde haue sayde something to it: but seeing you



you haue kepte the place secrete to your selfe, you giue your Reader occasion to suspecte, eyther that it is forged, or else not saythfully alleadged. If it be that whiche is lib. 1. epist. 3. then truly antiquum obtines. For these be Cyprians words: Per Felicianum autem significauit tibi frater, venisse Carthaginem Priuatum veterem hereticum, in Pontesiana colonia, ante multos fere annos, ob multa & graua delicta. 90. episcopos a sententia condemnatum, antecessorum etiam nostrorum (quod & vestra conscientiam non latet) Fabiani & Donati literis seuerissime notatum. &c. I haue signified vnto you by Felicianus, that Priuatus an olde heretike, is come to Carthage, beeing condemned in the Citie Pambesia many yeres since, for many and greuous trespasses, by the sentence of. 90. Bishops, and beeing also moste sharply reprehended by the letters of my predecessours Fabianus and Donatus (as your conscience knoweth.)

Cyprian. lib. 1.  
Epist. 3.

Here is not one worde of so many Bishops being in one Prouince, neyther yet any Prouince or Diocesse mentioned wherein they should be. Surely this is too much, so often to offend in falsifying: but be it there were so many Bishops in one prouince, what conclude you therof, that Bishops then had but one towne or parishe limited vnto them: As though there be not Prouinces of that largenesse that they may conteyne so many Bishops, & yet the seuerall parishes furnished with peculiar pastors. Massaeus lib. 16. sayth, that there are. 160. Bishopricks subiecte to the Patriarche of Antioche.

But there can no such thing as you affirme be gathered of Cyprians words, neyther shal you euer be able to proue out of Cyprian, or any other auncient writer, that such Bishops as Cyprian & Cornelius were, had onely gouernment of one towne, or as we call it, parishe: but the contrarie is most euident, as I haue befoze declared.

### Chap. 3. the. 7. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 78. Sect. 1.

Furthermore, to shap the Archbishop by these places of Cyprian, you muste be hynen to expounde this worde (Church) Prouince. The Papistes whiche cite this place for the Pope as you doe for the Archbishop, they expounde the worde Church heere to be the whole Church vntersall and Catholike. And in dede although it be falsly expounded so in this place, yet maye they doe it with moze probabilitie and likelyhoode, than to expounde it a Prouince, for so much as these wordes (the Church) is oftener read bothe in the Scripture, and olde writers, to signifie the whole Church, than any prouince of one Realme: but let Cyprian expounde him selfe what he meaneth by a Church heere, although that may easly appeare by that whiche is spoken of. Cyprian his Bishop, wheras Cyprian declareth that Cornelius the Bishop of the Church which was in Rome, would not let Felicissimum a Prouincian heretike, beinge caste out by the Bishops of Affrike, to enter into the Church, he declareth sufficiently that he meaneth that company of the saythfull whiche were gathered together at Rome, to heare the worde, and to communicate at the sacraments. (\*) For it was not Cornelius parte to shut him out of the Prouince, neyther in dede coulde he himselfe, beinge not able without hazarde by reason of the persecution that then was, to tarie in any part of the prouince. Agayn speakinge agaynst a Prouincian heretike, he sheweth that through his wicked opinion of denyinge of repentance to those that were fallen, the confession of faultes in the Church was hindered. Howe it is manifest that confession was not made throughout the prouince, but in that particular Church, where the party dwelt that committed the faulte. Therefore Cyprian vnderstandeth by the name of the Church, neyther Diocesse, as we call Diocesse, and muche lesse a whole prouince. And in the same Epistle, speakinge of those whiche had fallen, he sayth, that they durst not come so muche as to the threshold or entry of the Church, where he also opposeth the Church to the Prouince, sayinge that they roue about the Prouince, and runne about to deceyue the brethren.

(\*) A cauil.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

I expounde this worde (Church) in this place no other wise than al learned writers expounde it, that is, for that prouince & diocesse whereof Cornelius was Bishop, and it is no vnaccustomed thing, to call the Church which is extended through a prouince, by the name of the chiefe Citie or Metropolitane seate of the Prouince, as the Church of Rome all that that is subiecte to the Bishop of Rome: the Church of Carthage, all that that is belonging to the Bishop of Carthage. And this is truly to expound the places of Cyprian, and may be iustified both by examples & authorities, as I haue proued befoze, wheras your interpretation hath no shadow or shew of truth.

But



The zeale of  
the Replier.

Lib. 1. Epist. 3.

But you had rather iustifie the Papists interpretation, than seeme to relent to the authoritie of an Archbishop. Suche is your zeale.

Cyprians wordes touching Cornelius dealing with Felicissimus the Nouatian, be these: Likewise that thou mightest knowe of Felicissimus the author of the sedition: who also is conteyned in the letters of our fellowe Bishops, written of late vnto them, whiche Felicissimus is not onely driuen from hence by them, *Sed abs te illic nuper de ecclesia nullus est*: but is there of late expelled by thee out of the Church. Of these wordes you gather this argument: Cyprian signifieth that Cornelius had banished Felicissimus from the Church of Rome: Ergo, Cornelius was Bishop but of one Parishes or Citie, or therefore a Church in that place signifieth one onely particular congregation gathered together in one Towne. What kinde of coniectures call you these? And what thoughte Cornelius coulde not shut him out of the Province? mighte he not therefore by excommunication seclude him from the congregation of the saythfull throughout the Province: Doe you thinke that he forcibly shutte him out of the locall Church of Rome, or rather dealte with him according to the ecclesiasticall Censures? You maye delude simple readers that beleue whatsoever you saye, but suche as be able to examine your doings, can not (if they wyll searche) but finde passing forgerie.

Ibidem.

The Nouatian heresie.

Agayne you saye, speaking agaynst the Nouatian heretikes, &c. Cyprians wordes touching that matter be these: *Quibus etiam non satis fuit ab Euangelio recessisse, spem lapsis satisfactionis & penitentiae sustulisse, fraudibus inuolutos vel adulterijs commaculatos, & sacrificiorum funesta contagione pollutos, ne Deum rogarent, ne in ecclesia exomologesi criminum facerent, ab omni sensu & fructu remouisse*: To whome it was not inoughe to haue departed from the Gospell, to haue taken awaye hope and satisfaction, and repentance from those that haue fallen, to haue remoued from all feeling and fruite of repentance those that are taken in snares, or defiled with adulteries, or polluted with the deadly contagion of sacrifices, that they should not pray to God, nor make confession of their sinnes in the congregation. What dothe Cyprian else meane by these wordes, but that Nouatus denyed repentance to suche as were fallen, and woulde not receyue them agayne into the Church, that is, not this or that parish, but the Church of Christ, the congregation of the saythfull, for that was Nouatus heresie, *negare veniam lapsis*, to denie forgiveness to those that fell. And therefore also he denied vnto them the fruites of repentance, as confession of their offences in the congregation of the saythfull. &c. For Nouatus opinion was not that suche shoulde onely be secluded from this or that congregation, but generally from the Church of Christ, and hope of saluation: And therefore in that place of Cyprian is ment that Church, *extra quam non est salus*, without the which there is no saluation.

And to what purpose doe you proceede and go on forward, saying: That in the same Epistle, speaking of those that had fallen, &c. What proueth it? but that those heretikes had caste them into suche a displaye of forgiveness, that they durste not offer themselves to be receyued into the Church, that is, to repentance? And that the same Heretikes being them selues excommunicated, wandred vp and downe, sowing the pestilent seede of their doctrine. This is to oppose Heretikes and Schismatikes, (whiche runne vp and downe in corners) to the true members of the Church. But it is not to oppose the Church to the Province. For the Province (if it be Chrystened) is the Church, althoughe it contayne in it severall congregations, whiche be also Churches, and yet being members of it, are subiecte to one Bishop, and so dothe the whole Epistle of Cyprian declare, neyther can there any thing be gathered out of it to the contrarie: for a testimonie wherof I call to witnesse these your weake collections, which you would not haue used, if you could haue founde any better.

### Chap. 3. the. 8. Division.

T. C. Page. 76. Sect. 2.

(a) A weake conclusion of false principles.

Seeing therefore (a) the Bishop which Cyprian speaketh of, is nothing else but suche as we call pastor, or as the common name with vs is parson: and his Church wherof he is a Bishop, is ney-



is neyther dioces nor prouince, but a congregation whiche meete together in one place, and to be taught of one man, what should M. Doctor meane to put on this great name of Archbishop vpon so small a Bishopricke: as it were Saules great harnesse vpon Dauid his little body, or as if a man shoulde set a wyde huge porche before a little house.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Where the premisses be nought, howe shoulde the conclusion be good: I would to God your argument were in his right forme, that we mighte see vpon what substantiall postes your conclusion dothe stande. But let the Reader consider your grounds which I haue opened before.

I might heere tell you agayne that Cyprian in playne and manifest words, *Lib. 4. Epist. 2.* dothe make a Bishop superioz in degree to him that you call pastor: his words I haue repeated before. I might also put you in minde of Cyprians iurisdiction ouer the churches of Carthage, Numidia, and Mauritanie, according to his owne testimony, *lib. 4. Epi. 8.* in which respecte Illyricus dothe call him Metropolitane: Likewise I might tell you that the most writers of that age, as Tertullian *de Coro. militis*, & *de Fuga in pers.* Origen *hom. 2. in Numer. & 11. in Hierem.* doe make thre degrees of Ministers: Deacons, Priests, & Bishops. To be short, I could bid you looke Eusebius, *lib. 6. cap. 1.* and you shoulde finde that Demetrius, who liued Anno. 191. was Bishop *Paraciaru Alexandria & Egypti*, of the parishes of Alexandria and Egypt, and referre you to many suche examples used before, which vtterly ouerthrowe this conclusion, and euen hille it out of the doores.

### Chap. 3. the. 9. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 76. Sect. 3.

And least that M. Doctor shoulde saye, that notwithstanding the Bishops had but severall churches: yet one of them might haue cyther a title more excellent than the rest, or authoritie and gouernment ouer the rest: that shal likewise be considered out of Cyprian. And first for the title and honor of archbishop, it appeareth howe Cyprian helde that as a proude name, for he objecteth to Florentius as a presumptuous thing: for that in beleeuing certayne euill reportes of him, and misjudging of him, he did appoynt himselfe Bishop of a Bishop, and iudge ouer him whiche was for the time appoynted of God to be iudge.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Pupianus to whome Cyprian wrote that Epistle, had greatly misused Cyprian, in beleeuing certayne false rumors & reports of him, & vpon the same giuing sentence against him: for this cause Cyprian reproveth Pupianus, saying: *Quis autem nostrum longe est ab humilitate, ut iūne ego, qui quotidie fratribus seruiō, & venientes ad ecclesiam singulos benigne, & cū voto & gaudio suscipio: an tu qui te Episcopū Episcopi, & iudicē iudicis ad tēpus a Deo dati constituis, &c.* VVhether of vs is further from humilitie, I which serue my brethren dayly, & receyue every one that cometh vnto the Church getly, & with desire & ioy, or thou which makest thy selfe the Bishop of the Bishop, and the iudge of the iudge, giuen of God for the time. It appeareth rather in these words, that Florentius is reprovied for taking vpon him to iudge Cyprian, to whō he ought obedience: so that this place doth not derogate any thing frō any lawfull authoritie, that one Bishop hath ouer another, but it condemneth the rash & presumptuous iudgement of those, that will take vpon them rashly to giue sentence of their superiours & betters, as Pupianus did. For in that he findeth fault with him, for making himselfe (as it were) Bishop of the Bishop, and iudge of the iudge, he playnly declareth, that he himselfe was both Bishop and iudge of Pupianus: neyther dothe he object this to Pupianus as a proude name, but as a proude deede.

### Chap. 3. the. 10. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 76. Sect. 4.

And heerein also I may vse the same reasons, which the godly writers of our time vse agaynst the Pope, to proue that he had no superiortie in those dayes ouer other Bishops, for that the other

Wh,

Bishops



Bishops called him brother, and he them, called him fellow Bishop, & he them. For so doth Cyprian call the Bishops of that prouince in hys Epistle, his fellow Bishops, and in diuers places his brethren. And in the sentence which he spake in the Councel of Carthage, he sayth, none of vs doth take him selfe to be Bishop of Bishops.

### Io. Whitgifte.

1. Pet. cap. 5.

Euery Bishop was chiefe in his owne prouince, and not subiect to any. The Bishop of Rome had no iurisdiction ouer the Bishop of Carthage, but they were of equall power and authoritie, as others were also of the like seates. In that Cyprian called the Bishops of his prouince, fellowe Bishops and brethren, he declared that the function and ministerie was all one: he likewise vttered his humble minde & spirite. But this proueth not that he had no superiortie ouer them. S. Peter in his first Epist. chap. 5. calleth himselfe fellowe minister with those whom he then exhorted, which were all pastors, and such as were ministers of the worde, and yet you acknowledge an Apostle to be the highest in the Church, & aboue all the other degrees mentioned *ad Ephe. 4.*

Cyprians words in the Councell of Carthage, I haue spoken of in another place: he meaneth the title of vniuersall Bishop, and suche as seeke tyrannically & vnlawfully to rule, and especially suche as will of necessitie binde all other men to their opinions in all thinges, for his words be: *Tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigat*: None of vs enforceth his fellowes by tyrannicall feare to the necessitie of obeying.

### Chap. 3. the. 11. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 77. Sect. 1.

Howe, that there was no authoritie of one Bishop ouer an other, and that there was none such as when controuersies rose, tooke vpon him the compounding of them, or any one, to whom it apperteyned, to see the vnitie of the Church kept, and to see that all other Bishops and the Cleargy dyd their duetie, as M. Doctor beareth vs in hande, it may clearly be seene in dyuers places of Cyprian, and first of all in that sentence which he spake in the Councel of Carthage, where he proceeded further after this sorte, that none of them dyd by any tyrannicall feare binde his fellowes in office, or any fellowe Bishops, to any necessitie of obedience, seeing that euery Bishop hath for his free libertie and power his owne iudgement, and discretion, as one which can not be iudged of an other, as he also him selfe can not iudge an other, but sayth he, we ought to tarry and wayte for the iudgement of our Lord Iesus Christ, which only and alone hath power to set vs ouer his Church, and to iudge of our doing. And in the same Epistle, wherout the first place is taken by M. Doctor he sayth, that vnto euery one a portion of the flocke is appoynted, which euery one must rule & gouerne, as he that shal render an accompt of his deede vnto the Lord. And in an other place he sayth: *Li. 2. ep. 11* we doe not vse any compulsion or violence ouer any, nor appoynt no lawe to any, seeing that euery one that is set ouer the Church, hath in the gouernment the free disposition of his owne will, wherof he shal giue an accompt vnto the Lorde. And yet Cyprian was the Bishop of the Metropolitane or chiefe seate, and one whome for his learning and godlynesse, the rest no doubt had in great reuerence, and gaue great honoz vnto,

### Io. Whitgifte.

The wordes  
of Cyprian  
discussed.  
Tom. 1. Cons.  
Carth.

Because so much adoe is made of the words of Cyprian in that erroneous Councel of Carthage, wherein Cyprian himselfe also was the chiefe authoz of the error, I will recite the words as I doe there finde them: *Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore, ad obsequendi necessitatem Collegas suos adigit, cum habeat omnis episcopus licentiam libertatis, & potestatis sue arbitrium proprium, tanquam iudicari ab alio non possit, cum nec ipse possit alterum iudicare, sed expectemus vniuersi iudicium Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui vnus & solus habet potestatem, & preponendi nos in ecclesie sue gubernatione, & de actu nostro iudicandi*: Neyther dothe any of vs make him selfe Bishop of Bishops, or enforceth his fellowes to the necessitie of obeying by tyrannicall feare, because euery Bishop hath the freedome of libertie and free iudgement of his owne power, as he who can be iudged of no other, neyther can him selfe iudge another Bishop: but let vs all wayte for the iudgement of our Lorde Iesus Christ, who alone hath the power bothe to place vs in the gouernment of the Church, and to iudge of our dooing. It were very absurde, to thinke that Cyprians words are generally to be vnderstanded of all kinde of iudgement, or that a Bishop in all thinges shoulde be left to his owne free libertie: and



and discretion, or that he is free from all controulement. For what if he be an heretike? what if he be otherwise criminous? Shall he not be iudged by man, but leste onely to the iudgement of Christ? The words of Cyprian if they be as you vnderstand them, <sup>The meaning of Cyprian.</sup> take authoritie of iudgement as well from Synodes, as from Archbishops. Cyprian therfore meaneth as the words themselves do teache, that one Bishop should not tyrannically rule ouer an other, & at his pleasure abridge the libertie of an other in vntering his iudgement, especially in a Synode, or rashly condemne an other. For Cyprian in that Councell propounding the controuersie of rebaptization, requireth euery mans iudgement therof, protesting (as it were) not to condemne, or to excommunicate any that should dissent from him in that matter, and thereupon sayth, *Neque enim quisquam nostrum.* &c. so that he meaneth that to be tyrannicum, to compeill other Bishops necessarily to agree to his opinion in all things, & these words, *licetia libertatis & potestatis sue arbitriū propriū*, are not ment of iurisdiction, but of iudgement and opinion. For one man is not of necessitie bounde to frame him selfe to the iudgement and opinion of an other, but therein hath freedom and libertie, neyther will any man allowe this authoritie in any Archbishop.

Touching iurisdiction, euery Bishop in this church hath free gouernment ouer his flocke, in all things that belongeth vnto him: if any thing happen that he can not end, then the Archbishop intermedleth, if that will not serue, it is referred to a Synode. The words of Cyprian can in no respect derogate any thing from the iurisdiction of Archbishops. For concerning iurisdiction they be bounde to lawes themselves, and do but execute lawes made, not of their owne priuate authoritie, but by Parliament, and by the Prince. Neyther can they controule the worst minister in their Dioces, if he obserue the lawes and rules prescribed. Therefore excepte your meaning be, to haue Bishops and ministers free from all lawes and from all subiection to any superior, Prince or other (whiche is most like) I doe not knowe why you should take this saying of Cyprian in that sense you doe. Sure I am that the words doe not fauour your Anarchie, and that may the Reader easily perceyue.

In that Cyprian sayth, vnto euery one a portion of the flocke is appoynted, he sayth truly, but yet dothe he not thereby exempte Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers from obedience and subiection to their lawfull gouernours. For due obedience dothe not hinder any dutie that is owing towards their flocke.

In the place that you alleage out of Cyprians seconde booke and first Epistle, you haue omitted that whiche goeth before, and declareth what Cyprian meaneth by the words that you haue recited. His wordes be these: *Ceterum scimus quosdam quod semel inbiberunt nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare.* &c. But we know that certayne will neuer laye away that which once they haue taken: neyther easily chaunge their purpose, but doe reteyne certayne thinges peculiar to them selues, whiche once they haue vsed: yet not breaking the bonde of peace and concorde among their fellowes, wherein we neyther compeill any man, nor appoynte any lawe, since euery gouernour hathe free iudgement of his wyll in the gouernment of the Church, and shall render an accompt of his deede to the Lorde. Cyprian in the wordes before, sheweth his opinion concerninge suche, as being Ministers of the worde had sacrificed to Idols, and when he hathe so done, thus he speaketh to Stephane to whome he writte the Epistle: *Hec ad conscientiam tuam (frater charissime).* &c. Then followeth, *Ceterum scimus.* &c. as I haue before recyted, wherein Cyprian signifieth, that he wyll not take vpon him to iudge or to condemne other Churches, whiche haue a contrarie custome, so that they keepe the bonde of peace. But he meaneth vndoubtedly suche Churches and Bishops, as he had nothing to doe with, else it is manifest, that within his owne charge he woulde not haue suffered any suche thing to be done, and thys place answereth all that Cyprian hathe spoken any where touching not receyving into the ministerie suche as had sacrificed to Idols, whereof I haue spoken before.

Lib. 2. Epist. 1.

Tra 3. cap. 2.  
Sect. 5.



## Chap. 3. the. 12. Division.

T. C. Pag. 77. Sect. 2. 3. 4.

And whereas it is sayd for the preservation of unitie, one must be ouer al, S. Cyprian sheweth Li. 4. epi. 9 that the unitie of the Church is conserued not by hauing one Bishop ouer all, but by the agreement of the Bishops one with another. For so he writeth, that the church is knit and coupled together (as it were with the glue) of the Bishops consenting one with another. And as for the compounding of controuersies, it is manifest, that it was not done by one Bishop in a prouince, but those bishops whych were neere the place where the schisme or heresie sprang.

For speaking of the appeasing of controuersies & schismes, and shewing how diuers Bishops Li. 1. epi. 4 were drawn into the heresy of Novatus, he sayth that the vertue and strength of the Christians, was not so decayed or languished, but that there was a portion of Priests which did not giue place vnto those rumes and shipwackes of faith.

And in another place he sayth: therfore (most deare brother) the plentyfull body or company Li. 3. epi. 13 of the priests, are as it were with the glue of mutuall concord and bande of unitie ioynd together, that if any of our company be author of an heresy, and goe about to destroy and rent the flocke of Christ, the rest should helpe, and as profitable and mercifull shepheards, gather together the sheepe of the Lorde. Whereby it is manifest, that the appeasing and composing of controuersies and heresies, was not then thought to be most fitte to be in one bishops hande: but in as many as coulde conveniently assemble together, according to the daunger of the heresie which sprang, or depe roote which it had taken, or was like to take.

## Fo. Whitgifte.

The Bishops agree not one whit the worse, when they haue a superiour, by whom they may be called together, and put in minde of their office and duetie. Neyther doth Cyprian deny this when he affirmeth the other. For though the chiefe cause of unitie is the consente and agreement of the Bishops one with another: yet to haue one that shall haue the chiefe care thereof, must needes be a great helpe therunto, such as it is in other societies. For if the Bishops were deuided among themselves, & at variance, and had no superiour, who should compounde the controuersies?

Howe farre  
our Archbishops  
deale  
in controuersies.

Our Archbishops doe not take vpon them (neyther can they) to decide any controuersie in doctrine and religion of their owne authoritie, but therein doe they deale eyther according to the lawes of the Church provided for that purpose, or else expecte a newe Parliament or Synode. Neyther doth any Bishop in his Dioces, other wise meddle in suche matters, than by the common consent of the Church is appoynted vnto him: and yet it was neuer otherwise taught by any, but that a Bishop in his owne Diocesse, or an Archebishop in his Prouince, mighte vse persuasions to ende controuersies, and execute the lawes provided for the same: other kinde of deciding controuersies, by any private authoritie I knowe none in this Church of Englande. Wherefore al these allegations be but in vayne, for surely not in Cyprians time, was the determining of suche controuersies committed to the Pastor and Seigniorie of euery Parishes, neyther doth Cyprian make mention of any suche matter, if he did, yet for gouernment the diuersitie of the time, and state of the Church is to be considered, as I haue befoze noted.

Tract. 2. epi. 3.

## Chap. 3. the. 13. Division.

T. C. Pag. 77. Sect. 4.

And that there was in his time no such authoritie giuen, as that any one might remove the causes or controuersies which rose, as now we see there is, when the Bishop of the Dioces taketh the matters in controuersie which rise in any Church within his Dioces from the minister & Elders, to whom the decision pertaineth, and as when the archebishop taketh it away from the Bishop, it may appeare in the same thirde Epistle of the first booke, where he sayth after this sort: It is ordeyned, and it is equall and right, that euery mans cause should be there heard, where the fault was committed. And a litle after he sayth: It is meete to handle the matter there where they maye haue both accusers and witnesses of the faulte, whiche although it be spoken of them whiche fled out of Brittain vnto Rome: yet the reason is generall, and dothe aswell serue agaynst these ecclesiasticall persons, whych wyl take vnto them the deciding of those controuersies, that were done a hundred myle of them.

Io. VVhit.



## Io. Whitgife.

Cyprian as I sayd, speaketh not one worde of your Seigniorie, in that place by you alleaged, he speaketh of the feneral Prouince, or Diocesse of every bishop, & would haue euery matter ended in that Prouince or Diocesse where it is committed, & therefore he speaketh there of such as fled out of Africa into Italie, & haue their matters heard, so that this place is soluted by your owne selfe. It is made that the matter should be there handled where there may be had bothe accusers & witnesses: And that was one of the reasons that the Councel of Africa fled agaynst the Bishop of Rome, clayming interest in hearing appeales from thence. But there is no Prouince in Englands so large, but that both the accusers and witnesses may be brought into any parte of it from any other parte. This reason of yours maye serue better agaynst Westminster hall, which is but one place to serue the whole Realme for deciding of controuersies, and yet I thinke it very necessarie.

You may not wress that to your purpose of proof of Seigniorie, or authoritie thereof, whiche Cyprian speaketh of diuers Prouinces: yea diuers Countreys and Nations. This is no good reason, Cyprian mistooke the translating of causes from Africa to Rome, Ergo, there maye be no causes remoued from Northampton to London.

## Chap. 3. the. 13. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 77. Sect. 5.

And whereas M. Doctor in bothe places of Cyprian seemeth to stande much vpon the words *U. 1. 17* (one Bishop and priest) the reason thereof dothe appeare in another place of Cyprian moste manifestly, and that it maketh no more to proue that there ought to be one archbishop ouer a whole prouince, than to say, that there ought to be but one husbände proueth, that therefore there should be but one husbände in euery countrey or prouince, whiche shoulde see that all the rest of the husbands do their duties to their wiues. For this was the case, a Monatian heretike beinge condemned & cast out of the Churches of Africa by the consent of the Bishops, & not able by embassage sent to them, to obteyne to be receyued to their communion & fellowship agayne, goeth afterwards to Rome, and beinge likewise there repelled, in time getteth himselfe by certayne which fauoured his heresie, to be chosen Bishop there at Rome (Cornelius beinge the Bishop or pastor of those which were there godly minded) wherupon it cometh that Cyprian writeth (one Bishop, one priest in the church) because at Rome there was two, wherof one was a wolfe, which ought not to haue bin there, consideringe there was but one church whiche was gathered vnder the gouernment of Cornelius, and therefore by that place of Cyprian it can not be gathered, that there ought to be but one Bishop in one citie, if the multitude of professors require more, and that all can not well gather them selues together in one congregation, to be taught of one man, muche lesse can it serue to proue that there should be but one in a whole Diocesse or prouince. I graunte that in latter times, and which went more from the simplicitie of the primitive church, they tooke occasion of these words to decree, that there should be but one Bishop in a citie, (\*) but that can neuer be concluded of Cyprians words, if it be vnderstanded why he writeth (one Bishop, and one priest.) If therefore neyther worde (Bishop nor priest) do make any thing to proue an archbishop, nor this word (church) dothe imply any prouince, nor in these words (one Bishop, one priest) there is nothing lesse ment than that there should be one archbishop ouer all the Bishops and cleergie in a prouince, and if Cyprian wyll neyther allowe of the title of an archbishop, nor of the authoritie and office, but in playne wordes speaketh agaynst bothe, we may conclude that M. Doctor hath done very vnadvisedly to lay so great waight of the archbishop vpon S. Cyprians shoulders, that will not onely not beare any thing of him, but whiche hath done all that coulde be, to make him go aloote, and hande in hande with his fellowes.

## Io. Whitgife.

M. Doctor standeth not vpon these words, (one Bishop, and one priest) although the words serue very well for his purpose: Neyther is your thiste of a Monatian, beinge chosen Bishop in Rome, any thing to the matter. For though it might seeme partly to interpret Cyprians meaning in his Epistle to Cornelius, yet can it not pertaine to that that he writeth of Florentius Pupianus. And be it that Cyprian ment to seclude Monatius, when he sayde, *Dian Episcopis qui vnus est.* &c. when as the Bishop whiche is one. &c. What can be spoken more to my purpose? for Cyprian woulde haue but one Bishop in one citie to gouerne the Church, as his words manifestly declare.

(\*) This is to preferre your owne iudgement before the iudgement of worthy Councils.



*Euseb. Lib. 6.  
Cap. 43.  
The number  
of Christians  
in Rome great  
in Cyprian's  
time.*

And whereas you saye, that it can not be gathered by that place of Cyprian, that there ought to be but one Bishop in one citie if the multitude of professors require more, &c. the Epistle of Cornelius in Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. dothe convince you of vanitie in so saying. For in that Epistle he declareth, that there was then in Rome. 46. Priests, seven Deacons, seven Subdeacons. 42. Acoluthes. 53. Exorcistes, readers, doctores, 1500. widowes and diseased: and therefore it is to be presupposed that the number of other Christians there, was very great, seeing that the Cleargie, and those whiche were founde of the Church, amounted to the number of. 1654. and mosse lyke that there were severall congregations, for it was not possible for them to meete in one place, and yet was there then but one Bishop. For Cornelius in the same Epistle, speaking of Novatus sayth, *Itaq; vindex ille Evangelij ignoravit unum esse debere Episcopum in catholica ecclesia*, This defender of the Gospell was ignorant that there ought to be one Bishop in a catholike Church.

*Secret. lib. 6.  
cap. 23.*

The olde Canons and auncient fathers doe testifie, that in one Citie there ought to be but one Bishop. Chrysostome tolde Hilarius, that one citie must have but one Bishop, as we reade, lib. 6. cap. 22. of Socrates. Neyther are you able to shewe from Christes time, that ever there was allowed to be two Bishops in one citie. Wherefore the words of Cyprian are yet in force (for any thing you have alleaged to the contrarie) to proue the office of an Archbishop, or metropolitane to be, to compounde schismes, and prouide that there be unitie in the Church, &c.

### Chap. 3. the. 14. Division.

T.C. Pag. 78. Lin. 26.

*This argument  
is of your owne  
soyning, and  
not M. Doctors.*

There are other reasons which M. Doctor useth, as this, a notable one. S. Cyprian speaketh not of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, therefore he speaketh of the office of an Archbishop and Metropolitane. It is harde to call this argument to any head of fallation, for it hath not so muche as a colour of a reason. I thinke it can deceyue no body but your selfe.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I tell you that the place is not to be understoode of the usurped authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, but of the authoritie of the Archbishop in his Province, or Bishop in his Diocese. I doe not make any argument of it: dothe it grieve you to heare that Cyprian dothe not speake of the usurped authoritie of the Bishop of Rome: or doth every man make an argument when he dothe interprete? But this dealing of yours is not strange, I must be content to beare with it.

### Chap. 3. the. 15 Division.

T.C. Page. 78. Lin. 30. & Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4.

An other reason is, that all the godlyest and best learned men doe expounde the place of Cyprian in the thirde Epistle of the first booke, of an Archbishop. The vanitie of this saying, that the godly and learned wyfters so expounde it, I have shewed before, and heere it cometh to be considered agayne. I wil not say that no godly nor learned wyfter expoundeth the place of Cyprian of the authoritie of an Archbishop.

But first I desire M. Doctor to sette downe but one, and then I will leave it to thy consideration (gentle Reader) to thinke whether M. Doctor hath read any learned or godly mans exposition to be such, when he hath not read those which are nearest him, I mene our owne countrey men. I saye he hath not read them, because I woulde thinke charitably so of him, rather than that he should haue read them, and yet speake vntrely of them, and fatter those things of them which they neuer spake.

*(a) Vntrely, as  
will appeare.*

M. Jewell the Bishop of Sarisburie expounded this place, and yet did (a) neuer expounde it of the office and authoritie of an Archbishop of all the Bishops, and Cleargie of the province, but cleane contrarywise applyeth it to the authoritie that every Bishop had in his Diocess. His words are these. Howe therefore to drawe that thing by violence to one onely Bishop, that is generally spoken of all Bishops, is a guylefull fetch to misleade the Reader, and no simple nor playne dealing. Heere you see that M. Jewell dothe not understande this of any Archbishop, but of euery Bishop.

*In his 8th  
booke, 4.  
article, and  
in diu. 5.*



First booke  
against Dor  
man & 25.  
lat.  
fol. 93.  
M. Nowell Deane of Sarisburie having occasion to talke of this place saith on thys sorte. So that (b) M. Nowell  
when he speaketh (meaning Cyprian) of one Byshop, one Judge, in the Church, for the time, or will witness a-  
gainst you.  
of the Byshop which is one, and ruleth the Church absolutely, he meaneth every Byshop in his owne  
Diocese, without exception, if he speake specially, he meaneth the Byshop of the cite or Dio-  
cese wherof he intreateth, whether it be the Byshop of Rome, Carthage, or any other place.

M. Foxe also expoundeth this of every Byshop within his owne Church or Diocese. You  
heare the iudgement of these three writers, that cannot picke out neyther the name nor the office  
of an Archbyshop out of Cyprians place, and yet I thinke you will not denie, but these were lear-  
ned and godly writers.

Nowe I haue shewed you three. I aske once againe of you, one godly and learned writer, that  
expoundeth it as you doe. And by this time I suppose all men vnderstande what a small friend S.  
Cyprian is either to the name or office of an Archbyshop. Let vs heare whether Hierome make  
any more for the Archbyshop then did Cyprian.

### To. Whitgifte.

M. Iewell Byshop of Sarisburie expounding the place of Cyprian in the fourth arti- M. Iewell  
cle 5. Division. 228. page of his first booke hath these wordes. Vpon occasion hereof he  
sheweth (meaning Cyprian) what hurte and confusion of sectes and scismes ensueth  
in any prouince or diocese wheras the Byshops authoritie and ecclesiasticall discipline is  
despised. I pray you what call you that Byshop that hath gouernment of a prouince?  
Is he not a Metropolitane or Archbyshop? and doth not my L. of Sarisburie as well  
speake of a prouince, as he doth of a diocese? I do not deny, but that Cyprians wordes  
may be fitly applyed to every Byshop in his diocese: but is the Archbyshop therefore  
excluded? seing he of whome, Cyprian did write was a Metropolitane, or Arch-  
byshop. What whiche is the office of the Archbyshop in his prouince, is also the  
office of a Byshop in his diocese, and therefore that whi he is spoken of the pro-  
uince, in respecte of the Archbyshop, is also spoken of the Diocese in respecte of the  
Byshop. And pag. 230. he saith that *uniuersa fraternitas*, is taken for one whole particu- Idem.  
lar brotherhode, within one prouince or diocese: so that your firste witness testifieth  
with me, else would he not haue named a prouince.

M. Nowell fol. 22, 23, 24. doth expounde this place of the authoritie of every Byshop M. Nowell  
in his owne Diocese, which is sufficient for me, and is as much against you as can be,  
for you would haue no Byshops ouer Diocesses, but only pastors in seuerall townes.  
What whiche he speaketh of a Byshop in his Diocese, he also meaneth of an Archby-  
shop in his prouince, whose both name and office he doth allow, as it is manifest in  
these wordes of his in his thirde booke against Doorman, fol. 320 where he answering Idem.  
this question of Doormans, whether he will condemne the whole Church for making  
of Archbishops, saith thus. I answer I much commend the Church for so doing. So faire  
of is it that I will condemne the whole Church therefore. But what shal I neede to vse any  
circumstances, seing he doth most evidently apply this place of Cyprian to that pur-  
pose which you wil not acknowledge, yea even vnto the office of an Archbyshop in his  
prouince, for thus he writeth fol. 33. of his firste booke (speaking of this epistle of Cy-  
prian to Cornelius, and confuting Doormans argument taken out of it for the Popes  
supremacie, whiche is grounded vpon this place, *Non aliunde hereses oborta sunt. &c.*)  
Concerning the auoyding and quieting of schismes and troubles in the Church, VVe saye  
that as the seuerall Kings of every kingdome, the seuerall gouernours of every countree and  
cittie. &c. are able to ouersee their seuerall charges, and to keepe their people in ciuill order  
and peace, so are the seuerall Byshops of every Diocese, and the seuerall chiefe Pre-  
lates of every Prouince, able to auoide or to appease if they ryse al Schismes and trou-  
bles ecclesiasticall, as S. Cyprian out of whome this reason is borrowed, and falsely wrested by  
them to an other purpose, doth most plainely teach saying thus. *Cum statutum sit omnibus no-*  
*bis. &c.* What call you chiefe prelates of every prouince? Be they not Archbishops?  
Like wise fol. 60. & 61. in the same booke, speaking of this and such like places he saith,  
And further whatsoeuer M. Dorman eyther out of Deuter. or any other place of Scripture  
doth vntuely apply to the prooffe of the Supremacie of one head, to witte the Byshop of  
Rome, the same doth S. Cyprian, M. Dormans owne vsuall witness, euerie where alleage  
for



for the prooffe of the superiorite of euerie Byshop in his owne Diocesse, and for the obedience due vnto him there, he doth neuer apply it as doth M. Dorman to the Supremacie of one Byshop ouer all other, but rather against such supremacie of one: & it agreeth very well with the estate of the Iewes, that as they beyng one nation had one chiefe Prieste, so is it good lyke wise that every Christian nation haue their chiefe Priest or Byshop: it agreeth not that bycause the Iewes (one nation) had one highe Prieste to gouerne them in doubtles, therefore all nations throughout the worlde shoulde haue one high Priest ouer all other, for not onely the vnlikelyhood betwene these two, but the impossibilitie of the latter is most euident.

M. Foxe.  
Tom. 1. fol. 93.

Idem.

The words of M. Foxe in that place speaking against the Papistlicall interpretation of Cyprians wordes be these, when their meaning is otherwys, howe that euerie one catholike Church or Diocesse, ought to haue one Byshop ouer it: whyche also iustifyeth my interpretation. For if it be vnderstanded of one Byshop ouer one Diocesse, then is it in lyke maner of one Archbyshop ouer one Prouince: for the reason is all one, and you denie them both alike: For you would haue no Bishops but in seneral Parishes. Nowe therefore you see that euen these authoꝝ whom you would abuse against me, doe make wholly and fully against you, and with me. For they confesse the two places of Cyprian to be ment of Cornelius, and of himselfe, who were both Archbishops and Metropolitans, and had ample iurisdiction, especially Cyprian as I haue declared. And M. Foxe himselfe Tom. 1. fol. 21. sayth that the sea of Rome was a Patriarchall sea appoynted by the primitiue Church, and the Bishop therof, an Archbishop, limited within his owne bordering Churches: so that the one place beyng ment of Cornelius Archbishop of Rome, the other of Cyprian Archbishop of Carthage (for so they were in dede though they were not in those places so called), S. Cyprian may well be sayde in both places to speake of an Archbishop, though he expresse not his name. And that which is there spoken of Cornelius or Cyprian within their Prouinces, may most aptly also be vnderstande of euerie Byshop within his Diocesse, and therefore my L. of Sarum expounding this place speaketh of them both vnder these names of Prouince and Diocesse: and so doth M. Nowell vnder the name of chiefe Prelate and Prouince, and M. Foxe also vnder the worde Diocesse, beyng plaine and euident, that they allow of the office.

M. Philpot  
exam. 5.

That learned man and godly Martyr M. Philpot, as it is recorded in the booke of Actes and Monumentes in his fiftie examination answering this place of Cyprian objected vnto him by D. Sauerson, answereth most plainly in these wordes: And nowe for the vnderstanding of that place, you doe misconstrue it, to take the high Priest onely for the Byshop of Rome, and otherwys than it was in his tyme. For there were by Nicene Councell foure Patriarches appoynted; the Patriarche of Ierusalem, the Patriarche of Constantinople, the Patriarche of Alexandria, and the Patriarche of Rome, of which foure the Patriarche of Rome was placed lowest in the Councell, and so continued many yeares, for the time of seuen or eight generall Councells as I am able to shewe. Therefore S. Cyprian writing to Cornelius Patriarch of Rome, whome he calleth fellowe Byshop, findeth himselfe offended that certaine heretikes being iustly excommunicated by him (as the Nouatians were) did flie from his Diocesse which was their chiefe Byshop (refusing to be obedient vnto him & to be reformed) to the Bishop of Rome & to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and there were receiued in communion of congregation in derogation of good order, & discipline in the Church, & to the mainteining of heresies and schismes. And that heresies did spring vp & schismes dayly arise hereof, that obedience was not giue to the Priest of God, nor once considered him to be in the Church for the time the Priest, and for the time the iudge in Christes steade (as in decree of Nicene Councell was appointed) not meaning the Bishop of Rome only, but euerie Patriarch in his precinct, who had euerie one of them a colledge or a Cathedrall Church of learned priests in hearing of whom, by a conuocation of all his fellow Bishops, with the consente of the people, all heresies were determined by the word of God, & this is the meaning of S. Cyprian, hether to M. Philpot. Thus the reader may easily perceiue how you haue dalied about this place of Cyprian, and that this interpretation is not mine alone.

Chap.



## Chap. 3. the. 16. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 70. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

&amp;. Pag. 71. Sect. 1.

And therefore Hierome writing vpon the first to Titus sayth, that in the beginning a Bishop and a Priest was all one. But after that there began to rise factions in Religion, and some saide they helde of Apollo, some of Paule, some of Cephas, and some of Christe, it was decreed that one should be chosen to beare rule ouer the rest, to whom the chiefe care of the Church should apperteyne, and by whom sectes and schismes should be cut of. Hierome.

Here a man may reason thus. The distinction of degrees began in the Church, when men began to say I holde of Paule, I holde of Apollo. &c. But this was in the Apostles time, the. 1. Cor. 1. Therefore these distinctions of degrees began in the Apostles time.

The same Hierom in his Epistle ad Euagrium teacheth, that the cause why one was chosen amongst the Bishops to rule ouer the rest, was *in schismatis remedium, ne vnusquisq; ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet*, to meete vvyth Schismes, leaste euery one according to his ovvne fanisie should teare in peeces the Church of Christe, and saith further, that in Alexandria, from S. Marke vnto Heracla and Dionisius Bishops, the Ministers vsed to electe one among themselves vvhom they placing in a higher degree, called a Bishop, euen as an armie shoulde choose their Captaine, or Deacons shoulde choose one of themselves vvhom they knew to be painefull, and call him an Archdeacon. *Hec Hieronymus.*

In all these places Hierome doth not maynteyne the authoritie of one man ouer the whole Church, but thinketh it necessarie that in euery Province there be one to be chiefe ouer the reste, for vnitie sake, and for rooting out of contentions & sectes. And therefore contra Luciferianos he sayth that vntlesse this superioritie were, there would be as many schismes in the Church as there be priests.

T. C. Pag. 79. Sect. 1. 2.

The Hebrewes do deuise the name of time of a yerbe, which signifieth to corrupt, because in deede it doth corrupt all, & as the times are so are men which liue in them: that eue very good men carry the note of & infection of the times wherein they liue, & the steele of the corruption therof being so vehement & forcible, doth not only dye before it light things, but it eateth also & weareth & very hard & stonie rockes, & therefore there is not to be looked for such sinceritie at Hieromes hand, which we found in S. Cyprian, considering & he liued, some ages after Cyprian, what time Satan had a great deale more darkened & cleere light of the Summe of the Gospell, than it was in S. Cyprians times. For as those & came neerer vnto the Apostles times, because they were neerer the light by degrees, so those that were further of from these lightes, had vntill & time of the manifestation of the forme of perdition, their heavens more darke & cloudy, & consequently did see more dimly, which is diligently to be obserued of & reader, both the better to understand & state of this question, and all other controversies, which lye betwene vs and the Papistes.

And althoughe Hierome besides his other faultes, myghte haue also in this matter spoken more soundly, yet we shall easily perceiue & he is a great deale further, from either the title or office of an Archbishop, or else from & authoritie, that a Bishop hath with vs, than he is from the simplicitie of the ministerie which ought to be, and is commended vnto vs by the word of God.

## Io. Whitgifte.

This is but a poore refuge, when you cannot answere to discredit the author: it is euident that Hierome sayth nothing touching this matter, but that which is both consonant to the scriptures, & confirmed by the practise of the Church, long before his time, as appeareth by that which is saide before. And I pray you what difference is there, betwixt that which Hierome speaketh in this place, and that which Cyprian hath

(\*) This is your  
vnuall practise,  
whē you cannot  
answere to canill  
at the credite of  
the author.



bath said before: For Cyprian said, That heresies & schismes haue sprong & do spring of this, because the priest of God is not obeyed. &c. And because the Bishop which is one, & is set ouer the church, is through the proude presumption of some contemned. &c. And Hierome saith that y cause why among y Bishops one was chosen to gouerne y rest, was to remedie schismes. Do you not perceiue how these two fathers ioyne in one trueth, & directly affirme y self same matter? It is true y time corrupteth, & therfore much more occasion is offered to appoint gouernment according to y times, least the corruptions preuaile & get the upper hand, & for this cause, Hierome saith that vpon these corruptions of time, the Church was constrained to appoint this order.

### Chap. 3. the. 17. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 79. Sect. 3.

A frivolous digression from the matter.

And here I must put M. Doctor in remembrance, how vnwisely he hath dedicated his booke vnto y church, which hath so patched it & peeced it of a number of shreds of the Doctors, y a sentence of the scripture either truly or falsly alleaged, as as it were a patch in this booke. If he would haue had y church beleue him, he oughte to haue setled their iudgement, & grounded their faith vpon the scriptures, which are y only foundations wher vpon y church may build. Now he doth not only not giue the ground to stand of: but he leade them into wayes which they cannot follow, nor come after him. For except it be those which are learned, & besides haue the meanes & abilitie, to haue the bookes which are here cited (which are y least & smallest portion of the Church) how can they know that these things be true, which are alleaged, & as I haue said if they could know, yet haue they nothing to stay themselves vpon, & quiet their conscience, in allowing y which M. Doctor would be so faine haue them like of. Therfore he might haue much more fitly dedicated his booke vnto y learned and riche, which haue furnished libraries.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Traſt. 2.

M. Doctor hath brought more scriptures than you haue answered, as in the sequelle it wil fall out, although (as I said before) in such matters, y scripture hath not expressly determined any certaintie, but hath left them to the Church, to be appointed according to the circumstances of time, place, and person, as I haue proued both out of the scriptures & learned writers, & intend to do hereafter more particularly, when I come to entreat of your Seignorie. If al other men should do as you haue done, that is, borrow the sayings of the Doctors out of other mens collections, & not read y authoys themselves, a few booke wil serue, & with very smal charges, they might be prouided.

The patches, peeces, & shreds of Doctors that be in my booke, are taken out of the Doctors themselves, & they be whole sentences faithfully alleaged. But the shreds of doctors, that your booke is stuffed with, you haue borrowed of other: you haue falsified the, & cut them off by the half: you haue fathered vpon them that which is not to be founde in them: and the words of late writers, you haue set downe vnder the name of ancient fathers: and the scriptures you haue falsely alleaged, and vntruelly translated: I would not gladly haue burst out into this accusation at this time, being from the matter, but that you haue byged me therevnto.

### Chap. 3. the. 18. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 79. Sect. 4. 5. 6.

Hierome saith, y at the first a Bishop & an elder (which you call a priest) were all one, but afterward through factions & schismes, it was agreed y one should rule ouer y rest. Now I say against this order, that y Bishop should beare rule ouer all, y which our sauour Christ saith vnto y apostles, from y beginning it was not so, & therfore I require that y first order may stand, which was that a Bishop & elder were all one. And if you place so great authoritie against the institution of God in a mortall man, heare what Tertullian saith vnto you.

Contra Prax.

Tertullians meaning falsified.

That is true, whatsoever is first, and that is false whatsoever is latter. Hierome & you confesse y this was first, that y Bishop was all one with y elder, & first also by y word of God, the I conclude y, that is true. You both do likewise confesse, y it came after that one bare rule ouer the rest, then I conclude, y that is false: for all that is false, that is latter. Furthermore Hierome in the same place of Titus saith after this sort. As y elders know themselves to be subject by a custome of the Church, vnto him that is set ouer them, so the Bishops must knowe, that they are greater than the elders, rather by custome, than by any truth of the institution of the Lord, and so they ought to gouerne the Church in common.

### Io. Whitgiste.

It followeth after in my answer to the Admonition, that there was superiouritie among



mong the ministers of the word, euen in the Apostles time, which I proue by the scriptures & other testimonies, it is also euident that great factions & schismes did arise in the Church euen in the Apostles time: & therefore most like these that Jerome speaketh of, to haue bin the determined. The which to be true, his words *ad Euagriū* touching the church of Alexandria doth euidently declare: for he saith y this order was kept therein fro S. Parke. But admit these were not true (which you wil neuer be able to proue) yet your argument is of no force, & the place of Tertullian is not vnderstanded, for Tertullian in that booke, after he hath repeated the rule of faith, which is to beleue in one God, and in his sonne Iesus Christ. &c. he saith, that this rule hath come from the beginning of the Gospell euen before all former heretikes, muche more before Praxeas that was but yesterdaye, as well the posteritie of all heretikes as the verye noueltie of Praxeas which was of late will proue. VVhereby iudgement may hereof be indifferently gyuen against all heresies, that that is true whatsoeuer is first, & that counterfeite, whatsoeuer is last.

*Tertul. contra Prax.*

Wherby it is euident that Tertullians rule is to be vnderstanded in matters of saluation, & of faith, & not in matters of ceremonies, & kinds of gouernment: which thing he himselfe in plaine words declareth in his booke *de virginibus uelendis*, where in lyke manner after he hath recited this rule of faith, he addeth this lawe of faith remaining, other things of discipline & conuersation admit newnesse of correction, the grace of God working and going forward, euen to the end. So that Tertullian thinketh that matters of ceremonies and discipline may be altered (y rule of faith remaining inuiolable) notwithstanding his former rule.

Wherin Tertullians rule is to be vnderstood.  
*Tertul. de virgin. uelend.*

If you will not haue this to be the meaning of Tertullia, then will I reason thus. In the beginning there were Apostles, therefore there must be Apostles now: in y beginning it was forbidden to eate y which was strangled, Ergo we may not eate it now: In y beginning there were no Christian Magistrates Ergo there must be none now: In the beginning the Apostles baptized in riuers, the communion was ministered to, 12. only, &c. Ergo quod posterius falsū, that which is latter is false: these be as good arguments as yours. But it is manifest that Tertullian speaketh of matters of faith, & necessarie to saluation, & therefore these arguments, & yours also with such like, be starke naught.

The reason of the Replyer retorted against himself

### Chap. 3. the. 19. Diuision.

T. C. Page 79. Sect. vlt.

Now seeing that Hierome confesseth y a Bishop & an elder, by God his institution are all one, & that custome of y Church hath altered this institutio, for y taking away of this custome, & restoring of the Lords institution, I say as our sauitour Christ said, why do you breake the commaundments of God, to establish your own traditions: for the one is the institution of God, & the other the tradition of the Church, & if a mans testimonie be so much with y. Doctor, let him heare what y same Tertullian saith, whatsoeuer sangeth against the truth, shalbe accounted heresie, euen although it be an olde custome.

Math. 15.

De uelend. virg.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Your whole booke is grounded vpon the sands, y is vpon foundations not proued, as this is. For you should first haue proued, that Christ hath so commaunded equalitie of Ministers in gouernment & ecclesiastical pollicie, that one of them may not be aboue the other: the contrary is to be sene in scripture, both in words & examples, as I haue after declared, so far of is it, that you can shew any commaundment to the contrary. Thys text of y. 15. of Mat. did the Anabaptistes, obiect vnto Zuinglius in the like case, as it appeareth in his booke *de Baptismo*. But he answered the as I must answer you, I speake not as you feyne me to speake, I speake only of external & indifferent things, wherof there be many which are neither commaunded nor forbidden by any expresse worde of God. &c. & againe, for this that we speake of is not necessarie vnto saluation, but it is external, of the which things many may be found omitted in the scriptures. &c. Wherfore except you can proue, that we bring into the Church some thing as necessary vnto saluation which is not expessed in the scriptures, this text is no more aptly applyed by you against me, than it was by the Anabaptists, against Zuinglius.

*Zuing. de bap.*

The wordes of Tertullian are true, and make nothing for your purpose, for you must first proue that these degrees be against the truth.

Chapter



## Chap. 3. the. 20. Division.

T. C. Page. 80. Line. 3.

(a) A syllogisme without forme.  
(b) Here you are contrary to your selfe. pag. 73. line 55.

Now I will turne M. Doctors owne argument vpon his head, after this sort. (a) In the Apostles times there were (b) schismes & heresies but in their times ther were no archbishops ordeined to appeale them: therfore the best meanes of compoling of controuersies and keeping concord, is not by hauing an Archbishop to be ouer a whole Province.

## Io. Whitgiste.

A vicious argument displayed.

I will senerally answer your arguments, that the reader may the better understand the pith of them. And first I denie this argument, because it is neither in mode nor figure. For first you must call to memory, that in the third figure where you would seeme to place it, the *Minor* may not be negative as yours is. Secondly there is more in the conclusion then there is in the premisses which is against all rules of syllogismes. If you had concluded according to your former propositions, you shoulde haue sayde thus, *Ergo* when there are Archbishops there are no schismes. For this is the true conclusion of that false syllogisme. Thirdly *Minus extremum* should be *subiectum conclusionis*, and in this argument it is *predicatum*. Being therfore that your argument hath no true forme in any respect, I denie it, vntill it be better framed.

## Chap. 3. the. 21. Division.

T. C. Pag. 80. Line. 7.

That there was none in the Apostles times, thus it may appeare. If there were any they were either ordeined by the Apostles, & their authoritie, or else without and besides their authoritie. If there were any without & besides their authoritie, then they are therfore to be condemned & more, because in their time they sturde by without their warrant. And if the Apostles did ordeine them, there was some vse of them, to that wherunto they were ordeined, but there was no vse of them to that wherunto they were ordeined, therfore the Apostles did not ordeine them. The vse wherunto M. Doctor saith they were ordeined, was to compose controuersies and ende schismes, but to this they were not vled: wherupon it followeth, that if there were any they were vnprofitable. That they were not vled to any such ende it shall be perceiued by that which followeth.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

This should be the profe of your former *Minor*, if the argument had bene good: but be it as you would haue it, here is yet no sufficient profe of your *Minor*. They are but only your owne bare words, which may as easily be reiected, as they be barely by you affirmed. But least the ignorant reader shoulde thinke that I shifte of matters wth suche quiddities as they vnderstand not, I will set a side the deformed face of your argument, and come to the matter, & (as I thinke) your meaning, which is this. Controuersies were compounded in the Apostles time without an Archbishop, *Ergo* they maye lyke wise be so now, so that there is no neede of any Archbishop. This is the controuersie, whether the Church be bound to the same kind of external government at all times, that was vled in the Apostles times. I haue proued hether to that it is not. And more is to be said of the same afterwards. In the meane time this I giue you to vnderstand, that althoughe the Apostles had not this name of Archbishop among them, yet they had the same authoritie and office. For they had the government & direction of diuers Churches, both in matters of doctrine & discipline: they ended controuersies, repressed errors, kept them in quietnesse: ordeined them Bishops, & visited them, as appeareth Act. 14. 15. 18. 1 Cor. 3. 4. 5. 11. & in the Epistle to Timothy & Titus. Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 23. Declareth of John the Euangelist, that after he returned from Pathmos, he visited & gouerned sundry Churches, & ordeined them Ministers. The like doth Epiphanius report of Peter in Pontus & Bithinia Lib. 1. Tom. 2. And what other office then those hath the Archbishop. Therfore though the name of Archbishop was not among the Apostles, yet was his office & function. And notwithstanding that part of the office of the Apostles is ceased which consisted in planting & founding of Churches, throughout the world: yet this part of government & direction of Churches remaineth still and is committed to Bishops. Therfore saith Ambrose in the 4. ad Ephe. *Apostoli Episcopi sunt*, Apostles are Bishops, because Bishops do succede them in preaching the word, & gouerning the church.

The office of an archbishop in the Apostles. Act. 4. 15. 18. 1 Cor. 3. 4. 5. 11. Vtrag. ad tim. epi ad Tit. Enseb. lib. 3. Cap. 23. Epibha. lib. 1. Tom. 2.

Ambro. in. 4. Ephe.

Now



Now if I shal also proue by good authoritie that among the Apostles themselves and in their tymes, there was one chiefe (though he were not called Archbishop) then I suppose that it will not seeme strange vnto you, that in this state of the Church, it should be convenient to haue the like in euery Province or Diocese. Ierome in his first booke *aduersus Iovinianum* sayth thus. Yet among the twelue one is chosen, that a head being appoynted, occasion of schisme might be removed. And least ye should wipe this away with your accustomed deprauing of the Authour, I will ioyne vnto him the testimony of *Caluine* in his *Institutions* Cap. 8. who writeth thus. That the twelue Apostles had one among them to gouerne the rest, it was no marueyle, for nature requireth it, and the disposition of man will so haue it, that in euerie companie (although they be all equall in power) yet that there be one as gouernour, by whome the rest may be directed. There is no court without a Consull, no Senate without a Pretor, no Colledge without a president, no societie without a master. *M. Bucer* likewise in his booke, *De regno Christi*, hath these wordes. Now we see by the perpetuall obseruation of the Churches even from the Apostles themselves, that it hath pleased the holy Ghost, that among the Ministers to whome especially the gouernment of the Church is committed, one should haue the chiefe care, both of the Churches and whole ministerie, and that he shoulde go before all other in that care and diligence, for the which cause the name of a Bishop is peculiarly giuen to such chiefe gouernors of Churches, &c. Againe vpon the. 4. to the Ephe. he sayth as befoze is alledged. Paule in the Acts called the same men, Bishops & Ministers, whē he called for the Ministers of Ephesus to Miletum, yet bicause one among them did rule, and had the chiefe care of the Church, the name of a Bishop did properly belong vnto him. Neither was his age alwayes considered, so that he were vertuous and learned, as we haue an example in Timothy being a yong man. Thus then you see, that euen amongst the Apostles themselves, and in the Churches in their tymes, there were some, that had the chiefe authoritie ouer the rest, and to this ende especially, that schismes and contentions might be compounded, and the rest might be directed, whiche are the chiefe partes of the Archbishops office: and therefore all this that you haue here sayde, falleth flat to the ground: And yet still I do affirme, that if it had not bene so in the Apostles time, yet might it haue bene both lawfully and necessarily, at other tymes.

Superioritie among the Apostles.

Ierom. aduers. Iovi. lib. 1.

Caluine.

Bucer.

Idem.

## Chap. 3. the .22. Division.

T.C. Pag. 80. Sect. 1.

At Antioch there rose a great & dangerous heresie, that had in a manner infected all the Churches which shaked the very foundation of the saluation of gods childē, that was, whether saith were sufficient to iustifie without circumcision. The matter was disputed of both sides, it could not be agreed of. What do they now? Do they ordain some Archbishop, Archprophet, Archapostle, or any one chief to whō they will referre the controuersie, or vpon whō they will depend? Nothing lesse. And if they should haue had the controuersies ended by one, what deuine was there euer, or shall there be more fitter for that purpose than *S. Paule*, which was amongst them? Why do they send abroad for remedie, when they had it at home? Why with great charges and long journeyes, which they might haue had without charges, or one foote set out of the doore? What do they then? They sende *Paule* and *Barnabas* to *Jerusalem*, as if the lesser townes should send to the Churches of the Universities, or of *London*, to desire their help in the determining of the controuersie. And what is *Paule* & *Barnabas* ambassage, is it to desire the iudgement or mind of some one? It must needs be answered with *S. Luke*, that they came to know the resolution of the Church, and yet there were the Apostles, whereof euerie one was better able both sharply to see, and to iudge incorruptly without affection, than any Archbishop that euer was. If therefore in so great abundance and overflowing of the gifts of God, and in that tyme when as controuersies might haue bene referred without danger of error vnto one onely, this ministerie of one aboue all, was not thought good: now when the gifts are lesse, and the danger of error more, to make an Archbishop for the deciding of controuersies, and auoyding of schismes, is a thing so strange, that I am not able to see the reason of it. For to which corner of the Apostles the controuersie had bene referred, it is certaine that he should haue giuen a true sentence of it.

Jo. Whitgiste.

It was tolde you befoze, that an Archbishop of himselfe alone doth not take vpon

Supr. diu. 12.

Al.

him



him to determine matters of doctrine in controuersie: But if any such contention arise, either he determineth the matter according to the law, & rule already by the Church established, or else with the consent of the Prince both he set an order in the same by a provincially and lawfull Synode: in the which he is the chiefe, as some one of the Apostles were in such like assemblies, according to that which I haue before declared: & therfore all this speech might well haue bene spared. Your argument also is faultie in two respects: first it is *Ab autoritate negatiue*, or *a non facto ad non ius*, which is good *Neque in diuinis neq. in humanis*, neyther in diuine nor in humane matters: Secondly, you go about to conclude an vniuersall doctrine of one particular and singular example: which at no time, nor in any matter is tollerable.

The example of T. C. is rather against him, than for him.

Whereouer it rather iustifieth my assertion, for it evidently proueth that euerie Parish within it selfe, hath not absolute authoritie to ende controuersies, but that it behoueth them in such weightie matters, to resort to the chiefe Church, as they now did to Jerusalem. This example therfore, if you well consider it, is directly against you: neither doth it in any respect proue, that there was then no chiefe gouernour or guide of the rest, to supplie that place and office which now the Archbishop hath.

### Chap. 3. the. 23. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 80. Sect. 2.

The Archbishop hath cause to thanke you for your gentleness

And if any can shew me one man in these tymes, of whom we may be assured, that he will pronounce the truth of every question which shall arise, he shall make me somewhat more fauorable to the Archbishop, than presently I am. For although there were found one such as could not erre, yet I could not consent that the matter should lie only upon his hande, seeing that the Apostles which could not erre in these matters, would not take that upon them, & seeing that by that meanes the iudgement of the Church should be contemned, and further, for that the iudgement of one man in a controuersie, is not so strong to pull by errors that are rooted in mens minds, as the iudgement and consent of many. For, that the iudgement of many is very apt either to confirme a truth, or to confute falshood, it is euident that S. Paule doth holde forth, as it were a buckler against the forwardnesse of certayne, the authoritie of the Church.

Jo. Whitgiste.

The authoritie of Archbishops in our Church.

You take great paynes in fighting without an aduersarie, and because otherwise (as it should seeme) you lacke matter to lengthen your booke, therfore you deuise matter of your owne to striue agaynst. For who hath affirmed that, which you so earnestly seeke in this place to ouerthrowe? It hath bene tolde twise already, that neyther of our Archbishops taketh upon him to compounde controuersies in doctrine by himselfe alone, neyther is it their office so to doe. The Archbishops authoritie in this Church is, to prouide by lawfull and ordinarie meanes that vnitie be obserued in the Church: that contentions and schismes be cut off: that the religion and orders of the Church, by the whole consent of the Church agreed vpon, be mainteyned: that euerie Bishop in his prouince doe his duetie according to the same: this is his principall charge (as I take it) agaynst the which you haue not as yet spoken any thing, but deuise with your selfe, to improue that which no man affirmeth: this is but verie wishing and dallying.

### Chap. 3. the. 24. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 80. Sect. 3.

(a) A place farre fetched to impute the office of the Archbishop.

Furthermore, if this distinction came vp in the Apostles tyme, and by them, how cometh it to passe, that they neuer mention it, nay how cometh it to passe that euen S. Paule in that very Epistle where these voyces are founde (I holde of Paule, I of Apollo, I of Cephas which are layde to be the cause of the Archbishop) ordeyneth a cleane contrarie to this that W. doctor comendeth: (a) For when two or three Prophets haue expounded the scriptures, he appoynteth that all the rest that are there, should iudge whether they haue done well or no. 1. Cor. 14.

Jo. Whitgiste.



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I contend not that the name of the Archbishop was in the Apostles tyme, but you haue not yet proued that the office was not then, or that there was then no superi-  
ritie among the Cleargie, which you notwithstanding denie. Your negative rea-  
son proueth nothing, as you haue bene oftentimes tolde.

The place in the .1. Coz. 14. is farre fetched, it speaketh not of gouernment, and  
discipline, or externall policie of the Church, but of expounding the Scriptures. And  
what a reason cal you this S. Paule, saith, .1. Coz. 14. *Propheta duo aut tres loquantur, ceteri  
diudicent*: Let two or three Prophets speake, and let the other iudge, Ergo he speaketh a-  
gainst an Archbishop? Surely if the Authours of the Admonition had not bene de-  
fected of their unskillfull allegations of Scriptures, I shoulde haue had as much a doe  
with you in that point: for euen of these fewe which you haue bled, there is not al-  
most one rightly and truly applied. S. Paule in that place to the Corinthians shew-  
eth, that the hearers must iudge of the doctrine of the Prophets, whether it be accor-  
ding to the worde of God or no, as those did whiche are commended in the .17. of the  
Actes: but what is this to an Archbishop?

T. C. faule  
teth with the  
Admonition  
in vnapt alle-  
gations of  
scripture.

*Chap. 3. the. 25. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 81. Sect. 1.

Eph. 4.

And howe cometh it to passe that S. Paule being at Rome in prison, and looking euery day  
when he shuld giue vp his last breath, comended vnto the Church a perfect an absolute ministerie,  
standing of fine partes, wherein he maketh mention, not one worde of an Archbishop: and saith  
further, that that ministerie is able to enterpryse the perfect vnitie, and knitting together of the  
Church? Do not all these things speake or rather crie, that there was not so much as a step of  
an Archbishop in the Apostles times?

Howe oft hath  
this bene re-  
peated.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

How oft haue you alledged this place to y same purpose? If I shoulde do the like, you  
would bestow one whole side in telling at it. But I answere you as I did before. In  
this place the Apostle as you confesse, reciteth offices that be but temporall, as Apostle,  
Prophet, &c. he leaueth out those offices which you say are perpetuall, as Deacon, and  
Senior. Wherefore it is no such perfect patterne, as you would haue it. And if you say  
that these offices are conteyned vnder the names of Pastors and Doctors, then I say  
that Bishops and Archbishops be so in like maner. If you will haue the Apostle to  
speake of these ministeries onely, which are occupied in the worde and sacraments,  
then I say vnto you, that an Archbishop is a name of Iurisdiction and gouernment  
committed to a Bishop, Pastor or Minister of the worde, as necessarie for the good  
gouernment of the Church, but not as any new ministerie, as you vntruly both now,  
and also before haue surmised. But to let all this passe: in those offices whiche S.  
Paule here reciteth is the office of an Archbishop conteyned, though it be not named,  
and namely vnder the Apostles and Pastors as I haue before shewed.

The place  
Eph. 4. no  
perfect pattern

Archbishop, a  
name of iuris-  
diction, not of  
a new minis-  
terie.

*Chap. 3. the. 26. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 81. Sect. 1.

And if you will say, that the Apostles did ordeyne Archbishops (as you haue indeed sayd, and do  
now againe) when as there is not one worde in the writings of them, I pray you tell vs, howe we  
shall hold out of the Church the vnwritten verities of the Papists: For my part if it be true that  
you say, I cannot tell what to answere vnto them. For our answere is to them, the Apostles haue  
left a perfect rule of ordering the Church written, and therefore we reiect their traditions, if for no  
other cause, yet because they are superfluous and more than need. Now this degree of Archbishop  
being not only not mentioned in the scriptures, but also manifestly oppugned, it is to bold, & hardy a  
speech (that I say no more) to set the petegree of the Archbishop from the Apostles times, and from  
the Apostles themselves.

Al. ii.

Jo. Whitgiste.



*Jo. Whitgifte.*

I must answer you still as Zuinglius answered the Anabaptists in the like objection, and as I have answered you before: the Papists make their traditions necessarie unto saluation, and therefore they are to be reiected, because the worde of God confeyneth all things necessarie to saluation. I make those offices part of decencie, order, Ecclesiasticall government and pollicie, whiche admitteth alteration as the tymes and persons require, and are not particularly expessed in the Scriptures, no moze than diuerse other things be in the same kinde, as I haue proued before. And that this may seeme no straunge matter, or any thing fauouring the Papists traditions, you may call to remembrance that which M. Calvin sayth of such traditions vpon these wordes. 1. Cor. 11. *Quemadmodum tradidi vobis instituta tenetis.* I do not denie (sayth he) but that there were some traditions of the Apostles not written, &c. as I haue before recyted, speaking of Ceremonies not expessed in the worde. And you may see that wise and learned men are not so scrupulous in Apostolicall traditions not written, so that they be not such as are made necessarie unto saluation: neyther is any learned man of contrarie iudgement. And therefore Archbishops may well be brought from the Apostles tymes, without any daunger of admitting the vnwritten verities of the Papists. You haue not yet proued that eyther the name or office of Archbishops is in any respect oppugned in the worde of God, and therefore that is but feyned.

Caluine.

Traff. 2.

*Chap. 3. the. 27. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 81. Sect. 1.

But all this time M. doctor hath forgotten his question, which was to proue an Archbishop, whereas all these testimonies which he alledgeth, make mention onely of a bishop, & therefore this may rather confirme the state of the bishop in this realme, than the Archbishop. But in the answer vnto them it shal appeare, that as there is not in these places so much as the name of an Archbishop mentioned, so except only the name of a Bishop, there shall be founde very little agreement betwene the Bishops in those dayes, and those which are called Bishops in our time, and with vs.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

M. Doctor remembreth that the Authours of the Admonition aswell denie the office of a Bishop, as the office of an Archbishop, and hee is not ignorant, that the prae of the one is the confirmation of the other, and therefore he vseth suche testimonies as pertaine to them both: of the whiche nature those places be that he hath hitherto alledged. For you muste vnderstande, that I spake before of the name, and now according to my promise I speake of the office, whiche is not so farre distant from the Bishops, but that in moste things they be confounded: But let vs now beare how you performe your promise.

*Chap. 3. the. 28. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 81. Sect. 2.

And consequently, although M. doctor thought with one whitening boxe to haue whitened two walles (by establishing our Archbishop and Bishop by the same testimonies of the fathers) yet it shall be plaine, that in going about to defend both, he left both vndefended.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

Words of pleasure, too too vsuall with T.C. but of smal weight (God be thanked) and of lesse truth.

Cap. 3.



Chap. 3. the. 29. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 81. Sect. 2. 3.

Let vs therfore come first to examine Ieromes reasons, why one must be ouer the rest, for in the testimony of men that is onely to be regarded which is spoken either with some authoritie of the scripture, or with some reason grounded of the scripture: otherwise, if he speak without either scripture or reason, he is as easily refuted as alleaged. One (sayth he) being chosen to be ouer the rest, bringeth remedie vnto schismes: how so? least euery man (sayth he) drawing to himselfe do breake the Church in peeces.

But I would aske if the Church be not in as great danger (\*) when all is done at the pleasure and lust of one man, and when one carrieth all into error, as when one pulleth one piece with him, and other another piece, & the third his part also with him. And it is (a) harder to draw many into an error, than one, or that many should be caried away by their affections, than one, which is evident (b) in water, which if it be but a little, it is quickly troubled and corrupted, but being much, it is not so easily. But by this ecclesiasticall Monarchie, all things are kept in peace: Nay, rather it hath bene the (c) cause of discorde, and well spring of most horrible schisme, as it is to be scene in the very Decretals themselves. (d) And admit it were so, yet the peace which is without truth, is more excusable than a thousand contentions. For as by stryking of two flintes together, there commeth out fyre, so it may be, that sometymes by contention, the truth which is hidden in a darke peace maye come to light, which by a peace in naughtynesse and wickednesse being as it were buried vnder the ground, doth not appeare.

Decret. par. 1. c. 9. q. 3. & can. Apost. 31. & alibi passim.

(\*) Here you es- found a monar- chie, and a ty- rannie. (a) Not so, if that one do gouerne by lawe. (b) Your simili- tudes hold not. (c) Vntruth. (d) A good Proc- tor for conten- tion.

Jo. Whitgiste.

Ierome being a man of such singular learning, and great credite among those that be learned, in a matter of Hystorie as this (for hee reporteth when one Bishop was placed ouer the rest, and for what cause) is more to be beleued withoute reasons, than you with all your popular and friuolous arguments. Let the reader againe consider whether this be your maner or no, by vaine reasons to shake the credite of the au- thor, when you cannot otherwise answer.

T.C. desires direct the au- thor whom he cannot an- swere.

The reasons that you vse for the popular or Aristocraticall government of the Church, when they come among the people, will be easily transferred to the state of the common weale, and peraduenture breede that misliking of ciuill government, that you would not haue of Ecclesiasticall, to a further inconuenience and mischief, than you and all yours will be able to remedie. In the meane time you vtterly ouerthrow the Quenes authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters, giuen vnto hir by the lawes of God, as hereafter shall be proued. For if the state must eyther be popular or Aristocraticall, then must there be no one supreme gouerner in Church matters, but I wil come to your reasons.

T.C. ouer- throweth the authoritie of the prince in matters ecclesiasticall.

First you aske whether the Church be not in as great danger when all is done at the pleasure and lust of one man, and when one carrieth all into error. &c. Here you do eyther ignorantly or wilfully confounde Monarchie with tyrannie. For betwixt a king and a tyrant, this is one difference, that a king ruleth according to the lawes that are prescribed for him to rule by, and according to equitie and reason: a tyrant doth what him list, followeth his owne affections, contemneth lawes, and sayth, *Sic volo, sic iubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas*. So I will, so I commaund, my pleasure standeth for reason. Now therfore to vse those reasons to ouerthrow a lawfull Monarchie, which are onely proper to wicked tyrannie, is eyther closely to accuse the government of this Church of England of tyrannie, or maliciously by subtile dealing, and confounding of states, to procure the misliking of the same in the hearts of the subiects. There is neyther Prince nor Prince late in this land that ruleth after their pleasure and lust, but according to those lawes and orders that are appointed by the common consent of the whole realme in Parliamēt, and by such lawes of this Monarchie as neuer hitherto any good subiect hath misliked: and therefore your ground being false: how can the rest of your building stand? It hath bene sayd before that the Archbishop hath not this absolute authoritie, giuen vnto him, to doe all things alone, or as him list. He is by lawe prescribed both what to doe, and howe to procede in his doings. Moreouer this Church of Englande (Gods name bee praysed therfore) hath all poyntes of necessarie doctrine

Difference betwixt a king and a tyrant.

The ecclesi- asticall go- uernment in this Church not tyrannicall but lawfull,



Li. 1. Epist. 3.

Contra Lucio  
ferianos.The govern-  
ment of one  
by lawe, moze  
safe than of  
many with-  
out lawe.The simili-  
tude of water  
returned a-  
gainst the  
Replier.The places  
cited by T. C.  
maketh for the  
Archbishop.

doctrine certainly determined, Ceremonies and orders expressly prescribed, from the whiche neyther Archbyschoppe nor Byschoppe maye swarue, and according to the whiche, they must bee directed, to the obseruing of the whiche also, their dutie is to constreyn all those that bee vnder them. So that whosoener shall wilfully and stubburnely seuer himselfe from obedience, eyther to Archbyschoppe or Byschoppe in suche matters, may iustly be called a Schismaticke, or a disturber of the Church. And in this respect is that saying of Cyprian nowe most true: For neyther doo Heresy es aryse, nor Schismes spring of any other thing, but hereof, that the Priest of God is not obeyed. And so is this of Ieromes in like maner. *Ecclesie salus in summi Sacerdotis pendet dignitate, cui si non exors & ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesia efficiuntur schismata, quot sacerdotes.* The safetie of the Church dependeth vppon the dignitie of the highe Priest, to whom vnlesse a singuler and peerelesse power be giuen, there will be, as manie schismes in the Church, as there be Priests.

You say that it is harder to draw many into an error than one, &c. whiche is not true, when that one ruleth and gouerneth by lawe. For the minde of man euen of the best may be ouerruled by affection, but so cannot the lawe. Wherefore a wicked man directed by lawe gouerneth moze indifferently, than multitudes withoute lawe, bee they neuer so godly. Moreover one Godly, wise, and learned man is muche moze hardly moued to any error, than is the multitude, whiche naturally is prone and bent to the same: in whome not onely Philosophers, but singular Diuines also haue noted great inconstancie and a disposition moste vnmeet to gouerne.

Your similitude of water holdeth not: for a little water in a grauelly or stonie Well or Ryuer is not so sone troubled and corrupted, as are multitudes of waters in Fennishe and Harrishe groundes. Againe, a little water in a running Ryuer or ffourde is at all tymes moze pure and cleare, than is a great quantitie in standing Buddelles: to bee short, is not the water of those little springs, and Cundite heades, (which being safely locked vp, and inclosed in stone and Leade, do minister greate reliefe to whole Cities) muche moze pleasaunt, hardlyer corrupted, lesse troubled, than the great waters in the Thames. Therefore is a little water proceeding from a good fountaine, by stones and Leade kept from things that may hurt it, hardlier putrified and corrupted, than all the Fennishe waters in a whole Countrey, than mightie Woies, yea than the Thames it selfe. So is one wise and prudent man gouerned and directed by order and by lawe, further from corruption and error in gouernement, than whole multitudes of people, of what sorte soeuer they bee.

You further say, that this Ecclesiasticall monarchie hath bene the cause of discorde, &c. I aunswere, that it hath bene the cause of the contrarie, vntill suche tyme as it was turned into tyrannie, as by all Ecclesiasticall storyes and wyters it may appeare, and namely by these two, Cyprian and Ierome.

In all that decretall part. 2. c. 9. quest. 3. noted in your Margent: there is nothing agaynste any forme of gouernment vsed by the Archbyschoppe in this Church of Englande, but in plaine and manifest wordes bothe the name and office of the Archebyschoppe is there mainteyned and approued. And I wishe that the learned Reader woulde peruse ouer all that parte of Gratian, then shoulde he easily perceyue your saythfulnesse in alledging Authorities. And though it be somewhat tedious, yet that the vnlearned also may haue some taste of your dealing, I will sette downe some Canons conteyned in that parte of Gratian. Out of the Councell of Pope Martin hee cyteth this Canon. *Per singulas prouincias oportet Episcopos cognoscere.* &c. In euerie Province the Bishoppes must knowe theyr Metropolitan to haue the cheefe authoritie, and that they ought to doe nothing withoute him, according to the olde and auncient Canons of oure forefathers, for the whiche cause also the Metropolitan muste take vppon him nothing presumptuously without the councell of other Bishoppes. And out of the councell of Antioch, he hath this. *Per singulas prouincias Episcopos singulos scire oportet,* &c. In euery prouince the Bishops must know their Metropolitan which gouerneth,



uerneth, to haue the chiefe care of the whole prouince: and therefore those that haue any causes must resort to the Metropolitane citie. &c. In all the rest of the Canons he manifestly attributeth superiortie and gouernment to the Archbishop and Metropolitane, euen the same that we do in this Church, only he denieth that the Metropolitane or Archbishop hath such absolute authoritie, that he can deale any thing in criminall causes agaynst a Bishop, or in other common matters without the consent of other Bishops, which is not agaynst any thing by me affirmed, or contrary to any authoritie claymed by the Archbishop, for it hath bene from the beginning denied that the Archbishop of his owne absolute authoritie can determine any thing in matters doubtful, and not determined by the lawes and orders of this Church, to the which the whole realme hath consented.

The. 33. Canon of the Apostles quoted in the margent is this: *Episcopos singularum gentium scire conuenit quis inter eos primus babeatur, quem velut existiment. &c.* It behoueth the Bishops of euery prouince to know who is chiefe among the, whom they must esteeme as their head, and do nothing without his knowledge, saue such things only as pertayne to their owne parish and villages, which are vnder it, neyther shall he do any thing without the knowledge of all. For so shall vnitie be kept and God shall be glorified through Christe in the holy Ghost. What haue you gotten by this Canon: you see here manifestly that in euery prouince or nation there must be one chiefe Bishop, that is Archbishop, to whom the rest must submitte themselves, and do nothing without his knowledge. This is as much as I require: And if this Canon was made by the Apostles (wherof you seeme not to doubt) then is the name and authoritie of an Archbishop, of greater antiquitie than you would gladly haue it, and the reason and saying of S. Jerome most true.

Both of this Canon, and of the Canon of the councill of Antioch confirming it, I haue spoken befoze. Your Passim in the margent, if it be meant of such like places as this, I graunt it: but if of any other popular or Aristocraticall state and kinde of gouernment, or to the improuing of the office and authoritie of an Archbishop, it will fall out to be *nusquam*. You say, that it appeareth in the decretalls themselves that this kinde of gouernment hath bene the wellspring of most horrible schisme. Shew one place: why are you not ashamed to vtter manifest vntruthes? Shew one sentence there tending to that ende: I haue recited some Canons out of that place, and I haue shewed the entent of Gratian both in them, and in the rest. They all signifie that an Archbishop may not do any thing of his owne authoritie without the consent of the other Bishops, which no man denieth, and this is the whole scope of that question.

Our peace is in truth and due obedience, we haue the true doctrine of the worde of God: and the right administration of the Sacramentes: and therefore to make contention in this Church, and to disturbe the quietnes and peate, cannot be but mere schismaticall, I will say no worse. Zuinglius in his Ecclesiastes sayth, that the Anabaptistes went aboute to defende their contentions then, after the same manner that you do yours now. But I answered you as he answered them: your contention is not agaynst Infidels, Papists, and such like: but agaynst the saythfull, agaynst the true professors of the Gospell, and in the Church of Christe, and therefore as it is of it selfe wicked, so is it the cause of contempt, disobedience, and much other vngodlinesse. And the two functiones may be in such time and place stricken together, that the sparkes of fire which cometh from them, may consume and burne the whole citie and countrie too. And surely he is but a mad man that will smite fire to light a candle to see by at noone day, when the sunne shineth most clearely.

### Chap. 3. the. 30. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 81. Sect. 4.

If therefore superiortie and domination of one aboue the rest haue such force to keepe men from schismes, when they be in the truth, it hath as great force to keepe them together in error, and so besides that one is ealier to be corrupted than many, this power of one bringeth as great incommoditie in keeping them in error, if they fall into it, as in the truth, if they are in it.

It. iiii.

Io. VVbit giste.



*Io. Whitgiste.*

This is as though you should saye, that if a Monarchie be an excellent kynde of gouernment, and in dede the best, when the lawes rule and not man (as Aristotle sayth) then also is it the worst, when affection ruleth and not the lawe, which is true: for that is the worst state of gouernment which is opposed to the beste. But if you will therfore conclude, that a Monarchie is not the best state, your argument hath no reason in it: euen so is it in the gouernment of the Church, if the chiefe gouernour thereof should follow his owne appetite and be ruled by his private affections: but it is farre otherwise when he ruleth according to the lawes whereunto he himicselfe is subiect.

*Chap. 3. the. 31. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag 81. Sect. 4.

*A popish reason.* Whouer if it be necessary for the keeping of vnitie in the Church of England, that one Archbishop should be primate ouer all, why is it not as meete that for the keeping of the whole vniuersall Church, there should be one Archbishop or Bysshop ouer all, and the like necessitie of the byshop ouer all Christendome, as of the byshop of all England, vniuersall peraduenture it be more necessary, that there should be one byshop ouer the vniuersall Church, than ouer the Church of England, for as much as it is more necessarie, that peace should be kept, and schismes be auoyded in the vniuersall Church than in the particular church of England.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

*The reasons  
serue not for  
the Pope that  
serue for the  
Archbishop.  
Caluine.*

*M. Nowell.  
lib. 3. fol. 321.*

This is the reason of the Papistes for the Popes supremacie, and you haue borrowed it from them. Wherefore I will answere you as M. Caluine answereth them in his Institutions Cap. 8. Sect. 95. That which is profitable in one nation, cannot by any reason be extended to the whole worlde, for there is great difference betwixt the whole world and one nation. And a little after, it is euen as though a man should affirme, that the whole world may be gouerned by one King, bycause one felde or towne hath but one ruler or Mayster. And agayne, that which is of force among fewe, may not by and by be drawne to the whole worlde, to the gouernment whereof no one man is sufficient. M. Nowell also answereth Dozman (making the same reason that you doe) in these wordes. To your third question (sayeth he speaking to Dozman) the lewdest of all why the same proportion may not be kepte betweene the Pope and the reste of the Bishops of Christendome, that is betweene the Archbishop and the other Bishops of the prouince? I answere, you might as well aske, why the same proportion may not be kepte betweene one Emperour of all the worlde, and all the Princes of the worlde to be vnder him, that is betweene the King of one realme and his Lordes vnder him. The reason that the same proportion can not be kept, is first, bycause there is no lyke proportion at all betweene the abilitie of mans witte and power (being but weake) to gouerne one prouince, and his abilitie to gouerne the whole Church, and all Churches throughout the worlde, which no one man can haue knowledge of, much lesse can haue abilitie to rule them. Secondly you can bring no such proportion of antiquitie for your Pope to be chiefe head of the whole Church, as is to be shewed for Archbishops to be the chiefe Bishops in their owne prouinces, &c. Hitherto M. Nowell, I marueyle that you will ioyne with the Papistes in so grosse a reason.

*Chap. 3. the. 32. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 82 Sect. 1.

If you say that the Archbishop of England, hath his authoritie graunted of the Prince, the Pope of Rome will say that Constantine or Phocas which was Emperour of al Christendome, did graunt him his authoritie ouer all Churches. But you will say that is a lie, but the Pope will set as good a face, and make as great a shew therein, as you do in diuerse poyntes here. But admit it to be, yet I say further, that it may come to passe, and it hath bene, that there may be one Christian



lian Cesar ouer all the realmes which haue Churches. What if he then will giue that authoritie to one ouer all, that one king graunteth in his lande, may any man accept and take at his handes such authoritie? and if it be not lawfull for him to take that authoritie, tell me what fault you can finde in him which may not be founde in them?

### Jo. Whitgiste.

The Pope doth challenge muche of his temporalties from Constantinus and Phocas: but his supremacie and iurisdiction ouer all Churches he claymeth from Peter, and from Christe: wherein his clayme is moze intollerable being most false, and his iurisdiction moze vsurped beyng wrongfully challenged: you erre therefore in that poynt greatly. The Archbishop doth exercise his iurisdiction vnder the Prince, and by the Princes authoritie. For the Prince hauing the supreme government of the realme, in all causes, and ouer all persons, as he doth exercise the one by the Lorde Chancelloz, so doth the other by the Archbishops.

Your supposition of one Cesar ouer all realmes that haue Churches is but supposed, and therfore of no weight: but admit it were true, yet is there not the like reason for one Archbishop to be ouer all those Churches, and ouer one prouince: the reasons I haue alleaged before out of M. Caluine, & other, neither is there any man not wilfully blinded, or papistically affected, that seeth not what great diuersitie there is betwixt one prouince and many kingdomes: the government of the one, and the government of the other. *Si vnus duodecim hominibus praesuit, an propterea sequetur vnum de bere centum millibus hominum praefici?* If one was ouer twelue men, shall it therefore follow, that one may be appoynted ouer an hundred thousand men? Sayth M. Caluine.

Inst. cap. 8.

### Chap. 3. the. 33. Division.

T. C. Pag. 82. Sect. 2.

It will be sayd that no one is able to do the office of a Bishop, vnto all the whole Church, neither is there any one able to do the office of a bishop to the whole Church of England, for when those which haue bene most excellent in knowledge and wisdom, and most ready and quick, in doing and dispatching matters, being alwayes present, haue founde ynough to do to rule and gouerne one seuerall congregation: what is he which absent, is able to discharge his duetie toward so many thousand churches? And if you take exception, that although they be absent, yet they may do by vnder ministers, as Archdeacons, Chancellors, Officials, Commissaries, and such other kinde of people, what do you else say, than the Pope, which sayeth, that by his Cardinall, & Archbishops, and Legates, and other such lyke, he doth all things: For with their handes he ruleth all, and by their feet he is present euery where, and with their eyes he seeth what is done in all places. Let them take heede therfore, least if they haue a common defense with the Pope, that they be not also ioynd nearer with him in the cause, than peraduenture they be aware of. (a) Truly it is agaynst my will, that I am contrayned to make such comparisons, not that I thinke there is so great diuersitie betwene the Popedom and the Archbishopsricke, but because there being great resemblance betwene them, I meane hauing regard to the bare functions, without respecting the doctrine good or bad which they vphold, that I say there being great resemblance betwene them, there is yet as I am perswaded, great difference betwene the persons that execute them. The which good opinion conceyued of them, I do most humbly beseech them by the glorie of God, by the libertie of the Church purchased by the precious blood of our sauour Christe, and by their owne saluation, that they would not deceyue, by receyving so harde, such excessive and vniust dominion ouer the Church of the liuing God.

(a) Who can be-  
leue you meane  
good sayth?

### Io. Whitgiste.

But one man may do the office of an Archbishop in one prouince, euery seuerall diocesse whereof hath a Bishop. And one man may do the office of a Bishop in one diocesse, euery seuerall parishe whereof hath a seuerall Pastoz. The Archbishop hath a generall charge ouer the prouince to see that vnitie be kept among the Bishops, and that the Bishops do their duties according to the lawes and order of the Church, or else to see them reformed according to the sayd lawes & orders, if they shall be cōplayned of to haue neglected the same. The lyke care haue the Bishops ouer the seuerall Pastozs of their diocesse, and other persons. Neyther doth their office consist in preaching onely, but in gouerning also: in the respect whereof they are ouer & aboue the rest. This office of government may be well executed in one prouince, so much  
and



and so far as by the lawes is required, and as is convenient for the state of the Church, but it could not be so ouer all Christendome.

It may be that some Pastors hauing small charges, and busie heades, may finde and procure moe matters and controuersies than eyther they be able or willing to compound: such busie Pastors there be in England: but their vniquietnesse, or lacke of abilitie to dispatch those controuersies which they themselves are the authours and causes of, doth not proue but that eyther the Archbishop or Bishop may do those things sufficiently, and well, that do apperteyne to their office and calling.

So much may they do by vnder ministers as Archdeacons, Chauncellores, &c. as by the rules of the Church are permitted vnto them, and may be convenient for the time and persons. But the office of preaching, of ordaining ministers, of suppressing heresies and schismes, with such lyke, they do not commit vnto them, but execute them themselves, the which because they cannot do throughout all Churches, as they may in one Province, therefore your reason is no reason. Moreover a Bishop of one diocese or province, may haue conference with his Archdeacons and Chauncellores, and be priuie to all and singular their doings: So cannot the Pope with his Cardinales, Archbishops, and Legates &c. dispersed thorough out whole Christendome. And therefore an Archbishop or Bishop may well gouerne a province or diocese, and vse the helpe of Archdeacons, Chauncellores &c. but so cannot the Pope doe whole Christendome, what helpe or deputies soeuer he haue.

Difference  
betwene the  
Pope and our  
Archbishops.

If agaynst your will you were constrained to make such comparisons, why do you make them when there is no cause? why do you forge that which is untrue? why do you ioyne together offices which in no poynt are like. The Pope chalengeth authoritie ouer all Christendome: so do not our Archbishops. The Pope exalteth himselfe aboue Kings and Princes: so do not our Archbishops, but with all reuerence acknowledge their subiection to the Prince. The Pope sayeth, that to be subiect vnto him, is of necessitie to saluation, so do not our Archbishops. The Pope maketh his Decrees equall to the worde of God, our Archbishops thinke nothing lesse of theirs. To be short, the Pope oppresseth and persecuteth the Gospel: they earnestly professe it, and haue suffered persecution for it. Wherefore your comparison is odious, & your riotous speech more presumptuous than becommeth a man pretending your simplicitie.

Your good opinion conceyued of them, is well vttered in your booke: what spirit hath taught you thus to dissemble? surely euen the same that hath falsified Scriptures, and wyters in your booke: that hath vttered so many proude and contemptuous speeches agaynst your superiours: that hath moued you to make contention in the Church: euen *spiritus mendax, spiritus arroganciae et superbiae*, a lying spirit, the spirit of arrogancie, and pryde, for such frutes cannot procede from any other spirit.

### Chap. 3. the. 34. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 82. Sect. 3. 4.

But Jerome sayth that this distinction of a Bishop, & a minister or elder, was not S. Marke his tyme, vnto Dionysius time, whereby M. Doctor would make vs beleue, that Marke was the author of this distinction: but that cannot be gathered by Jeromes wordes. For besides that things being ordered then by the suffrages of the ministers and Elders, it might (as it falleth out oftentimes) be done without the approbation of S. Marke: the wordes from Marke may be rather taken exclusiue, to shut out S. Marke, and the time wherein he liued, than inclusiue, to shut him in the tyme wherein this distinction rose.

Howsoeuer it be, it is certayne that S. Marke did not distinguish, and make those things diuers, which the holy ghost made all one. For then (which the Lord forbid) he should make the storie of the Gospel, which he wrote suspected.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

This is no answere to Jeromes wordes, but a dallying with them: the place is euident: he sayth, from the time of Marke the Euangelist, whom vndoubtedly he would not haue named, vnlesse the same manner had bene in his time. But be it that



that the wordes (from Marke) be taken exclusively (which no man of Iudgement will graunt) yet doth it argue a great antiquitie of this distinction, euen from the moſte pure and beſt time of the Church.

It is certayne that theſe thinges were not otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed than the holy Ghoſt had appoynted: and therefore your (for then ſc.) is an vngodly collection, and vnbefitting your perſon in any reſpect, to imagine of the glorious Goſpell written by that holy Euangelist.

### Chap. 3. the. 35. Diuiſion.

T. C. Pag. 82. Sect. 5.

Againe it is to be obſerued that Ierome ſayeth it was ſo in Alexandria, ſignifying thereby, that in other Churches it was not ſo. And in deede it may appeare in diuers places of the ancient fathers, that they confounded Prieſt and Biſhop, and rooke them for all one, as Eusebius out of Irenaeus calleth Anicete, Pius, Telephorus, Viginus, Xpius, πρεſβυτέρους κ̄ πποſύτας, Elders, and presidents. Cyprian confoundeth Prieſt and Biſhop in the Epistles before recited, ſo doth Ambroſe in the place alledged before by M. Doctor, and yet it is one thing with vs, to be a prieſt (as M. Doctor ſpeaketh) and an other thing to be a Biſhop.

An abſurde collection.

Lib. 4. 16.  
De dignitate  
ſacerdotiſ  
tali.

### Io. Whitgiſte.

This argument paſſeth of all that euer I heard, Ierome ſayth, there was a Biſhop in Alexandria aboue the other miniſters, from S. Markes time, therefore there was no Biſhop in any place elſe. God is the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob. Ergo, he is no bodies God elſe: he is the God of the Jewes, Ergo, not of the Gentiles. There be Biſhops in England, Ergo, there are none in any other place. No marueyle it is, though you riot in your Logike, when ſuch ſtuffe is ſet abroad. Like vnto this are the other: Eusebius out of Irenaeus, calleth Anicete, Pius, Telephorus, &c. elders, and presidents, and Cyprian confoundeth Prieſt, and Biſhop, and ſo doth Ambroſe, Ergo, euery Prieſt is ſuch a Biſhop as Ierome here ſpeaketh of. Theſe be pretie argumentes.

The paſſing  
Logike of  
T. C.

Euery Biſhop is a Prieſt, but euery Prieſt hath not the name and title of a Biſhop, in that meaning that Ierome in this place taketh the name of a Biſhop. For his wordes be theſe: *Nam Alexandria a Marco Euangelista vsque ad Heraclum &c.* At Alexandria from Marke the Euangelist, vntill Heracla and Dionysius Biſhops, the miniſters alwayes choſe one from among themſelves, and placing him in a higher degree of dignitie, called him a Biſhop: as if an armie ſhould make a Caprayne, &c. Neyther ſhall you finde this worde (*Episcopus*) commonly vſed, but for that Prieſt that is in degre ouer and aboue the reſt, notwithstanding (*Episcopus*) be oftentimes called *Presbyter*, becauſe *Presbyter* is the moze generall name: ſo that M. Doctor ſayth truely, that it is with vs one thing to be a Biſhop, an other thing to be a prieſt, becauſe euery Biſhop is a Prieſt, but euery Prieſt is not a Biſhop.

Difference  
betwixt bꝑ  
ſhop & prieſt.  
Hieronymus  
ad Euagrium.

I know theſe names be confounded in the Scriptures, but I ſpeake according to the manner and cuſtome of the Church, euen ſince the Apoſtles time. And this is not onely my opinion, but other learned men affirme it in ſyke manner: as M. Bucer in his booke *De regno Chriſti*, and vpon the 4. Ephes. Whole wordes I haue before reherſed. Thus you ſee that M. Doctors diſtinction is with better authoritie confirmed, than you haue any to ouerthrow it.

### Chap. 3. the. 36. Diuiſion.

T. C. Pag. 82. Sect. vi.

Jeruſalem was a famous Church, ſo was Rome as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, ſo was Antioche and others, where alſo were great contentions, both in doctrine and otherwiſe, and yet for auoyding of contention & ſchiſme there, there was no (\*) one that was ruler of the reſt. Therefore we ought rather to follow theſe Churches beynig many, in beynig vs to the inſtitution of the Apoſtles, than Alexandria beynig but one Church and departing from that inſtitution, & if there had bene any one ſet ouer al the reſt in other places, it would haue made much for the diſtinction that Ierome had recited.

(\*) An vntuſh.

Io. VVhitgiſte.

Rom. 1.



Jo. Whitgifte.

Bishops at  
Jerusalem in  
the Apostles  
time.

Eusebius, lib.  
2. cap. 23.

Lib. 2. Ca. 1.

Idem.

Other bi-  
shops in the  
apostles time.  
Eus. Li. 3. cap.  
2. & 4.

James was byshop of Jerusalem, and in authoritie above all other ministers there. Eusebius so reporteth of him out of Egesippus, who lived immediately after the Apostles time, his wordes out of Egesippus be these: *Ecclesiam gubernandam post Apostolos Iacobus frater Domini accepit*: James the brother of the Lorde had the government of the Church after the Apostles, Lib. 2. Cap. 23. And in the beginning of that chapter Eusebius speaking of this James sayeth thus, *Cui Hierosolymis ab Apostolis Episcopalis sedes concredita fuerat*: to whom the Byshops seat at Jerusalem was committed by the Apostles. In the first chapter of that booke: he sayeth out of Clement, that Peter and John after the ascension of Christe. *Constituerunt Iacobum Iustum Hierosolymorum Episcopum*, did appoynt James the Iust, Bishop of Hierusalem. The same thing do all Ecclesiasticall histories and wyriters (that make any mention of this matter) affirme of him. After James, was Simeon the sonne of Cleophas appoynted Byshop there, as the same Eusebius reporteth, lib. 3. cap. 11. and lib. 4. cap. 22. Wherefore you are greatly deceived in saying that there was no one o-  
uer the rest at Jerusalem: although if there had bene none, yet would it not have serued your turne, bicause the Apostles as yet beyng alive, this office of Byshops was lesse needefull: But it is certayne that they placed Byshops in all great and famous Churches, after they had planted them, as Zuinglius sayeth in his Ecclesiastes: and auncient authoys do testifie.

Linus was Byshop of Rome as Eusebius witnesseth Lib. 3. cap. 2. and he lived in the Apostles time. Timothie byshop at Ephesus, Titus at Creta, Dyonisius Areopagita at Athens &c. as he also wyrteth in the same booke cap. 4. But this thing is so manifest and so well knowne to all that read Ecclesiasticall histories, that I am sure they will maruaile at your grosse oversight in denying the same. Wherefore Jeromes distinction standeth.

### Chap. 3. the 37. Division.

T. C. Pag. 83. Lin. 2.

Jerome spea-  
keth not in that  
place of an Arch-  
deacon, but of a  
deacon.

But against this distinction of S. Jerome, I will vse no other reason than that which Jerome vseth in the same epistle to Euagrius. Jerome in that Epistle taketh by very sharply the Archdeacon that he preferred himselfe before the Elder, and the reason is, because by the Scripture the Deacon is inferior vnto the Elder. Now therefore Jerome himselfe confessing that by the scripture, a Bishop and an Elder are equall, by Jeromes owne reason, the byshop is to be sharply reprehended, because he lifteth himselfe above the Elder.

Io. Whitgifte.

Without doubt you forget your selfe, else would you not reason in this manner: The Archdeacon is inferior to the elder, therefore the byshop is not superior to the elder in any respect: I see no sequelle in this reason, neither yet any likelyhode. Besides that, you vntruely report of Hierome, for hee speaketh of a Deacon, and not of an Archdeacon. But it is your manner so to deale: suerly I marueyle that you will vtter so manifest vntruthes. But if Hierome should so saye, yet is your argument nothing: for though an Archdeacon be inferior to a minister (whome you call Elder) yet doth not that proue but that there maye bee degrees among the ministers, and that the chiefe of them in authoritie, may be called a Bishop, as Hierome also in that Epistle declareth. And although Hierome confesse that by the scripture, *Presbyter* and *Episcopus* is all one, (as in deede they be *quoad ministerium*.) yet doth hee acknowledge a superioritie of the Bishop before the minister. For besides these places that I haue allcaged in my Answer to the Admonition, he saith thus in the same Epistle. *Presbyter & Episcopus aliud aetatis, aliud dignitatis est nomen*, the one is a name of age, and the other of dignitie. And a litle after: *In Episcopo & Presbyter continetur*, the Elder or minister is conteyned in the Bishop. Wherefore no doubt this is Jeromes minde, that a Bishop in degree and dignitie is above the minister, though he be one & the selfe same with him in the office of

Ad Euagr.



of ministring the word and sacraments: and therfore he sayth, *presbyter continetur in episcopo*: bicause euerie Bishop is *presbyter*, but euerie *presbyter* is not Bishop.

### Chap. 3. the. 38. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 83. Lin. 8.

But what helpeth it you that there was a Bishop of Alexandria, which was an Archbishop, or what auantageth it you, that there was one chief, called a Bishop in euerie severall congregation, which wold proue that there ought to be one Bishop chief ouer a thousand congregations? What coulde haue bin brought more strong to pull downe the Archbishop out of his throne, then that which Ierome saith there, when he affirmeth that the Bishop of the obscurest village or hamlet, hath as great authoritie and dignitie as the Bishop of Rome. Erasmus did see this, and sayd *επισκοπος*, that is, *rector*, that Ierome spake that of the Bishops of his tyme, but if he had seene howe the Metropolitans of our age excell other Bishops, he woulde haue spoken otherwise. And what coulde haue ben more fit to haue confuted the large dominion and superiortie of our realme, than that that Ierome sayeth, when he appointeth the Bishops sea in an vplandish town, or in a poore village or hamlet, (a) declaring thereby that in euerie town there was a Bishop, and that the Bishop that he speaketh of, differeth nothing at all from an elder, but that the Bishop had the ordeyning of ministers, wherupon it doth appere (which I promised to shew) that by this place of Ierome, there is neither name of Archbishop, nor so much as the shadowe of his authoritie, and that the Bishoppes whiche are now, haue besides the name, no similitude almoste with the Bishops that were in Ieromes tyme. As for his reason ad *Luciferanos*, it is the same which he hath ad *Euagr.* and to *Citus*, and is already answered.

(?) But in the same place speaking in earnest he affirmeth as muche as I require.

(a) Vtrue.

### Io. Whitgiste.

If this be true that you say, why haue you then hitherto sought so to deface this worthe wryter? Why did you not in the beginning tell vs, that this saying of Ierome made nothing against you, bicause he only speaketh of Pastors in severall parishes, and not of one to haue charge and gouernment ouer one whole dioces? But full well knew you the vanitie of this your fauour, & how vnylike it is to stande with Ieromes words: For in his commentaries vpon the epistle to Titus, he sayth that *Postquam nusquis eos quos baptizauerat*. &c. After that euerie one did thinke those to be his, & not Christes, whom he had baptized, it was decreed throughout the whole world, that one of the ministers being chosen should be set ouer the rest, vnto whome the whole care of the church should apperteyn, and the seeds of schismes be taken away. Do you thinke that this is ment of the Pastor of euerie towne? To what purpose shoulde Ierome saye so? For the pastor of euerie severall towne, had from the beginning his authoritie ouer his flocke, without any such constitution. For euer, there are not in euerie severall congregation many pastors or priests, ouer whom one shold be placed as chief. But Ierome speaketh of a Bishop that must gouerne the other Priests, and procure that vnitie be kept among them, and therfore his iurisdiction must of necessitie extend to many parishes, bicause it is ouer many pastors. He sayth lyke wise, that the care of the whole was committed vnto him. In his epistle ad *Euagrium*, he uttereth his meanyng as plainly, For he sayeth, That the Priests did choose one among themselves, whome they placing in a higher degree called a Bishop: Wherby it appeareth that he had authoritie ouer many Pastors, and therfore ouer many congregations, for you will not denie but that euerie *presbyter*, that is minister of the worde had his severall flocke. This he declareth more evidently by the examples there used, of souldiers choosing their Captain, for though the Captain before was a common souldiour, yet now being thus preferred, he ruleth and gouerneth the reste of the souldiers, euen so the Bishop being before a minister equall with other, yet being chosen to that degree, he is their guide and gouernour, a gouernour I say of those that did elect him, that is of Priests or ministers, & therfore of diuers congregations.

Ieromes bishop differeth from an elder in dignitie and rule.

Hier in Tit. 1.

Idem ad Euagr.

This dothe yet more evidently appeare in these wordes of the same Epistle, That one was afterwarde chosen to rule the reste, it was a remedie against schismes, least euerie one drawing to himselfe the Church, shoulde breake the same. And in his booke *contra Luciferanos*, he sayeth that except the chief authoritie were giuen to one, not es- *Idem contra sent schismata quot sacerdotes*, there would be as many schismes as priests. By which places *Lucifer.*

It is,

It is



it is certain that Jeromes meaning is to haue some one in a prouince or dioces ouer the rest (propely called a Bishop) who should haue chief authoritie, least euery man in his owne seuerall parish being permitted to do what he list, might in the end syll the Church with schismes, *ut tot essent schismata quot sacerdotes*. And surely it is vnpossible to expounde Jerome other wise.

*Micro. ad Rusticum.*

But you aske me, what this helpeth for the Archbishop. &c. very much. For if it be so necessarie to haue one Bishop ouer diuers Priests in euery seuerall dioces, for the auoyding of schisme and contention, it is also necessarie in euery prouince to haue an archbishop for the direction of diuers Bishops, & the auoyding of schisme amog them. And therefore sayth Jerome again in his epistle *ad Rusticum monachum*, euery ecclesiasticall order is subiect to hir gouernours.

*Metropolitanes &c. in Jerome his tyme.*

You aske what could haue ben brought more strong to pull downe the Archbishop out of his throne, than that which Jerom sayth there, when he affirmeth that the bishop of the obscurest village or hamlet, hath as gret authority & dignitie as the bishop of Rome. I answer, that this nothing at al derogateth fro the Archbishop. For it is not denied, but that euery bishop, & euery minister are equal *quoad ministerium*, but not *quoad ordinem & politiam*: & this is that which Jerome saith, *eiusdem sunt meriti & sacerdotij*, they be of the same merite and priesthood. It is their ministerie & office in preaching the word, & administering y sacraments, is al one. And their authoritie also toward such as were vnder their iurisdiction: but he doth not say, y one Bishop hath not more ample & large iurisdiction than the other, for the contrarie of that is manifest. And in S. Jeroms tyme there wer Metropolitanes, Archbishops. &c. as you may read in the defense of the Apol. edit. 2. pag. 121.

*Erasmus.*

These obscure townes doe derogate nothing from the authoritie of a bishop: for we see it oftentimes come to passe, y the Bishops seate is but in obscure townes, as it is in diuers places of England: & yet is the bishops iurisdiction in his dioces no whit the lesse. If we respect the places, Canterburie is far inferiour to London. And therefore Jeroms meaning is, y the place neither addeth any thing, or taketh any thing away from the worthinesse, authoritie, and office of a Bishop. Wheresoever a Bishop is in citie or in towne, he is of the same authoritie and worthinesse.

Erasmus in his Scholies vpon that epistle of Hierome hath these wordes: *Certe Metropolitanus habet aliquid dignitatis &c.* Surely the Metropolitan hath some dignitie & iurisdiction aboue the other bishops, therefore that he here maketh the Bishops of base cities equal with the rest, it is to be referred vnto the deacons, which in some places were preferred before the ministers, whom he doth in a maner make equall with Bishops. And in an other place he sayeth, that the ministers, succede into the place of the Apostles, the Byshop into the place of Christ. In this thing therefore are Byshoppes and ministers equall, that wheresoever they are, they are to be preferred before Deacons. Here Erasmus speaketh in good earnest howsoever he iested before. He sheweth that these obscure villages or hamlets (as you terme them) were cities, and no doubt, as good as eyther Ely, or Peterborough: but in the respect of Rome, contemptible, as these be in respect of London. And yet the Bishops of euery one of them *eiusdem meriti & sacerdotij*, of the same merite, priesthood & authoritie. Erasmus also here telleth in what respect he hath made this comparison betwixt Bishops and other ministers, in the respect of Deacons. For both Bishops & Priests are to be preferred equally before Deacons, because of their ministerie & office, which is aboue the office of a Deacon. *Nam ex Diacono ordinatur presbyter*. For a minister or priest is made of a Deacon, not *ex presbytero diaconus*, the Deacon of the priest. It is most euident (neither can it be so vnknown vnto you) y Jerome in al these places meaneth to haue one bishop gouernour of many priests. And therefore this interpretation of yours is without all probabilitie, or shadow of truth, that Jeromes meaning is to haue suche a Bishop in euery towne.

*The Gift of T. C. in his answer to Hierom.*

I trust the reader will note with what vaine reasons you first went about to shake the credit of this wypter: Then, how without reason, you toke vpon you to answer his reasons: and now in the ende, how vnpossible an interpretation you feine of his wordes: which if he well consider, he shall note in you great audacitie, smal iudgement, and no truthe. For the autho: is of greate learning and worthynesse, his reasons strong,



strong, and his wordes playne and euident for the authoritie of the Bishop ouer the rest of the Cleargie.

### Chap. 3. the 3. 9. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 71. Sect. 2. 3.

Chrysostome writing vpon the twentieth of Marheue sayth, that Chrysostome, the rebellious nature of man caused these distinctions of degrees, that one should be an Apostle, an other a Bishop, an other a minister, an other a lay man. And that vlesse there were suche distinctions of persones, there could be no discipline.

And vpon the. 13. to the Romaines he sayth, that because equalitie engedreth strife & contention, therefore superioritie and degrees of persons were appoynted.

T. C. Page. 83. Sect. 1.

What is that to the purpose, that Chrysostome sayth, there must be degrees? who denieth that there are degrees of functions? we confesse there is, and ought to be a degree of pastors, an other of Doctors, the third of those which are called Elders, the fourth of Deacons. And wher he saith, there should be one degree of Bishop, an other of a minister, another of the lay man, (\*) what proueth that for the office of an Archbishop, whiche is your purpose to shew? how often times must you be called ad Rhombum? and that he meaneth nothing lesse, than to make any such difference betwene a bishop, and a minister, as is with vs, whiche you would sayne make your reader beleue, I will send you to Chrysostome, vpon the third chapter. 1. Epistle to Timothy, wher he saith: the office of a bishop differeth little or nothing from an Elder, and a little after, that a bishop differeth nothing from an Elder or minister, but by the ordination only. Still Mr. Doctor goeth forward in killing a dead man, that is in confusing that whiche all men condemne, and prouing that whiche no man denieth, that there must be superioritie amongst men, and that equalitie of all men alike confoundeth all, and ouerthroweth all.

(\*) It proueth that there are degrees among ministers of the word, which you denie.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Chrysostome in that place maketh degrees in the ministerie, and placeth the Bishop in degree aboue the minister, whiche vtterly ouerthroweth your equalitie. As for your distinction of degrees it hath a small grounde in the scripture to warrant it, as can be, and in deed it is but your owne inuention. For the Pastor, doctor, and elder in office are all one, as the most & best writers thinke. Howsoeuer it is, you haue them not thus distinguished in the scripture, that the Pastor should be first, the Doctor next, the Elder third, & the deacon last: and it is strange that you will inuent a new order of ministers, without the expresse warrant of Gods worde, misliking the same so much in other.

This superioritie that Chrysostome talketh of, ouerthroweth that part of the Admonition that I confute, for they do not only disallow the office of the Archbishop, but of the Bishop also, & would haue a mere equalitie among the ministers: this I reuel, as well as the other: and indeede the ouerthrow of this, is the ouerthrow of the other. And therefore this place of Chrysostome serueth my turne very well, and aptly.

Chrysostom vpon that. 3. chapter of the first to Timothy, giueth as much superioritie to the Bishop as I doe: and maketh asmuch difference betwixt him and the minister: for I graunt that *quoad ministerium*, they be all one, but y there be degrees of dignitie, and so sayth Chrysostom, that there is little difference betwixt a Bishop and a priest, but that a Bishop hath authoritie to ordaine priests, and all other things that the Bishop may do, the priest also may do, that excepted: so that Chrysostome here speaketh onely of the ministerie of the Bishop, not of his authoritie, in the ecclesiastical government, for of that he spake in the place before alledged, where he sayth that there is one degree of the Bishop, and other of the minister. &c. which distinction of degrees was long before Chrysostomes time, as I haue declared.

In: 20. Math.

To proue these degrees of superioritie among ministers, is to proue y which both the Admonition, & you denie, & which is the grounde of this controuerisie: & therefore

I haue

I haue



I haue not herein gone about to kill a dead man except you count the ground of your assertion dead.

If there must be superiortie amongst men, and that equalitie of all men alpe confoundeth all, and ouerthroweth (as you confesse, and is most true) then equalitie of ministers confoundeth all among them: and therefore it is requisite, that in that state also there be superiours to auoyde confusion: whiche being graunted, what haue you to saye, eyther against Archbishops or Bishops, except you haue some newe deuise of your owne: which is not vnylike, bicause nothing doth please you but your owne.

### Chap. 3. the. 40. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 83. Sect. 2.

This is a notable argument, there must be some superiour amongst men, ergo one minister must be superiour to an other: againe ther must be in ecclesiastical functions some degrees, ergo ther must be an archbishop ouer the whole prouince, or a Bishop ouer the whole diocess. And albeit M. Doctor taketh great paine to proue the which no man denieth, yet he doth it so euilsauoredly, and so vnwisely, as that if a man had no better proofes than he bringeth, the degrees of ecclesiasticall functions might fall to the ground. For here to proue the degrees of the ecclesiastical functions he bringeth in that, that Chrysostome sayth there must be magistrate and subiecte, him that commaundeth and him that obeyeth.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Superiortie  
conuenient a-  
mong mini-  
sters.

Chrysost.

The argument is good, & soloweth verie wel. For as superiortie & government is necessarie in al other states & degrees of men, so is it in the ministerie also: for ministers be not angels, nor they are not of the perfection, yet they may safely be left in their own absolute government. That which Chrysostom in this place speaketh of government in the ciuil state, the same doth he speak in the. 13. to the Hebrewes of the ecclesiastical in lyke maner: for expounding these words, *Parete bis qui presunt vobis.* &c. whiche is vnderstood of Bishops, he sayth, that there be three evils which ouerthrow the church, & all other societies. The first wherof is, to haue no superiour, none to rule: and this he proueth by diuers examples, as of a Quier without a Chaunter, an armie of souldiours without a captaine, a ship without a maister, a flocke of sheepe without a sheperheard. Now if superiortie be so needfull among the clergie, then why may not one Bishop be ouer one diocesse, & one archbishop ouer one prouince? Wherefore I conclude thus: It is necessary yet among the clergie some should be in authoritie ouer the rest, and therefore there may be both Archbishops & Bishops: but I know you wil answer yet there may be government without these degrees: then say I vnto you againe, stand not so much in your owne conceit, this order is most auncient in the Church, it is confirmed by the best and noblest Councils, it is allowed by the best learned fathers, it hath the pattern from the practise of the Apostles (all whiche hath bin shewed before) it is most meet for this state and kingdome: and therefore be not wilful in a new deuise, the triall wherof was neuer as yet, the maner wherof is vnknewen to your selfe, and the end no doubt mere confusion. Your welauoured and fit speeches together with your accustomed cōtempt, I omit here, as I doe in other places.

### Chap. 3. the. 41. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 83. Sect. 3.

The moste therfore that he can conclude of this, for the ministerie, is that there must be minister that shall rule, and people that shall be obedient, and hereby he can not proue, that ther should be any degrees amongst the ministers and ecclesiasticall gouernours, vnlesse he say per aduenture, that as there are vnder magistrates, and a kyng aboue them all, so there should be vnder ministers, and one minister aboue all. \* But he must remember that it is not necessary in a common society, that there should be one ouer all: for that there are other good common wealthes, wherin many haue lyke power and authoritie. And further if bicause there is one kyng in a lande aboue all, he wil conclude there should be one Archbishop ouer all. I say as I haue sayd, that it is not against any word of God, which I know (although it be inconuenient) but that there may be one Cesar ouer all the worlde, and yet I thinke M. Doctor wil not say, that there maye be one Archbisshop ouer all the worlde.

Note this suspitious speache of the kinde of government.



*Io. Whitgiste.*

Yes, I wil cōclude that ther ought to be degrees of superiortie amōg & ministers also, bicause they labour of imperfections aswel as other mē do, & especialy of pride, arrogancie vainglorie, which ingender schismes, heresies, contentions, as the exam- ples of all times and ages euen from the Apostles to this time declare.

I am perswaded & the externall government of the church vnder a christia Papie- strate, must be according to the kinde & forme of the government v̄sed in the cōmon wealth, else how can you make the Prince supreme gouernour of all states & causes ecclesiasticall? will you so deuide the government of & Church from the government of the cōmon wealth, that the one being a monarchie, the other must be a Democra- tie, or an Aristocratie: this were to deuide one realme into two, and to spoyle the Prince of the one halfe of hir iurisdiction and authoritie. If you will therefore haue the Quene of Englande rule as Monarche ouer all hir dominions, then muste you also giue her leaue to vse one kinde and forme of government, in all and euery parte of the same: and so to gouerne the Church in Ecclesiasticall affaires, as she doth the common wealth in ciuile.

But you say, that I must remember that it is not necessarie in a common welth, that there should be one ouer all: & I say, that you must remember that in this cōmon wealth it is necessarie, & one should be ouer al, except you wil trāsform aswel & state of & kingdom as you would of & church: whole is not vnlike to be your meaning, for not long after you adde that the common wealth must be framed according to & church, as the hangings to the house, & the gouernmēt therof & her government, &c. & not contrarie: meaning & the gouernmēt of the cōmon wealth, ought not to be monarchical, but either democratical, or Aristo- cratical, bicause (as you say) the government of the Church ought to be such. What this in time wil breed in this common wealth, especially when it cometh to the vnderstanding of the people, who naturally are so desirous of innouations, I referre it to the iudgement of those that can and ought best to consider it.

The vnlikelinesse that is betwixt one Cesar being ouer all the world, & of one archbishop being ouer all the world. I haue shewed befoze, they be most vnlike, & yet this is but a friuolous & vaine supposition, & M. Calvin in his *Inst. cap. 8. sect. 96.* doth say, that it is *absurdissimum*, most absurd.

*Chap. 3. the 42. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 71. Sect. 4.

It is not to be denied but that ther is an equalitie of al ministers of gods word, *quoad ministeriū*, touching the ministerie, for they haue all like power to preach the word, to minister the sacraments, that is to say, the word preached, or the sacraments ministred, is as effectual in one (in respect of the ministerie) as it is in an other. But *quoad ordinem & politi- am*, touching order & gouernment, ther always hath bin & must be de- grees and superiortie among them. For the church of God is not a cōfused congregation, but ruled & directed aswel by discipline & polie- cie in matters of regimēt, as by the word of God in matters of faith.

T. C. Pag. 84. Sect. 1. 2.

Howe M. Doctor cometh to his olde hole, where he would sayn hide himself, and with him all the ambition, tyrannie, & excelle of authoritie which is ioyned with these functions of Archebishop and bishop, as they are now v̄sed: & this his hole is, that al the ministers are equall with bishops & Archbishops, as touching the ministerie of the word & sacramentes, but not as touching policie & gouernment. The Papists vse the very self same (a) distinction for the maintenance of the Popes tyrannie and ambition, and other their hierarchie.

M. Doctor hath put out the mark & concealed the name of the Papists, & so with a little change of wordes, as it were with certayn newe colours he would deceyue vs. For the Papistes saye, that euery s̄ John or hedge Priest hath as greates authoritie to sacrifice, and offer for the quicke and the deade, and to minister the Sacramentes, as the Pope of Rome hath, but for go- uernment, and for order, the Bishoppe is aboue a Priest, the Archebishoppe aboue a bishop, and the Pope aboue them all. But I haue (b) declared befoze out of the Scriptures, howe bayne

Why there ought to be superiortie among minis- ters as well as other.

The govern- mence of the church in a Christian cōmon wealth oughte to bee according to the forme that in v̄sed.

T. C. Spea- keth suspici- ously of go- uernment.

Equalitie a- mong mini- sters touching ministerie.

(a) This distin- tion is allowed of those that be farre from Pa- pistris.

(b) You haue no- neyther can you.



(c) But you can  
ceale that which  
followeth.

The distinc-  
tion (quoad  
ministerium,  
& quoad or-  
dinem) iusti-  
fied.  
Caluine  
Beza  
Lib. con. cap. 7  
art. 12.

Further, 72.  
division of this  
chapter.

Hier. ad Tit. 1.

Caluine allo-  
weth superi-  
oritie.

a distinction it is: and it appeareth out of Cyprian, that as all the Bishops were equall one to another, so he sayth that to euery one was giuen a portion of the Lords flock, not only to feed with the worde and sacraments, but to rule and gouerne, not as they which shal make any account vnto an archbishop, or be subgey of him, but as they which can not be iudged of any but of God. And Hierome vpon Titus sayth, that the elder or minister (c) did gouerne and rule in common with the Bishops, the Church wherof he was elder or minister.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The distinction is good and true, allowed of the best writers, though the Papists wrongfully applie it. M. Caluine vpon the 2. Cor. 10. bath the same distinction. *Quamuis (sayth he) commune sit omnibus verbi ministris idemq; officium, sunt tamen honoris gradus*: Although there is one office comon to al the ministers of the word, yet are there degrees of honour. M. Beza likewise lib. conf. cap. 7. sayth thus: that pastors in proces of time wer distinct into Metropolitans, Bishops, and those we now call curates, it was not in the respect of the ministerie of the worde, but rather in respecte of iurisdiction and discipline. Therefore concerning the office of preaching the vvorde and administering the Sacramentes, there is no difference betwixt Archbishops, Bishops, and curates. &c. The same distinction doth Hemingius vse in his *Enchiridion*, as shall be seene hereafter. What say you now? is this a starting hole, or rather a true distinction, allowed by such as are far fro Papistrie? except you wil accuse M. Caluine and Beza for Papists. You are not able to improve this distinction with all the learning you boast of: and bitternesse of words will not carie away the matter.

You haue declared nothing tending to the improving of this distinction, & the wordes both of Cyprian and of Hierome do manifestly confirme it: for they both would haue one chief among the ministers to gouerne the rest, as it is said before. You deale corruptly in reciting Hieromes wordes: for you haue left out his purpose and meaning, I wil set them down as they be in deede. *Id est ergo presbyter, &c.* VWherefore the minister and bishop are al one, and before that through the instinct of the deuil, there were diuisions in religion, and that it was sayd among the people, I hold of Paule, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, the churches were ruled in comon by the coucell of the ministers: But after that euery one accompted those whom he baptized to be his, and not Christes, it was decreed thorowout the whole world, that one being chosen from among the ministers should be placed ouer the rest, to whom the whole care of the church should appertein, and the seedes of schismes be taken away. Will you not leave off to deale thus guilefully with your Reader? haue you no care to deale plainly and simply? Hierome in that place verifieth this distinction, and sheweth that it was for order & policie, that among the ministers there was one bishop appointed, *ad quem omnis ecclesie cura pertineret, & schismatici semina tolleretur*. And what can be spoken more directly to the purpose? But one thing here I note, that you wold be controlled of none but of God, that is, you wold be exempted from all authoritie of man, euen as the Pope himselfe is.

### Chap. 3. the. 43. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 72. Lin. 4.

And therfore wel sayth M. Caluine, in his *Institutions* cap. 8. that the twelue Apostles had one among them to gouerne the rest, it was no maruel: for nature requireth it, and the disposition of man wil so haue it, that in euery companie (although they be al equal in power) yet that there be one as gouernour, by whom the rest may be directed: there is no Courte without a Consul, no Senate without a Pretor, no Colledge without a Presidente, no societie without a maister. Hæc Caluine.

T. C. Page. 84. Sect. 3.

After followeth M. Caluine, a great patron forsooth, of the Archbishop, or of this kinde of bishop, which is vsed amongst vs here in England. And here to passe ouer your strange citations & quotations which you make, to put your answer to pain, sending him sometimes to Musculus common places for one sentence, to Augustins works, to Chrysostoms works, to Cyril, to I. Fore, & here sending



sending him to y. 8. chapter of y. Institutions(\*) as though you had neuer red Caluins institutions, but tooke the sentence of some body else, withoute any examination, whereby it seemeth that you were loth, that euer any man should answer your booke, letting I say at this passe: what maketh this eyther to proue, that there should be one Archbysshop ouer all the ministers in the prouince, or one Bysshop ouer all in the diocesse, that amongst twelue that were gathered together into one place, there was one which ruled the action for which they mette.

(\*) As though you knowe not, that there are diuers editions of his Institutions.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

This is to be obserued throughout your whole booke, as I haue noted in other places, that when any authoritie is alleadged that pincheth you, then you fall to cawling by and by. I haue no where referred you to Iustinians code, to Gratians decrees, to Augustines works, to diuers counsels, to Theodorete, to the centuries, &c. Without noting eyther booke, Chapter, distinction, number, Canon, or such like, as you vsually deale with me: and yet these be farre more tedious to reade ouer, than is the 8. Chap. of Caluines Institutions. I do not remember that I referred you to Augustine, Chrysostome, or any other writers, for any matter in controuersie (Cyrill, Moseulus, and M. Foxe onely in one place excepted) but I quoted the places, as particularly as I could. And why will you then so vntuly report of me? vndoubtedly I neuer red a booke for the quantitie of it, so pestered with slanderous reportes, false accusations, and contentious deriding speeches, as this your booke is. But let it go.

I practis wor thy the noting

This booke of institutions which is distinguished into Chapters and not into booke, I red and noted thorough before you (as it shoulde seeme) knew whether there were any such booke or no, and because I haue laboured in it, noted it, and am well acquainted with it, therefore I vse it, and follow it, and so will I do still: Perther are you ignorant I am sure, that there be sundry editions of these institutions: although you seeme to dissemble the matter in this place, I mighte say of purpose (for you haue answered after your manner places before, out of the same booke quoted in like manner) but let it be of ignorance, you take occasion by it, to offer your cynicall rhetorike, but to your owne shame.

Diuers editions of Caluines institutions.

The place alleadged maketh much for my purpose, for it proueth superiortie to haue bin among the Apostles, and therefore that it may be among ministers, which you denie, and I affirme: which also being graunted (as it cannot be denyed) what soeuer I affirme eyther of Archbysshops or Bysshops, will sone be proued. But let vs heare the proue of this new deuise of yours in soluting this, and such like places: that one ruled the action, &c.

### Chap. 3. the. 44. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 84. Sect. 3.

And that it may appeare what superiortie it is, whiche is lawfull amongst the ministers, and what it is that y. Caluine speaketh of, what also the fathers and counsels do meane, when they giue more to the Bysshop of any one Church, than to the elder of the same Church, and that no man be deceiued by the name of gouernoure, or ruler ouer the rest, to fanlie any such authoritie and domination or Lordship, as we see vled in our Church, it is to be vnderstanded, that amongst the pastors, elders and deacons of euery particular Church, and in the meetings and companies of the ministers, or elders of diuers Churches(\*) there was one chosen by the voyces and suffrages of them all, or the most part, which did propound the matters that were to be handled, whether they were difficultes to be soluted, or punishments and censures to be decreed vpon those which had faulted, or whether there were elections to be made, or what other matter soeuer occasion was giuen to entreate of: the which also gathered the voyces and reasons of those which had interest to speake in such cases, which also did pronounce according to the number of the voyces whiche were giuen, which was also the mouth of the rest, to admonish, or to comfort, or to rebuke sharply, such as were to receiue admonishment, consolation, or rebuke, and which in a word did moderate that whole action, which was done for the time they were assembled. Which thing we do not denie, may be, but affirme that it is fitte and necessary to be, to the auoyding of confusion.

This is a deuise neuer hard of before.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

All this is spoken of your owne head, and a deuise withoute proue or reason as yet, and contrary to the testimonies of all histories, Counsels and fathers: affirmed by no learned writer, as it may appeare by that whiche I haue hitherto alleadged



out of the canons attributed to the Apostles, the Councel also of Nice, Antioch, Arles, Carthage, Calcedon, likewise out of Cyprian, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Athanasius, Gregory Nazian, Ambrose, Jerome, Socrates, Sozom. Theodoret, Calvin, Illicus: All which manifestly declare that the office of an Archbyschop, and iurisdiction of a Byschop is permanent, and affixed to certayne places, not moueable, nor during one action only. And vndoubtedly I maruaile what bygeth you to such absurd and vnlearned paradoxes: vnlesse it be ignorance and lacke of reading. But let vs heare your reasons.

### Chap. 3. the. 45. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 84. Sect. 3.

A needlesse  
prooffe.

For it were an absurd hearing that many should at once attempt to speake. Neyther coude it be done without great reproch, that many men beginning to speake, some should be bidden to holde their peace, which would come to passe, if there should be no order kept, nor none to appoint when euery one should speake, or not, to put them to silence, when they attempted confusedly to speake, and out of order. Whoeuer when many ministers meete together, and in so great diuersitie of gifts as the Lord hath giuen to his Church, there be found that excell in memorie, facilitie of tongue, and expedition or quicknesse to dispatch matters more than the rest: and therefore it is fitte, that the best, then, that haue that dexteritie, should especially be preferred vnto this office, that the action may be the better, and more speedily made an end of.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

Surely and your deuise of saluing it, is as absurd: for there would be as great contention at such elections, as there is confusion in the former equalitie: and the rather because there is none to direct them therein. For who shall call them together before this election be made: where shall they meete: who shall declare vnto them the cause of their meeting: or what remedie if they cannot agree of some one that hath thes dexteritie, but are drawn into diuers parts, some thinking one most meete, and some another, other some the third, &c: how if there be sects and schismes among them, as there is at this time: an hundredth inconueniences are there in this deuise of yours: and to tell you the truth, it may be vsed in places where there is no gouernment, no lawes, no forme of a common wealth, no order: But in a kingdome, in a Church vnder ciuill gouernment, in a place of order, &c. it is the very high way to subuersion and confusion.

### Chap. 3. the. 46. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 85. Sect. 1.

And what  
scripture haue  
you for this?

And if any man will call this (\*) a rule of presidentship, and him that executeth this office a president or moderator, or a gouernour, we will not strue, so that it be with these cautions, that he be not called simply gouernour, or moderator, but gouernour or moderator of that action, and for that time, and subiect to the orders that others be, and to be censured by the company of the brethren, as well as others, if he be iudged any way faultie. And that after that action ended, and meeting dissolved, he sit him downe in his old place, and set himselfe in equall estate with the rest of the ministers. Thirdly, that this gouernment or presidentship, or whatsoever like name you will giue it, be not so tyed vnto that minister, but that at the next meeting it shall be lawfull to take another, if another be thought meet.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Byschops gouernours simply, not of one action only.

These cautions are meete for such a deuise, and apt for a tumultuous company and a congregation of proude and arrogant persons, that cannot abide any superiouritie or gouernment. This I am well assured of, and it is euident both by that which is already spoken, and that which is to be said hereafter, that there can neyther patternes nor forme be found of it in any Church since the Apostles time, recorded in any writer of credite, but the cleane contrary for ecclesiasticall writers do both call Byschops gouernours simply, and manifestly also declare, that their office of gouernment was not for one action only, but during their life or at the least during their continuance in that seate or byshopricke: and it is playne by that which I haue sayd before, that the office



of the Metropolitane (which was to call Synods, and to moderate them, to ordeyne byshops, or at the least to consent thereunto, to suppress schismes and such like) was affixed to the place and byshop of the same, as to Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, &c. this do all the olde canons declare, as the 6. and 7. Canon of the councell of Nice, the 9. of the councell of Antioch, and the 5. of the generall councell of Constantinople, the 12. of the second councell of Carthage, the 21. *Concily Mileuitan*: the 11. of the generall councell of Chalcedon: to be shewt all these testimonies and examples alleadged of me before, out of Cyprian, &c. and the continuall practise of the Church. And therefore such new cautions here by you set downe, be only meete for such a strange and mishapen platfforme and kynd of government as is by you and your faction deuised.

The office of the Metropolitane fixed to a place.

### Chap. 3. the 47. Division.

T. C. Pag. 85. Sect. 2. 3. 4.

Of this order and policie of the Church, if we will see a lively image, and perfect patterne, let vs set before our eyes the most auncient and gospellike Church that euer was or shal be.

In the first of the Actes the Church being gathered together, for the election of an Apostle into the place of Judas the traytor, when as the interest of election belonged vnto all, and to the Apostles especially about the rest, out of the whole company Peter riseth vp. telleth the cause of their coming together, with what cautions and qualities they ought to choose another, conceyue the prayer, whereby the help of God in that election, and his direction is begged, and no doubt executed the residue of the things which perteyned vnto the whole action.

In the 1. of the Actes all the Apostles are accused of drunkennesse. Peter answered for them all, wyppeth away the infamie they were charged with. But you will saye, where are the boopes of the rest, which did choose Peter vnto this? (\*) First you must know that the scripture setteth not downe euery circumstance, and then surely you do Peter great iniurie, that aske whether he were chosen vnto it: for is it to be thought, that Peter would thrust in himselfe to this office of dignitie, without the consent and allowance of his fellowes, and preuent his fellowes of this preheminance? vndoubtedly if it had not bin done arrogantly, yet it must needs haue a great shew of arrogance, if he had done this without the consent of his fellowes. And here you shall heare what the scholiast saith which gathereth the iudgement of grecke diuines, (a) *ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος* (speaking of Peter) *ἡ ἀρχὴ* (us-  
τὰ κοινῆς αὐτῶν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχή). Behold how he doth all with their common consent. And if any man herbyon will say, that Peter exercised domination ouer the rest, or gat any archapostleship, beside that the whole storie of the Actes of the Apostles, and his whole course of life doth re-  
fute that, the same scholiast which I made mention of in the same place, sayth he did nothing *ἄρχειν*, imperiously, nothing *μετὰ ἐξουσίας*, with dominion or power: further I will admonish him to take heede, least if he strue so farre for the Archbishop, he slide or euer be aware into the rents of the Papists, which vse these places to proue that Peter had authoritie, and rule ouer the rest of the Apostles.

(\*) What is this but a meere conceit, or rather an imagined answer of your owne?

(a) This is not spoken of choosing Peter to be speaker, but of electing Matthias, which perteyned not to Peter alone.

### Io. Whitgife.

This is a rodd to beate your selfe with, for it is euident enen by these wordes of yours, that your deuise is most farthest from the Apostolicall forme: for Peter in all such assemblies is the chiefe, speaketh the first and moderateth the rest, in which respect most of the olde ecclesiastical writers count him the chiefe of the Apostles, neither do the late writers dissent from them in that point, and yet is there no danger of sliding into the Papists rents, who by this woulde proue the Popes supremacie, whose arguments you haue used, and I haue confuted before.

Peter cheefe in Apostolicall assemblies.

To preuent subtilty that question which neither you doe, nor can answer, that is, where it is in scripture mentioned that at euery action, or at any time Peter was chosen to speake before the rest, or to gouerne the action: You say, that first I must know that the scripture setteth not downe euery circumstance, and then that I do Peter great iniurie that aske whether he were chosen to it, &c. To the first I answer, that you ought to know, how wicked and vngodly a thing it is, to ground the alteration of any lawfull kinde of gouernment so long continued, and in the best times of the Church practised, vpon your owne sonde deuise and coniectures, without any ground of scripture, yea to make that your foundation which you cannot fynde in the whole scripture, but the cleane contrary. For shew me one peece of a text that doth but insinuate Peter, to haue bin at any cheefe.

Peter not chosen in euery action to be any cheefe.



any time in any action chosen to direct the action: I can shew you the contrary, especially in the second of the Actes, where Peter suddenly answered with a notable apologie in the presence of the Apostles, the accusation of drunkenness layde agaynst him, and therein neither can it be that he should expect the voyces of the rest, to choose him to be the chiefe, for that time in that action.

Whosoever shall well consider the first of the Actes, and the .15. and other places where mention is made of Peters speaking, as he shall perceiue that this was Peters peculiar office, and always apperteyning vnto him, from the ascensio of Christ to his dying day, so shall he also easily vnderstand, that he was not at any time chosen to that office by voyces, much lesse at euery particular meeting or singular action. And dare you presume vpon vaine coniectures, without warrant of scripture, to build the foundation of your kinde of gouernment, whiche you before sayde is a matter of faythe and saluation: is not this to open a way to vnwritten verities, and phantassicall interpretations: if your wordes be of suche weight wth the Reader, that because you speake them, therefore hee will beleue them, *per me licet*: but this I will assure hym of, that he shall beleue that, that is neither grounded vpon Scripture, nor any learned or aunciente authority.

To the seconde, that is, that I doe Peter great iniurie. *sc.* I saye that I doe him no iniurie at all, when I affirme that of hym, that the scripture dothe, and presume not of mine owne brayne, for the mainteyning of an euill cause, to imagin that of him, whiche I haue my selfe deuised besides the word of God, as you do most manifestly.

Peter did not thrust himselfe into any office or dignitie, whiche was not appoynted vnto hym by God, neither did he otherwise vse himselfe therein, than his office and duetie required: and it is impietie thus to dallie and trifle in Gods matters. We are well assured in scripture that Peter did this, and had this preheminance, and therefore you must knowe that he was lawfully called vnto it, and did lawfully execute it.

The Græke Scholiast saith, that Peter in such assemblies did conclude nothing without the consent of the rest, the which also the scripture it selfe dothe plainly declare. But the Græke Scholiast nowhere sayeth that Peter was at euery assembly, or at any time chosen by the voyces of the rest, to speake first, and to moderate the action: which is your assertion. For in the place by you cited, he speaketh not of the election of Peter to his prolocutorship, but of the choosing of Matthias to the Apostleship. Wherein Peter took not that preheminance to himselfe to appoint him alone, but communicated the matter with the rest of the disciples. So that you haue eyther wittingly, or ignorantly applyed the Scholiast to a wrong matter.

It is true that Peter did nothing imperiously, nothing with dominion or power: no more doth any man that executeth lawfull iurisdiction, and gouerneth by law, equitie, and order, no not the king himselfe: for in superiortie there is humilitie, and in rule and authoritie there is seruitude: as I haue before shewed in the exposition of the places in the .20. of Matthe. .22. Luke. *ec.* And yet doth the Græke Scholiast in the same place say, that Peter rose vp and not lames, as being more seruient, *ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν μὴ οὐκ ἐκείνους μὲν, καὶ ὡς ἔχοντες τὴν προεδρίαν*, and as hauing receiued the presidentship of the Apostles. Your admouement of falling into the tents of the Papists, howe necessary it is for your selfe, which vse their manner of reasoning vpon this example of Peter, and vpon deuised interpretations of the scripture, I haue touched before. As for my selfe I refuse no warning: But I trust it is not so necessary, for I know what they haue said, & what they may say in that matter.

### Chap. 3. the .48. Division.

T. C. Pag. 85. Sect. 4.

And that it may be vnderstanded, that this moderate rule, void of all pompe and ostentation

The scholiast  
playeth not  
the parte which  
is layde vpon  
him.

Tract. 1.



shew, was not perpetuall, nor all was tyed vnto one man, whiche were the last poynts of the cautions I put before, turne vnto §. 15. of the Actes, where is shewed, how with the rest of the church, the Apostles, and amongst them Peter, being assembled, decide a great controuersie, (a) James the Apostle, and not Peter, moderated and gouerned the whole action, when as after other had sayde their iudgements, and namely Paule and Barnabas, and Peter, he in the end in the name of all, pronounced the sentence, and that whereof the rest agreed, and had disputed vnto, and the residue rested in that iudgement: the which also may likewise appeare in the. 21. of the Actes.

(a) This maketh  
against your  
selfe as will ap-  
peare.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

It is euident by the story of the Actes of the Apostles, that this function remayned to Peter, so long as the Apostles continued together, and that he did execute the same when soeuer they mette: and therefore it is vntrue that this office was not tyed to one man: the. 15. of the Acts helpeth you nothing: for euen there, Peter keepeth his accustomed manner in making the first oration: and in that place it may appeare, that he did it as chiefe in that assemblie, for the text saith, that when there had bin great disputation, Peter rose vp and said vnto them. &c. so that Peter as one hauing authoritie to appease the tumult and bitter contention, rose vp and said vnto them. &c. When spake Barnabas and Paule, after them, James, not as moderato: or gouernour of the whole action, but as one hauing interest to speake as the rest of the Apostles had, and because he had spoken that which the rest well liked of, therefore they consented to his opinion, and iudgement. This is no more to giue preheminance to James in moderating that action, than it is to giue the speakership in the Parliament to hym that speaketh last in a matter, and whose oration hath most perswaded, to whome also the whole house consenteth. So that Peter keepeth his prerogative still for any thing that is here spoken to the contrary: which may also euidently appeare by this, that when there was greates contention among them about the matter, the cause whereof is like to be, for that they did not vnderstand the state of the cause, Peter stood vp, & in hoc maxime insisit, vt statum questionis demonstraret, and stood especially vpon this point, that he might declare the state of the question, as M. Caluine saith, whiche is the office of the speaker or moderatour: wherefore not James, but Peter did moderate the action.

Peter moderate  
ratour so long  
as the Apo-  
stles remay-  
ned together.

Actes. 15.

The office of  
the speaker  
or moderato:.

But be it as you would haue it, that James did moderate the action: it maketh most against you, for if we beleue the auncient writers, and namely the greke Scholiast vpon the. 15. of the Acts, James was now Byshop of Jerusalem: and therefore the Synode being within his charge, it was not vnfitte, that he according to his office, should moderate the same, as other bishops did in their seuerall Churches.

The example  
of James as  
against the Be-  
plyer.

The. 21. of the Acts is nothing to your purpose, but Paule coming to Jerusalem, went with certaine other in vnto James, and told him and all the rest that were gathered together, what God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministration. What is this to proue your purpose? Peter is not here, and James was now byll op of Jerusalem. as the note in the margent of the Bible printed at Geneva doth testify. The place in no respect proueth your assertion, but the contrary: for there is no doubt, but that James was the chiefe gouernour of the Church of Jerusalem in all actions, during his life, after that he was once placed in the Byshopricke.

You talke in another place of raking of Doctors to proue my purpose, but if these be not rakings of scriptures, gathered together to no purpose, for the confirming of your sonde deuises, I know not what you should meane by the name of rakings.

### Chap. 3. the. 49. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 85. Sect. 4.

This is he which is called the Byshop in euery Church, this is he also, whome Iustin where- of mention is made afterwards, called πρῶτος ἐκκλῆσιᾶς. And finally this is that great Archbyshopricke, and great Byshopricke, that M. Doctor so often stumbleth on. This order and preheminance, the Apostles time, and those that were neare them kept, and the nerer they came to the Apostles times, the nerer they kept them to this order, & the farther of they were from those times, vntill the dis- couering



couering of the sonne of perdition, the further off were they from this moderation, and the nearer they came to that tyrannie, and ambitious power, whiche oppressed and overlaped the Church of God.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Indee this is one parte of the office of the Archbyschop and Byschop, but not the whole, no more than it was of James being Byschop of Jerusalem, nor of him whome Justine calleth  $\pi\phi\sigma\epsilon\varsigma\ \delta\varsigma$ : But your chiefe purpose now is to proue that this office is not perpetuall, but changeable at every action, and durable only continuing that action, which how soundly you haue done, and with what straunge argumentes every childe that hath discretion may iudge.

### Chap. 3. the. 50. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 86. Sect. 1.

(\*) The Arch-  
byschop conten-  
teth himselfe  
with lesse autho-  
ritie than the  
Consuls had.

And therefore M. Caluine doth waretly say, that one amongst the Apostles indefinitely, not any one singular person, as Peter, had the moderation and rule of the other: and further shadoweth out what rule that was, by the example of the (\*) Consull of Rome, whose authoritie was to gather the Senate together, and to tel of the matters which were to be handled, to gather the voyces, to pronounce the sentence. And although the Antichrist of Rome had peruerterd all good order, and taken all libertie of the Church into his handes, the Cardinals, Archbyschops, and Byschops, yet there are some colde and light footings of it in our synods, which are holden with the Parliament where amongst all the ministers which are assembled, out of all the whole realme, by the more part of voyces, one is chosen whiche shoulde go before the rest, propound the causes, gather the voyces, and be as it were the mouth of the whole company, whome they terme the *prolocutor*. Such great force hath the truth that in the utter ruines of Poperie, it could neuer be so pulled by by the rootes, that a man could neuer knowe the place thereof no more, or that it shoulde not leaue such markes and prints behind it, whereby it might afterwarde recover it selfe, and come agayne to the knowledge of men.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Instit. cap. 8.

It followeth in the same place of M. Caluine immediatly. *Sic nihil absurdi esset si fateremur Apostolos detulisse Petro talem primatum. Sed quod inter paucos valet non propterea trahendum est ad vniuersum orbem terrarum, ad quem regendum nemo vnus sufficit.* So shoulde it be no absurditie if we shoulde confesse that the Apostles did giue this kynde of preheminance vnto Peter. But yet that whiche auayleth among fewe, must not by and by be drawn to the whole worlde, to the ruling whereof no one man can suffice. You see therefore that M. Caluine speaketh of one singular person, euen of Peter hym selfe, and yet dothe he not slide into the tents of the Papistes, but teacheth rather how to beware of them, and yet to acknowledge the truthe of Peter.

The example  
of T. C. a-  
gainst him-  
selfe.  
Consuls, and  
their autho-  
ritie.

We giue no greater authoritie eyther to Archbyschop or Byschop, than the Consull, or Peter, had among the Romanes, or a Master and president in a college: for the Consuls (vpon whose authoritie you seeme so much to stay) were appoynted to gouerne the common wealth of the Romanes, after they had banished theyr kynges, and they were called Consuls, *quia plurimum reipublica consulebant*: bycause they profited the common wealth very much: whose authoritie in thys dyd differ from the authoritie of a king, that there mighte be appeale from them, and that they coulde not put to deathe any citizen of Rome, withoute the consente of the people: but they mighte otherwise punish them, and cast them into prison: They had authorite also to make free those that were in bondage, they were of the greatest honoure (*si nullus esset Dictator*) if there were no Di-



no Dictator) in the common wealth, and their authoritie was of force, not onely in the Senate, but else where. And it is manifest that they had not onely authoritie to call the Senate, to tell those matters that were to be handled, and to take their voyces, but to commaunde that none shoulde depart oute of the Citie, that had anye voyce in the Senate and to electe Senators, &c. It appeareth that you little knewe what the offyce of a Consull was, when you wrote thys. If you take aduantage of thys, that the office of the Consull was annuall and not perpetuall, yet it helpeth not you anything, for he was moderator and ruler not of one action onely, but of so manie, as were by occasion, cyther ordinarie, or extraordinarie in the whole yeare of hys Consulshipp. For my part I doe not thinke that the Archbyschop, either hath, or ought to haue that authoritie in his prouince, that the Consull had in Rome.

A Master of a Colledge (the which example also Master Caluine doth vse) hath a perpetuall offyce, he is chiefe gouernour of that societie, and all the members there of owe duetie and obedience vnto him, as to their head: he hath authoritie to punish and to see lawes executed: neyther doe I thinke that cyther Archbyschop or Byschop claymeth greater authoritie and iurisdiction ouer theyr Prouinces and Diocesse, than is due to the Master within hys Colledge. And therefore those examples of Master Caluine do confute your assertion, they doe in no poynt confirme it.

In Synodes though there be chosen a prolocutor for the inferior sorte of the Clergie, yet dothe the Archbyschop reteyne still bothe hys office, place, and authoritie: euen as the Prince dothe, or the Lorde Keeper, notwithstanding it be permitted to the lower house of Parliament to chouse them a Speaker, and therefore this is nothing, nor alleaged to anye purpose: excepte you wyll saye that in the ciuill state all was equall, and that there was no superiour, but in euery action some chosen by the multitude, to gouerne the action, because in the lower house of Parliament they chose a Speaker, whose offyce continueth but duryng that Parliament. You passe not what you alleage, so you maye seme to alleage something.

### Chap. 3. the. 51. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 86. Sect. 2.

Nowe you see what authoritie wee allowe amongst the Ministers, bothe in theyr seuerall Churches, or in prouinciall Synodes, or nationall, or generall: what so euer other meetings shall be aduised of, for the profite and edifying of the Church, and wythall you see, that as we are farre from thys tyrannie, and excessive power whiche nowe is in the Church, so we are by the grace of God as farre from confusion and disorder, wherein you traueill so muche to make vs to seme guiltie.

### Io. Whitgifte.

I see you allowe muche more authoritie in wordes, that is in the examples you haue vsed, than you wyll willingly acknowledge: I see also that this authoritie, whiche you call tyrannie and excessive, is moderate and lawfull, and according bothe to the lawes of God and man. To conclude, I see that you are as farre from order, and a righte forme of government, as you are from modestie and due obedience, and that the ende you shote at, is nothing else but a more confusion, not onely of the Church, but of the common wealth also: the government whereof you would haue framed, according to your platfome of the Church: that is, you would haue it brought from a Monarchie, to a popular or Aristocraticall kinde of government, such as you would haue the Church.

Masters of  
Colleges  
and their au-  
thoritie.

Chap. 3. the. 51.

Io. Whitgifte.

Chap.



## Chap. 3. the. 52. Division.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 72. Sect. 1.

Paule was superior both to Timothie and Titus, as it may easily be gathered out of his Epistles written unto them.

T. C. Page. 86. Sect. 3.

They are not  
yet pronounced E-  
uangelistes.

M. Doctor reasoneth agayne, that Paule an Apostle, and in the highest degree of ministerie, was superior to Timothie and Titus Euangelistes, and so in a lower degree of ministerie, therefore one Minister is superior to another, one Byshop to another Byshop, which are all one office, and one function. As if I shoulde saye my Lord Mayor of London is aboue the Sherifes, therefore one Sherife is superior to another.

## Io. Whitgiste.

The example  
of Paule pro-  
ueth superio-  
ritie among  
ministers of  
the worde.

There was no difference betwixte them in respect of preaching the Gospel and administering the sacramentes, but in respect of gouernment, therefore among Ministers of the worde, and Sacramentes there may be degrees of dignitie, and superiortie, and one may rule ouer another: which is the ground of my assertion, and the querthorn of yours. And this doth the example of Paul proue evidently, euen as the example of my Lord Mayor doth proue, that there is superiortie in gouernment among the Citizens. For thus you shoulde haue reasoned: as my Lord Mayor his authoritie aboue the rest of the Citizens, declareth, that there is superiortie in the ciuill state, and one subiect to another, euen so Pauls superiortie ouer Timothie, Titus, and other Ministers declareth, that there may be superiortie in the state Ecclesiasticall, and that one of them may and ought to be subiect to another: thus you shoulde haue applyed the similitude if you had truely applyed it.

## Chap. 3. the. 53. Division.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 72. Sect. 2.

Titus had  
superiortie.

Caluine con-  
fesseth superi-  
ortie among  
ministers.

Titus had superiortie ouer al other pastors & Ministers which were in Crete: for he had *potestatem constituendi, oppidatim presbyteros*: ad Tit. 1. The which place M. Caluine expounding, sayth on this sort, *Discimus ex hoc loco. &c.* vve learne of this place (saith he) that there was not suche equalitie among the Ministers of the Church, but that one bothe in authoritie, and counsell did rule ouer another.

T. C. Page. 86. Sect. 3.

Againe another argument he hath of the same strength. Titus being an Euangelist was superior to al the pastors in Crete, which was a degree vnder the Euangelists, therefore one pastor must be superior vnto another pastor. And that he was superior he proueth, because he had authoritie to ordaine pastors: so that the point of the Archbishops is so deeply set in his head, that hee doth heade imagine nothing, but that Titus should be Archbishop of all Crete.

## Io. Whitgiste.

Titus was a Byshop as it shal be proued: and you haue not one worde in Scripture of his being an Euangelist: it is Erasmus and Pellicane, two famous men, that imagine Titus, to haue been Archbishop of Crete: scoffe at them.

Chap.



## Chap. 3. the. 54. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 86. Sect. 4.

I haue shewed before, howe these wordes are to be taken of Saynte Paule. And for so muche as M. Doctor burdeneth vs with the authoritie of Caluine so often, I wyll sende him to Caluines owne interpretation vpon this place, where he (\*) sheweth that Titus dyd not ordeyne by hys owne authoritie: For Saynte Paule woulde not graunte Titus leaue to doe that whiche he hymselfe woulde not, and sheweth that to saue that Titus shoulde make the election of Pastors by hymselfe, is to geue vnto hym a princely authoritie, and to take awaye the election from the Church, and the iudgement of the insufficiencie of the Minister from the compaignie of the pastors, which were (saith he) to prophane the whole gouernment of the Church.

(\*) You shifte of M. Caluins place for superiortie among the Cleargie, by shying to another place of election of Ministers.

## Io. Whitgifte.

This is to set Caluine againste Caluine, and not to answer hym: and yet this is nothyng contrarie to that whiche I haue alleaged oute of hym: for in the place that I haue alleaged he gathereth vpon these wordes *ut constituas oppidatim presbyteros.* &c. that there was not suche equalitie among the Ministers of the Church, but that one bothe in authoritie, and Councell dyd rule ouer another. You to auoyde this testimonie of Caluine for superiortie, tell me that Caluine saythe vpon this place, that Titus dyd not ordeyne Ministers by hys owne authoritie. &c. whiche is no answer to the place that I haue alleaged, but a verie quarrell pickte oute, to auoyde the answering of it. Master Caluine sayth that among the Ministers there was one ruled ouer another, *authoritate & consilio*: by authoritie and Councell. And he dothe gather it oute of the texte by me alleaged: eyther answer it, or geue place vnto it, or denie it. Of electing Ministers I haue spokē before, it is now out of place to speake of it agayne, and it is to no purpose, but to shifte of an Answer.

The shifte of the Replier.

## Chap. 3. the. 55. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 86. Sect. 5.

I maruell therefore what M. Doctor meaneth, to be so busye with M. Caluine, and to seeke confirmation of hys Archbysshop and Bysshop at hym, whiche woulde haue shaken at the nanyng of the one, and trembled at the offyce of the other, onlesse it be because he woulde sayne haue hys playster, where he receyued hys wounde. But I dare assure hym, that in hys garden he shall neuer fynde the herbe that wyll heale hym. And because that the Scriptures, when they make for oure cause, receyue this answer commonly, that they serued but for the Apostles tymes, and Master Caluines authoritie wyll weye nothyng as I thinke with M. Doctor, when he is alleaged by vs againste hym, I wyll sende hym to the Greeke Scholiast, whiche vpon this place of Titus saythe after this sorte. He woulde not (speaking of Saynte Paule) haue the whole Isle of Crete, ministered and gouerned by one, but that euerye one shoulde haue his proper charge and care: for so shoulde Titus haue a lighter labour and the people that are gouerned, shoulde enioye greater attendance of the pastor, whylest he that teacheth them dothe not runne aboute the gouernemente of manie congregations, but attendeth vnto one and garnisheth that.

## Io. Whitgifte.

What opinion Master Caluine hathe of Archbysshops, and of Superiortie amongest Pastors and Ministers, maye appeare in his wordes that I haue alleaged in my Answer. I thinke Master Caluine neuer vttered in worde or wytyng hys

M. y.

misliking



mishyking of the present gouernmente of thys Church of Englande, by Archbysshops and Bysshops, what he hath spoken agaynst the abuse of them in the Popes Church, is not to be wrested against the right vse of them in the true Church of Christ.

I haue answered the Scriptures by you alleaged, truely, and directly. You haue not as yet vrged me wyth that authoritie of Master Caluine, that I haue so shewed of, as you haue done this last.

Titus Arch-  
bysshop.

Theodoret in  
arg. Epist. Tit.  
apud Scholiast.

Chrysost.

Idem.

The Scholiast meaneth that euery Citie shoulde haue his Pastor, in the Isle of Creta, and that Titus shoulde gouerne them as Bysshop, not as hauing the whole and sole charge of euery seuerall towne or Citie: whych maye evidently appeare to be true, by these wordes of Theodoret placed in the same author. Titus was a notable Disciple of Paul, but was ordeyned Bishop of Creta, whych was a very large Isle, & it was permitted & committed vnto him, that he might ordeine *τῶν ἐν τῇ κρητῇ ἐκκλησιῶν*. Bysshops that were vnder hym. Wherby it may be gathered that euery Citie in Creta had a Bysshop, whyche had the seuerall charge, and that Titus gouerned them as Archbysshop. The lyke doth Chrysostome (whom the Greeke Scholiast doth especially followe) affirme of Timothie in. 1. Tim. 5. vpon these wordes *aduersus presbyterum. &c. Timotheo credita fuerat ecclesia, imò gens ferè tota Asiatica*: The Church, yea almoste the whole people of Asia was committed to Timothie. But what neede I vse manie wordes, when Chrysostome hymselfe affirmeth the same directly of Titus, *ad Titum: neque eius profectò illi. &c.* Truly Paule woulde not haue committed the whole Isle to hym, neyther woulde he haue commaunded those thyngs to be supplied whyche were wanting, (for he sayth that thou myghtest correcte those thyngs whyche are wanting) neither woulde he haue committed vnto him the Iudgemente of so manye Bysshops, if he had not trusted hym very well.

### Chap. 3. the. 56. Diuision.

T. C. Page 87. Sect. 1.

Howe M. Doctor maye see by thys, that Titus was not as he saith, the Archbysshop of all Creta: but that he had one flocke, wherevpon for the tyme he was there, he attended, and that where it is sayde he ordeyned Ministers: it is nothyng else but that he was the chiefe, and the moderator in the election of the ministers, as I haue declared before by many examples. And it is no maruell, althoughe the rest graunted hym this preheunence, when he had both most excellent giftes, and was a degree aboue the Pastors, being an Euangelist.

### Io. Whitgifte,

T. C. contra-  
dict to himselfe.

Thys I maye see, that firste you haue no conscience in falsifying and corrup-  
tyng of authoys: Secondly, that you speake contraries, even in these fewe lynes: for you saye that Titus had one flocke in Creta, wherevpon he dyd attende for the tyme he was there. whiche muste needes proue hym to be a Pastor: and yet you after-  
wardes denye hym to be a Pastor, affirming hym to be an Euangelist, and you take the office of an Euangelist to be so distinde from the office of a Pastor, that they may not meete together in one man. Thirdly, I see that you confidently take vpon you, to expounde Paules meanyng agaynst his playne wordes, and agaynst the Iudgemente of the olde interpreters, and diuerse of the newe, as I haue shewed before in the election of Ministers. Besydes these, I see nothing answered to this example of Titus.

Chap.



## Chap. 3. the. 57. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Page. 7. Sect. 3.

**T**imothie bare rule ouer all the other Ministers of the Church of Ephesus: for Paule saythe vnto hym. 1. Timo. 5. *aduersus presbyterum accusacionem &c.* Agaynst a Minister receyue no accusation, vntill there be two or three vvitnesles. In which words Paul maketh him a Judge ouer the rest of the Ministers.

Timothies  
authoritie.

T. C. Page. 87. Sect. 2.

Unto the place of Timothie, where he wyllenth hym not to admytte an accusation agaynst an Elder, vnder two or three witnesles, I answer as I haue done before to the place of Titus: that is, that as the ordination of the Pastors is attributed vnto Titus, and Timothie, because they gouerned, and moderated that action, and were the firste in it, so also is the depoynting, or other censures of them, and that for as muche as he wyrteth his Epistles vnto Timothie and Titus, he telleth them howe they shoulde behaue them selues in theyr offyce, and dothe not shut oute other from thys censure and Iudgemente. And it is more agreeable to the inscription of the Epistles that he shoulde saye admytte not thou, or ordeyne not thou, wyrtynge vnto one: than if he shoulde saye ordeyne not ye, or admytte not ye, as if he shoulde write to manie, for so shoulde neyther the endyng agree wyth the begynnyng, nor y myddest wyth them both. And if this be a good rule, that because Paule wyrteth Timothie and Titus to Judge of the faultes of the pastozs, and to ordeyne Pastozs, therefore none else dyd but they: then (\*) whereas Saynte Paule wyrteth Timothie that he shoulde commaunde, and teache, that godlynesse is profitable to all thyngs, and admonissheth hym to be an example of the whole flocke, by your reason he wyll haue no other of the Ministers of Ephesus, or of the Isle of Creta, to teache that doctrine, or to be examples to their flockes, and an hundred such thyngs in the Epistles of Timothie and Titus, whiche althoughe they be there particularly directed vnto Timothie and Titus, yet doe they agree, and are common to them, wyth all other Ministers, yea sometymes vnto the whole flocke.

(\*) Amceres:  
all.

## Io. Whitgife.

You haue certeyne common shiffes, to put of suche places as you can not answer, among whiche thys is one, that you vse in thys place. But it wyll not serue, beyng grounded neyther vppon authoritie nor reason. These wordes of Saynte Paule in deede be not spoken to Timothie alone, but to all other Bishops of lyke authoritie: for that whiche is prescribed to Timothie is also prescribed to all other in the lyke function, whiche argueth that thys authoritie gyuen to Timothie ouer all the Ministers of the Church of Ephesus, dothe pertaine also to all other Bishoppes, ouer the Ministers of theyr seuerall Diocesse. But as Saynte Paule in these Epistles wyrteth onely to Bishoppes, and Pastozs, so are the preceptes gyuen therein properly pertainyng to the offyce of Bishoppes and Pastozs, and therefore not to be wrested to anye other. And howe can the Papistes more grossely abuse the Scriptures, in interpreting them to serue their turne, and to shifte of theyr authoritie alleaged agaynst them, than you doe in thys and suche other places, agaynst the whole scope of the Epistle, and the playne and euident wordes of the terte: for what is this, but to giue Timothie superiortie and gouernment ouer the other Ministers of Ephesus, to saye vnto hym, *aduersus presbyterum*, Agaynst a Minister receyue no accusation &c. and as thys authority of Iudgement is not onely gyuen vnto Timothie, but to all Bishoppes, of like calling, so that also of teachyng (that godlynesse is profitable to all thyngs &c.) pertaineth to all Ministers of the worde generally, and not to Timothie alone. This is onely the difference, that the firste is common to Timothie wyth all other



Bishops of like iurisdiction: the other common to him with all other ministers of the worde.

You knowe that every Pastor, or other Minister of the worde, hath not other Pastors and Ministers of the worde vnder hym, that it maye be sayde vnto hym *aduersus presbyteros. &c.* as it is here sayde to Timothie, for I haue proued before that *presbyter* dothe signifie the Ministers of the worde and Sacramentes, and shall haue occasion to speake moze of it hereafter.

You saye that there is an hundred suchethings in the Epistles of Timothie and Titus, I thinke that there is not one hundred seuerall preceptes in all the three Epistles. These stoute and hyperbolicall bragges, wyth so manifest resisting of the playne sense and meaning of the Scriptures, argueth an euill conscience, and a mynde so addicted to error, that it will not be reformed. Manye things in these Epistles perteyne to all Christians, many things be proper to Bishops, such as Timothie was, and many common to all Ministers. But this *aduersus presbyteros. &c.* muste needes to proper be those that haue vnder them other Ministers, committed to theyr gouernment, which euery Pastor hath not.

### Chap. 3. the. 58. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 72. Sect. 3.

Epiphanius.

And Epiphanius *Lib. 3. Tom. 1. contra Hæresim Aeri* proueth Timothie his superioritye ouer the rest, by this selfe same place.

T. C. Pag. 87. Sect. 3.

(\*) This is your practise to discredit the author that speaketh against you.

As for Epiphanius, (\*) it is knowne of what authoritie he is in this place, when as by Aeri- sides, he goeth about to pickie at the Apostle: whilst he goeth about to confute the Apostle, which maketh a distinction and difference betweene those which the Apostle maketh one, that is a Bishop and elder, and to spare the credit of Epiphanius, it were better lay that opinion vpon some Pseudepiphanius, which we may doe not without great probabilitie, scyng (\*) Augustine sayth, that the true Epiphanius bitereh all after a stoupe fashion, and doth not vse anye disputation, or reasoning for the truth agaynst the falshood, and this Epiphanius is very full of arguments and reasons, the choise whereof M. Doctor hath taken.

Ad quod vult deum.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The writings of Epiphanius *contra. 80. hæreses*, not counterfeite.

*Cent. 4. cap. 10.*

I haue not heard any probable reason alleaged of any, why these bookes of Epiphanius should be suspected, whether they be his or no, scyng they be both learned and very auncient, mentioned also of sundry olde writers. But to omitt all other proofes I wyll onely vse the iudgement (at this tyme) of the authoys of the Centuries who are to be credited in suche matters, because they haue diligently and carefully laboured in them: their opinion of these bookes of Epiphanius, *Cent. 4. cap. 10.* is this, *Nunc de scriptis. &c.* Nowe we wyll speake of hys bookes: of the which that worke against the foure score heresy is most noble: which booke he hymselfe in his Epistle to Acacius, and Paulus Ministers, And in his booke called *Anacephaleosis*, calleth *πενάγιστον. &c.* Of the which writing Augustine in his booke *ad quod vult deum*, maketh this mention. Our Epiphanius Bishop of Cyrus (sayth he) which dyed not long since, speaking of foure score heresies, wrote also himselfe sixe Bookes making mention of all things after an Histori- cally maner, & disputing nothing either against the falshood, or with the truthe: They be but short bookes, and if they were all made in one, yet were it not to be compared to ours, or to diuerse other mens bookes in length. Out of the which words it is euident, that Augustine neither had, nor at any time dyd see that worke which Epiphanius intituled *Panarium*, for Epiphanius is very long in recountyng the historie, as concerning the beginning, the ende- our & countrey of the heretikes, the occasiō of the heresie, the successe, increase, and suche like



lyke throughout euery heresie. Then is he very long in confuting and condemning the heresies by true Scriptures, and the interpretation of them: wherfore it should seeme that Augustine had belyke onely the arguments prefixed before the Tomes of bookes of Epiphanius, whiche he dothe therefore call shorte bookes, or at the least, had his booke called *Anacephaleosis*, (which is the summe of his worke called *Panarium*) Cornarius that writeth the Preface befoze this booke of Epiphanius, is of the same iudgement, and addeth these wordes: VVherefore eyther Augustine dyd not see this worke of Epiphanius, or the right worke of Augustine is not extant, but losse, or else Augustine dyd not in deede performe that whiche he promised. I can reade of none that doubteth whether these bookes were Epiphanius his, or no. And certaynely this kinde of answering is neste the worst, especially when it is vsed agaynst suche appoyued authours.

And bicause all men may vnderstande, what Epiphanius wordes and reasons be (whiche in deede pinche you very nere, for he calleth you heretikes) I will declare them as I haue there founde them. First he setteth downe the heresie of Aërius in these wordes: His talke was more outrageous than becomed a man: and he sayd, what is a Bishop to a Priest? he nothing differeth from him: for there is but one order, and the same honor and dignitie. The Bishop layeth on his handes, and so dothe the Priest: the Bishop ministreth baptisme, and so dothe the priest: the Bishop sayth diuine seruice, and so doth the Priest: the Bishop sitteth in his throne, and so dothe the Priest. In this he hath deceyued many, and they vse him for their captayne. Then dothe he a little after confute this heresie with Aërius reasons, on this sorte: To saye that a Bishop and a Priest is equall, howe can it be possible? for the order of Bishops, is the begetter of fathers, for it ingendreth fathers to the Church: the order of Priests not beeing able to beget fathers, dothe beget sonnes to the Church, by the sacrament of Baptisme, but not fathers or teachers: and howe is it possible for him to ordeyne a Priest, not hauing imposition of hands to electe, or to saye that he is equall with a Bishop? but phantasticalnesse and emulation deceyued the foresayde Aërius: he proueth his error, and the error of those that heare him by this, that the Apostle writte to Priests and Deacons, and dyd not write to Bishops. And to the Bishop he sayth: neglect not the gifte that is in thee, whiche thou hast receyued by the handes of the Presbyterie. And agayne in another place he writeth to Bishops and Deacons: wherfore (sayth he) a Bishop and a Priest is all one: and he knoweth not, whiche is ignorante of the sequelle of the truthe, and hath not read profounde stories, that when the preaching was but newly begonne, the holy Apostle writte according to the state of things as they were then: for where there were Bishops appoynted, he writte to Bishops and Deacons: for the Apostle coulde not by and by at the first appoynte all things: for there was neede of Priests and Deacons, bicause by those two, ecclesiasticall matters maye be complete. And where there was not any founde worthy a Bishopricke, there the place remayned without a Bishop, but where there was neede, and worthy men to be Bishops, there were Bishops appoynted. And when there was not so many that there coulde be founde amongst them meete to be Priests, they were content with one Bishop in an appoynted place, but it is vnpossible for a Bishop to be without a Deacon, and the holy Apostle had a care that Deacons shoulde be where the Bishop was, for the ministerie. So dyd the Church receyue the fulnesse of dispensation, suche was then the state and condition of the places. For euery thing had not the perfection from the beginning, but in processe of time those things whiche were necessarie to perfection were added. &c. The Apostle teacheth who is a Bishop, and who is a Priest, when he sayth to Timothie that was a Bishop, chide not a Priest, but exhorte him as a father: what should a Bishop haue to doe, not to chide a Priest, if he had not authoritie aboue a Priest. As he also sayth agayne, agaynst a Priest admitte no accusation sodenly, without two or three witnesses, and he sayde not to any Priest, admit no accusation agaynst a Bishop: neyther did he write to any Priest, that he shoulde not rebuke a Bishop. Thus mayest thou see good Reader, that it is not for nought, that L. C. so stormes agaynst Epiphanius, and so vnreuerently bleseth him.

But I wyll giue him as muche cause to deale in like maner with Augustine, who in this matter fully ioyneeth with Epiphanius: and in that booke of his, de heresibus

Aërius heresie in denyng the difference betwixt a Bishop & priest. Epi. li. 3. to. 1. heres. 75.

August. ad Quodvult.



*ad quod-vult-deum* (quoted by T.C. in his margin) attributeth this also as heresie to the sayde Acrius, adding that the cause of this and other of his heresies was, bicause he himselfe was not made Bishop.

### Chap. 3. the. 59. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 72. Sect. 4.

That this worde (presbyter) in this place of the Apostle, signifieth a minister of the worde, bothe Ambrose, Caluine, and other learned wryters declare.

T.C. Page. 87. Sect. 4.

And whereas M. Doctor citeth Ambrose, Caluine, and other godly wryters, to proue that the minister is vnderstanded by the worde Elder or Presbyter, he keepeth his olde weare, by bringing stickes into the wood, and prouing alwayes that which no man denieth, and yet with the minister of the worde, he also vnderstandeth the Elder of the Church whiche ruleth, and dothe not labour in the worde: But therein is not the matter, for I doe graunt that by Presbyter the minister of the word is vnderstanded, & yet nothing proued of that which M. Doctor would so sayne proue.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I adde this interpretation, that the Reader may vnderstande Timothie to haue authoritie ouer Bishops and Ministers of the worde, least you by cauilling shoulde shifte off this place, with your signification of Seniors, whiche were not ministers of the worde, as you say.

That Timothie was Bishop.

All this whyle haue I looked for the performance of your promise, to proue that Timothie and Titus were no Bishops: But bicause I perceyue that you are content to forget it, I will here performe mine (least I fall into the same fault with you) repeating only that which I haue before added to my answere in the 2. edition, least I shoulde put the Reader bothe to coste and paynes in searching for it there.

The course of the Epistle.

First therefore that Timothie was Bishop of Ephesus, the whole course of the two Epistles witten vnto him declareth, wherein is conteyned the office and duety of a Bishop, and diuers precepts peculiarly perteyning to that function, as it is manifest: neyther were those Epistles witten to Timothie for the instruction of other onely, but for the instruction of him selfe also, as the whole course of bothe the Epistles doe declare, and all learned expositours confesse.

The subscription.

Secondly, the subscription of the seconde Epistle is this: Πρὸς Τιμόθεον δευτέρα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον χρεοτομηθέντα, ἐγγράφη ἀπὸ Ρώμης, ὅτε ἐν δευτέρου πατρὸς Παύλος τῷ Καίσαρι Νέρωνι. The seconde (Epistle) was written from Rome to Timothie, who was ordeyned the first Bishop of the Church of Ephesus, when Paule appeared before the Emperour Nero the seconde time. Whiche although it be lefte out in some Bräke Testamentes, yet is it in the moste, the best, and the auncientest, yea almoste in all: neyther is this a sufficient answere to saye, that the subscription of some one or two Epistles seeme to be vnttrue, therefore this is vnttrue: For the subscription, as it is (no doubt) of great antiquitie, so is it consonant to al olde auncient authoritie.

Content of histories.

Thirdly, the vniuersal consent of histories conclude him to be Bishop at Ephesus. Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 4. saythe, that Timothie was the first Bishop of Ephesus.

Dorotheus who lyued in Dioclesians tyme, wryteth that Paule made him Bishop of Ephesus.

Nicephorus lib. 2. cap. 34. sayth, that Paule made him Bishop of Ephesus, before he writ his first Epistle vnto him.

Hierome in catalog. scripto. Ecclesi. sayth, that he was made Bishop of Ephesus by Paule.

Isidorus de Patribus noui Testamenti, sayth also that he was Bishop of Ephesus.

Antoninus parte. 1. titulo. 6. cap. 1. asseymeth the same oute of Polycrates. So bothe



dothe *Supplementum chroni.* So dothe also Volaterane, lib. 20. where he calleth him *Praesulem Ephesium.* And all the Histories that I haue read, whiche make any mention of him.

*Historia Magdel. centu. 1. lib. 2. cap. 10. in vita Ioan. Euang.* hathe these words: *Constat Paulum Ephesine ecclesie Timotheum dedisse pastorem:* It is certayne that Paule appoynted Timothie Pastor of the Church of Ephesus.

Surely it is the generall consente of all histories, that Timothie was Bishop of Ephesus.

Fourthly, the fathers affirme the same.

Dionisius Areopagita (so called of some men) who liued in the Apostles time, writeth his booke *De diuinis nominibus*, to Timothie Bishop of Ephesus.

Epiphanius lib. 3. tom. 1. affirmeth that Timothie was Bishop of Ephesus.

Ambrose sayth the same in his Preface to the first Epistle written to Timothie.

Chrysostome in his argument of the same Epistle giueth this reason why Pauls of all his Disciples writte onely to Timothie and Titus, because he had committed to them the gouernment and care of the Church: and the other he carried about with him. The same Chrysostome vpon the fourth to the Ephe. speaking of Pastors and Doctors, vseth Timothie and Titus for an example.

Oecumenius likewise vpon the fourth to the Ephe. calleth Timothie and Titus Bishops. And vpon. 1. Timoth. 1. he sayth, that Paule ordeyned Timothie Bishop of Ephesus. And in the fifth Chapter vpon these words, *Manus cito nemini imponas*, he sayth, *Mandat de ordinationibus, Episcopo enim scribebat:* he giueth preceptes of ordeyning, for he wrote to a Bishop.

Theodoret, vpon the first to Timothie, affirmeth in playne words, that Timothie had cure of soules committed vnto him.

But to be shorte, there is not one olde wyter whiche speaking of this matter, doth not testifie that Timothie was Bishop of Ephesus.

Last of all, I proue him to be Bishop there, by the consent of the late wyters.

Erasmus in his annotations, sayth that Paul made him Bishop: so sayth he likewise in his Paraphr. 1. Timoth. 4.

Pellicane sayth the same. 1. Tim. 1.

Zuinglius in his booke called *Ecclesiastes*, sayth directly that Timothie was a Bishop.

Bucer sayth the same, writing vpon the 4. chapter of the Epistle to the Ephe.

Caluine vpon. 1. Tim. 1. calleth him Pastor of the Church of Ephesus. And in the 1. Timoth. 4. expounding these words, *Ne donum quod in te est. &c.* he sayth, *Spiritus sanctus oraculo Timotheum destinauerat, ut in ordinem pastorum cooptaretur:* The holy Ghost by oracle did appoynt Timothie, that he should be chosen into the order of Pastors. And in the 2. Timoth. 4. sayth, that he did excell *Vulgares pastores*, common Pastors, meaning that he was an excellent Pastor, indued with moze singular and notable giftes, and of greater authoritie than the common sorte of Pastors be. And in the same chapter speaking of Pauls sending for Timothie from Ephesus to Rome, he saythe, That there was no small cause why Paule sent for Timothie from that Church which he ruled and gouerned, and that so farre off: Heereby we may gather (sayth he) howe profitable conference is with suche men: for it might be profitable to all Churches, whiche Timothie might learne in a small time: so that the absence of halfe a yere, or a whole yere, is nothing in comparison of the commoditie that cometh thereby. And agayne in the same place he sayth, That Paule sent Tichicus to Ephesus, when he sent for Timothie to Rome, in the meane tyme to supply Tymothies absence. By all these places it is manifest that Caluine taketh Timothie to be Pastor & Bishop of Ephesus, as I haue before sayd.

Bullinger vpon these words also, *ne neglexeris quod in te est donum. &c.* noteth three things to be obserued in the ordering of a Bishop: and proueth thereby that Timothie was lawfully called to his Bishopricke. And vpon these words. 2. Tim. 1. *Quamobrem comonefacio te ut suscites donum. &c.* he sayth, that per donu Dei, Paule vnderstandeth the gifte of Prophecyng, & *functionem Episcopalem*, the offyce of a Bishop to the whiche the Lord called Timothie, but by the ministerie of Paule. What can be spokē moze playner?

Illyrics

4  
Consente of  
fathers.

5  
Consente of  
late wyters.



Illyricus in his epistle dedicatorie to the newe Testament sayth, that Paule prayfed Timothie his Bishop, and in his Preface to the epistle written to Timothie, he calleth Timothie and Titus *præstantes doctores, multarumq; ecclesiarum Episcopos*: Notable Doctors, and Bishops of many Churches.

Of the same iudgement is Musculus, and all the rest of the late wyters that I haue read, one onely excepted, who notwithstanding in effecte confesseth also that he was Bishop at Ephesus: for in his annotations. 1. Tim. 4. vpon these wordes, *usque dum venero*. &c. he saythe, that when Paule sente for the ministers of Ephesus to Miletum. Acts. 20. he sent for Timothie especially. *Cuius ministros* (meaning of Ephesus) *ac proinde Timotheum imprimis Miletum accersuit*. But it is manifest Act. 20. that they were all Pastours and Bishops: therefore Timothie was a Bishop. The same author vpon these wordes. 1. Timoth. 5. *aduersus presbyterum*. &c. sayth, *Timotheum in Ephesio presbyterio tum fuisse τοῦ προέσβωτα*. 1. Antistite, vt vocat Iustinus And addeth, that it is manifest by Cyprian, that the Bishop dyd rule in the Colledge of Seniors. When if he that was chiefe in the Colledge of Seniors, was a Bishop, and Timothie was chiefe in the Colledge of Seniors, it must needes followe that Timothie was a Bishop.

But it maye appeare howe little learning and learned men be esteemed of those, whiche to maynteyne contention, are not ashamed to denie that whiche all learned men agree vpon.

The chiefe  
reasons to the  
contrarie an-  
swered.

The place. 2.  
Tim. 4. an-  
swered.

The worke of  
an Euangelist.

Their reasons as in number they be not many, so in substance they be nothing: I will recite the chiefe, and leaue the rest to chyldren to be discuffed.

The first, is taken out of the. 2. Ti. 4. where Paule sayth to Timothie, *Opus perage Euangeliste*: do the worke of an Euangelist. Their reason is this: Paule biddeth Timothie do the worke of an Euangelist, Ergo, Timothie was not Bishop.

First therfore we must searche out what *Opus Euangeliste* is, and then trie whether it be incident to the office of a Bishop, or no.

Bullinger vpon that place sayth, that he doth the worke of an Euangelist, which preacheth the Gospell purely, and is not by any persecutions or aduersitie driven from his calling.

Hemingius sayth, that *opus Euangeliste*, generally taken, is to preache the Gospell.

Musculus in *locis commun. titulo de verbi ministris*, sayth, that he is *Euangelista*, eyther that preacheth, or that writeth the Gospell, and that Paul in the first sense speaketh to Timothie, saying, *opus fac euangeliste*.

And in the same place among other things that Paule requireth of a Bishop, he affirmeth this to be one, vt *opus peragat Euangeliste*. So sayth Illyricus likewise.

Zuinglius also is of the same iudgement in his booke called Ecclesiastes, and proueth by that text of Paule, that the worke of an Euangelist and of a Bishop is all one. Nowe howe this reason dothe followe, Paule did bid Timothie preache the Gospell purely and constantly, Ergo, Timothie was not a Bishop, let euery man iudge.

The place  
Ephe. 4. an-  
swered.

The maior  
false.

The seconde reason is taken out of the. 4. to the Ephe. *Et ipse dedit alios quidem Apostolos, alios vero Prophetas, alios autem Euangelistas, alios autem pastores ac doctores*: He therfore gaue some to be Apostles, and some Prophetes, and some Euangelistes, and some Pastors and Teachers. The reason is framed on this sorte: An Euangelist and a Bishop were distincte offices, and coulde not be bothe ioyned in one. But Timothie was an Euangelist, Ergo, he was not a Bishop. This argumente is very feeble in euery parte: For first the maior is utterly false, for those offices named by Paule were not so distinct, but that diuers of them may concurre in one man, as maye easily be proued. Paule was an Apostle and also a Doctor. 2. Timoth. 1. Mattheu and John being Apostles were also Euangelists, as the consent of al wyters doth testifie.

Timothie was according to M. Beza his iudgement both an Euangelist and also a prophet: Loke his notes in the fourth chap. of the first to Timothie.

Zuinglius in his booke called Ecclesiastes, sayth, that an Euangelist is nothing else but a Bishop or a pastor, as it is manifest (sayth he) by the wordes of Paule whiche he speaketh to Timothie, saying, *opus fac Euangeliste*, and Timothie at that tyme when Paule writte this Epistle vnto him, was a Bishop: And therefore it is certayne that according to Paule



Paul: his sentence, the office of an Euangelist and of a Bishop is all one. These be the very words of Zuinglius.

Bullinger expounding this place in the fourth to the Ephe. hath these words: There is no man whiche seeth not these names to be confounded, and one to be taken for another: for an Apostle is also a Prophete, a Doctor, an Euangelist, a Minister, and a Bishop: and a Bishop is an Euangelist and a Prophet: A Prophet is a Doctor, a Minister, and an Euangelist. Therefore the Apostle Paule by these sundrie names, dothe signifie these diuers giftes which God hath bestowed vpon his Church to saluation. And in that he so often vseth this disinction, *alios atque alios*, he hath signified that all giftes are not giuen to one man, but that diuers men haue diuers giftes of the spirite, wherof he hath spoken more in the 12. to the Rom. and the 1. to the Cor. 12. chapter. Wither to Bullinger.

Pellicane in the same place is of the same iudgement.

These offices therefore or giftes maye well concurre in one man, so that the maior is false, and this conclusion followeth not, Timothie was an Euangelist, Ergo, he was no Bishop.

The minor (which is this, Timothie was an Euangelist) is very doubtfull: For first it may be doubted what an Euangelist is. The common opinion of old writers, and also of diuers late writers is, that those were properly called Euangelists which writte the Gospels. Other say, that he is an Euangelist whiche preacheth the Gospel. Some say that he was an Euangelist that was occupied in teaching the people playnly and simply. Caluine and some other thinke, that they were next vnto the Apostles in degree, and helpers of them, and such as supplied their office oftentimes. Diuers other opinions there are of Euangelists, and scarce two agree in one opinion touching the office of an Euangelist. The moste saye (whiche also the etymologie of the name dothe impoete) that those were Euangelistes whiche either preached or writte the Gospel.

The minor  
doubtfull.

Saint Augustine in his seconde booke *contra Faustum Manicheum*. impoete beereof, on this sorte: *Narratores originis, factorum, dictorum, passionum domini nostri Iesu Christi proprii dicti sunt Euangeliste*. They are properly called Euangelistes, which are the declarers of the birthe, deedes, sayings, and sufferings of our Lord and sauiour Iesus Christ. Which may be done both by preaching and writing the Gospel, as I sayde before.

Now if Timothie be an Euangelist because he preached the Gospel, there is no cause why he may not be a Bishop also. And it is certayn that when Paule sayd vnto him, do the worke of an Euangelist, he ment the preaching of the Gospel.

If an Euangelist be taken in any other significatio, how can it be proued that Timothie was an Euangelist? For this proueth it not, *fac opus Euangeliste*, a man may do the worke of an Euangelist though he be not an Euangelist, a man may doe the worke of a pastor, though he be not a pastor.

To be short, the conclusion is not necessariis, howsoeuer the premisses be true, for although it should be graunted that bethe the maior and minor were true, yet the conclusion dothe not followe: for Timothie might first be an Euangelist, and after a Bishop, as Zuinglius in his booke called *Ecclesiastes*, sayth, That Philip the Euangelist being a Deacon, was afterwarde Bishop and pastor of Cesarea: James the yonger being an Apostle, as Hierome and all the olde fathers doe testifie, was after Bishop of Ierusalem, and there remayned: and dyuers of the Apostles when they left off going from place to place, became in the ende Bishops, and remayned in one place, as it appeareth in olde histories.

The conclusion  
not necessary.

So that although one man could not be bothe an Euangelist and a Bishop at one time, and if it be graunted that Timothie was an Euangelist, yet both it not proued but that he was a Bishop also.

But certayne it is, that one man at one time might be both an Euangelist and a Bishop: and most certayne it is that Timothie was a Bishop, howe certayne soeuer it be whether he were an Euangelist, or no.

But here it may be sayde that Timothie was more returned to Ephesus, after he had bin the seconde time with Paule at Rome, and therefore not to be like that he was



was Bishop there. This argumente is onely coniecturall, and of no force to proue any such matter. Howbeit if we will credite stories, whereby in such cases we must be directed, it is certayne that Timothie returned to Ephesus, & there dyed.

Dorotheus sayth that he died at Ephesus, and was there buried.

Polycrates testifieth that he was stoned to death at Ephesus.

Isidorus in his booke *de Patribus noui Testamenti*, writeth that he was buried at Ephesus in the mount Pyon.

Symeon Metaphrastes testifieth the same.

Nicephorus li. 10. ca. 11. testifieth, that Iulian the Apostata did torment one Artemius for translating the bones of Andrewe, Luke, and Timothie from Patra, Achaia, and Ephesus, to Constantinople. But it is certayne that Andrew was crucified at Patra by Egeas the Proconsull: and auncient writers testifie that Luke was buried in Achaia: therefore the bones that were brought from Ephesus, must needs be Timothies.

Whereby it may appeare that Timothie not onely returned from Rome to Ephesus, but also continued there euen to his death. And therefore certayne it is that he was Bishop at Ephesus. But now to my purpose.

### Chap. 3. the. 60. Diuision.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 72. Sect. vlt.

Ignatius.

The bishops  
authoritie.

Ignatius who was S. John his scholer, and liued in Chrystes time, in his Epistle ad Trallianos, speaketh thus of the authoritie of a Bishop ouer the rest: *Quid aliud est Episcopus quam quidam obtinens principatum,*

*et potestatem supra omnes?* VVhat is a Bishop, but one hauing power and rule ouer all. And in his Epistle ad Smyrnenes, he writeth on this sorte: *Honora quidem Deum ut autorem vniuersorum et Dominum: Episcopum autem, ut Sacerdotum Principem, imaginem Dei ferentem: Dei quidem per Principatum: Christi vero per Sacerdotium.* Honor God as the author and Lorde of all thinges, and a Bishop as the chiefe of Priestes, bearing the Image of God: of God because of his superiority: of Christ by reason of his Priesthoode. And a little after: Let laye men be subiecte to Deacons, Deacons to Priestes: and Priestes to Bishops, the Bishop to Christ. And agayne: Let no man doe any thing whiche pertaineth to the Church, without the consente of the Bishop. And agayne: He that attēpteth to do any thing without the Bishop, breaketh peace, and confoundeth good order. The like saying he hath in his Epistle ad Magnesianos. These three Epistles doth Eusebius make mention of Lib. 3. cap. 35. & 36. and Hiero. de viris illustribus.

T. C. Pag. 87. Sect. 4.

It is no maruell although you take by the authors of the Admonition for wante of Logike, for you better great skill your selfe in writing, whiche keepe no order, but confounde your Reader in that thing which euen the common Logike of the countrey, which is reason, might haue directed you in: for what a confusion of times is this, to beginne with Cyprian, and then come to Jerome and Chrysostome, and after to the Scripture, and backe agayne to Ignatius that was before Cyprian: which tymes are ill disposed of you, and that in a matter wherein it shood you vpon to haue obserued the order of the tymes.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The order observed in placing the authorities in the answere.

Be patient a while, the matter is not great, the Authors be knowne, and the antiquitie of them, my mynde is of the matter: and there is reason why I should thus place them. Cyprian telleth the necessitie of such superiority, and so dothe Chrysostome: Hierome, the cause and the originall: Paule, Timothie, and Titus.



tus be examples hereof: Ignatius and the rest are brought in as witnesses of the continuance of such offices and superioritie in the Church, even from the Apostles. Now first to proue the name of these offices not to be Antichristian, then to shew the necessitie of the offices, thirdly the cause, and last of all to declare the vse of the same to haue bene in the Church even from S. Pauls time to this houre, is to keepe a better order, than you shall be able to disorder, with all the Logike, Rhetorike, and hote Eloquence you haue.

### Chap. 3. the. 61. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 87. Sect. 4.

But as for Ignatius place, it is sufficiently answered before, in that which was answered to Cyprian his place, for when he sayeth the Bishop hath rule ouer all, he meaneth no more all in the prouince, than in all the world, but meaneth that flocke and congregation, whereof he is Bishop or minister. And when he calleth him Prince of the priests, although the title be to excessive and big, condemned by Cyprian and the council of Carthage, yet he meaneth no more the prince of all in the diocesse as we take it, or of the prouince, than he meaneth the Prince of all the priests in the world, but he meaneth those fellow ministers and elders, that had the rule and government of that particular Church and congregation, whereof he is a Bishop, as the great churches haue for the most part, both Elders which gouerne only, and ministers also to ayde one an other, and the principallitie that he which they called the Bishop had ouer the rest, hath bene before at large declared.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

You very lightly shake of Ignatius wordes, but they haue more pyth in them, if it please you better to consider of them. For he maketh degrees of ministers, and the Bishop to be the chiefe: he placeth Deacons vnder Priests, and Priests vnder Bishops, so that he giueth to the Bishop superioritie and government ouer both Priests and Deacons, which is the ground of this cause: and it being graunted (as it muste needes, neyther can this authoritie of Ignatius be auoyded) Arius Heresie falleth, and so doth your whole assertion.

What is ment by Prince of Priests, Ignatius himselfe declareth, saying: *Obtinens principatum & potestatem supra omnes*: hauing chieftie and power ouer all.

How this name may be wel vsed, I haue shewed before, where I haue also declared the meaning of Cyprians wordes, vttered in the hereticall Council of Carthage, and therefore not coumpted in the number of those Councils.

### Chap. 3. the. 62. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 88. Sect. 1. 2.

But M. Doctor doth not remember, that whylest he thus reasoneth for the authoritie of the Bishop, he overthroweth his Archbishop quite and cleane. For Ignatius will haue none about the Bishop but Christ, and he will haue an Archbishop.

I see a man cannot well serue two masters, but eyther he must displease the one and please the other, or by pleasing of one offend the other. For M. Doctor would sayne please and vphold both, and yet his proofes are such, that euery proppet that he setteth vnder one, is an axe to strike at the other.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I remember it very well: and I know that an Archbishop is a Bishop, and that therfore there may be superioritie among Bishops, and yet nothing detracted from the wordes of Ignatius, I know likewise that as well the one as the other is condemned by you: and I am well assured that the profe of the one is the profe of the other, and therfore M. Doctor may well serue two masters, but they be such as be not onely not contrary, one to the other, but so neerely linked and ioynded together, that what soeuer pleaseth the one, doth also please the other. M. Doctors proppes and proofes are such: as M. T. C. is compelled to vse railing & flouting, in steade of answering, which is a shift, but how honest and Christian let the world iudge.

¶ M.

Chap.



## Chap. 3. the. 63. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 73. Sect. 1.

Iustine Mar-  
tyr.

Iustinus Martyr one of the most auncient writers of the Greekes, in his second Apologie ad Antoninum Pium, alloweth this superiority, & calleth him that bare rule over the other ministers  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$ .

T.C. Pag. 88. Sect. 2.

But that M. Doctor deliveth alwayes where he might fetch at the fountayne, to be raking in ditches, he needed not to have gone to Iustine Martyr for  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$ ; when as S. Paule calleth the ministers and Elders by this title. And if this place of Iustine make for an Archbishop, then in steade of an Archbishop in every province we shall have one in every congregation. For Iustine declareth there, the leyturgie or manner of serving God that was in every church vsed of the Christians. And I pray you let it be considered what is the office of that  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$ ; & see whether there be any resemblance in the world betweene him and an Archbishop. For he placeth his office to be in preaching, in conceyuing prayers, in ministring of the sacraments: of any commaundement which he had over the rest of the ministers, or of any such priuiledges as the Archbishop hath, he maketh not one worde. It may be that the same might haue the preheminence of calling the rest together, and propounding the matter to the rest of the companie, & such like, as is before declared. As soone as euer you founde  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$ , you snatched that by and by, and went your wayes and so deceyue your selfe and others. But if you had read the whole treatise you should haue found that he was  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$  of the people, for thus it is written in the same Apologie,  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \tau\omega\ \pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\iota\ \tau\omega\ \alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omega\ \alpha\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . Afterward bread is brought to the president of the brethren, calling the people as S. Paule doth continually brethren: And therefore these are (a) M. Doctors arguments out of Martyrs place. There was a minister which did stand before, or was president of the rest in every particular Church and congregation, therefore there was an Archbishop over all the province. And againe there was one which ruled all the ministers throughout the whole province. And albeit things were in great puritie in the dayes that Iustine liued, in respect of the times which followed, (b) yet as there was in other things which appeare in his workes, and even in the ministracion of the Sacraments spoken of in that place corruption, in that they mingled water and wine together, so euen in the ministerie there began to peepe out some thing which went from the simplicitie of the gospell: as that the name of  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$  which was common to the Elders with the ministers of the worde, was (as it seemeth) appropriated unto one.

(a) Nay, they are yours, and like to the rest.

(b) Antiquum obtinet.

## Io. Whitgife.

Though notable & famous doctors be ditches with T.C. yet are they pleasant and cleare rivers with men of more liberall sciences. S. Paule 1. Timoth. 5. hath these wordes  $\text{o}\iota\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ . &c. which derogate nothing fro any thing, that I haue alleaged, but iustifieth the same, for there it signifieth rule & gouernment, but yet in Iustine it signifieth some one that had the chiefe rule and gouernment over the rest, as M. Beza noteth vpon these wordes, 1. Ti. 5. *Aduersus presbyterum &c. Præterea notandum est ex hoc loco Timotheum in Ephesino Presbyterio tum fuisse  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$  id est, Antistitem ut vocat Iustinus.* Furthermore it is to be noted out of this place that Timothie in the presbyterie, or colledge of ministers at Ephesus was  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$ ; that is to say, the prelate or Bishop, as Iustinus calleth it. You may say vnto him as wel as to me, that he deliveth where he might search at the fountayne, to be raking in ditches, because he might haue had the same wordes spoken of all ministers in the same chapter of that Epistle to Timothie.

Beza.

$\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$   
ouer mini-  
sters aswel as  
ouer the peo-  
ple.  
Idem.

Furthermore that Iustinus Martyr doth vse this worde for him that hath authoritie over the rest, not only of the people, but of such also as be presbyteri: the same M. Beza testifieth vpon the first to the Philip. saying: *Hæc igitur olim erat Episcoporum appellatio, donec qui politie causa reliquis fratribus in catu præerat, quem Iustinus  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$  vocat peculiariter dici Episcopus cepit.* This therefore was the common name of Bishops, vntill he which for pollicie sake did gouerne the rest in the cōpany, whom Iustine calleth  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$ , began to be called peculiarly a Bishop. In which wordes M. Beza testifieth that he whom Iustinus called  $\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\omega\tau\alpha$  did gouerne as well the other ministers, as he did the people. And whosoever doth duely consider Iustines wordes, & peruse that whole place, he shall easily vnderstand, that those whom he there calleth Brethren, were ministers & Deacons: for after ward speaking of the people, he calleth them by the name of people, as it is there to be scene.

1. Tim. 5.



I know that Iustine speaketh of their manner of liturgie, but that doth not impute any thing that I haue affirmed, for I speake of the name *πρεσβυτερος*, in that signification that Iustine doth vse it, which is for one that doth gouerne the rest. Wherfore this is my Argument, there was one among the ministers in Iustines time that did rule and gouerne the rest: Ergo, there was then superiortie among the ministers of the Church, and one was aboue an other, which is the ouerthrow of your ground of equality, at the which I shote: and the which being ouerthrowne, the superiortie of Bishops and Archbishops is soone proued. And agayne I say, that in Iustines time there was one that gouerned the rest of the ministers, Ergo, there may be one to do the same now in like manner. These be my reasons, as for yours they be lyke to the rest of your owne. But your best refuge is to discredit the Autho<sup>r</sup>, which you do in Iustine, as you haue done in the rest. There is no antiquitie of any credite with you, no not in a matter of Historie as this is. For Iustinus doth but declare the manner vsed in the Church in his time. It is well, that in the ende you confesse this name *πρεσβυτερος*, to signifie in Iustine the authoritie of one minister: This because you are constrained to acknowledge, you will do it with nipping and biting the Autho<sup>r</sup>, after your manner. Ignatius who was before Iustine, as you haue heard, vseth a more loftie worde, for he doth call him, *Princeps Sacerdotum*: the Prince or chiefe of Priests,

### Chap. 3. the. 64. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 73. Sect. 1.

Cyillus calleth him *αρχιερα*.

Cyill.

T. C. Pag. 88. Sect. 3.

In other of M. Doctors reasons, for to proue the Archbishop, is that, Cyill maketh mention of an high priest, wherunto I answer, that he that bringeth in a priest into the church, goeth about to hurie our sauiour Christ: for although it might be proued that the worde Priest were the same with the Grekes *πρεσβυτερος*, yet (as shall appeare in his place) is the vse of this worde (priest) for a minister of the Gospell very dangerous. And as for him that bringeth in an high priest into the Church, he goeth about to put our sauiour Christ out of his office, who is proued in the Epistle to the Hebrewes to be the onely high priest, and that there can be no more as long as the world endureth. And yet if all this were graunted, you are not yet come to that which you desire to proue, that is an Archbishop. For if you looke in (\*) Theodosius you shall finde this worde *αρχιερα*, which signifieth the high priesthood, to be nothing else but a byshoppe and in the seventh chapter of that booke, and so forth diuers tymes, you shall haue *αρχιερα* taken for a Bishop, as speaking of the councell of Nice, he sayth that there was 318. *αρχιερα* high priests. Now I thinke you will not say there were 318. Archbishops, if you do, you are confuted, by all Ecclesiasticall writers that euer I read, which speaking of them calleth them Bishops.

(\*) In what booke 1

### Io. Whitgife.

This name Priest is vsually applied to the minister of the Gospell, in all Histories, fathers and writers of antiquitie. And the most of the latest writers do vse it, and make no great scrupulositie in it, neyther doth the name Priest, hurie our Sauiour Christ, as long as it is vsed for a minister of the Gospell: neyther is there any danger in it at all, as long as the office is lawfull.

Not onely Cyill vseth this name (high Priest) but Tertull. also in his booke De Baptismo, where he sayeth that *Episcopus*, is, *summus sacerdos*, The Bishop is the hie Priest, and in lyke manner Theodorete, as you here say, and yet none of them ment to derogate any thing from the office of Christ.

Tertull.

I told you before how names proper to Christ, may be also attributed to men: this being graunted, I haue as much as I desire: for as the Bishop is called *αρχιερα* in the respect of other Priests that be inferiour vnto him, so is the chiefe Bishop called *Archiepiscopus*, in respect of other Bishops that be gouerned and directed by him. And as among the ministers there is one chiefe, which is called a Bishop,

Am. y.

Bop.



shop, so among the Bishops there is one chiefe also that is called an Archbishop: and this is that *ordo* that Augustine speaketh of, as I haue sayd in my Answer to the Admonition, in the wordes of *St. Ioseph*.

### Chap. 3. the. 65. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 73. Sect. 2.

Theodoret of  
Chrysostome.

Theodoretus, li. 5. ca. 28. wryteth that Chrysostome beyng the Bishop of Constantinople, did not onely rule that Church, but the Churches also in Thracia in Asia, and in Pontus.

T.C. Pag. 88. Sect. 4.

(\*) Or els you  
plucke your self  
by the nose.  
(a) The wordes  
of Theodoret  
clipped.

(b) What scrip-  
ture expresseth  
these conditions  
and cautions?

(c) Vntreue.

Chrysostome followeth, which as *St. Doctor* sayth, ruled not onely the church of Constantinople, but the churches of Thracia, Asia, & Pontus, and he sayeth it out of Theodoret. But herein it may appeare, that either *St. Doctor* hath a very euill conscience in falsifying writers, and that in the points which lie in controuersie, (\*) or els he hath taken his stufte of certayne, at the second hand without any examination of it at all. For here he hath set downe in steade of (had care of the churches of Thracia, &c.) ruled the churches, the Greke is, (α) ἐποίητο τὴν προμήθειαν, it is translated also (prospexit): so that it appeareth he fetched it neyther from Theodoret in Greeke nor in Latine. And what is this to proue an Archbishop, that he had care of these churches: there is no minister but ought to haue care ouer all the churches thorough christendome, and to shewe that care for them in comforting or admonishing of them, by writing or by visiting them, (b) if the necessities so require, and it is thought good by the churches, and leaue obteyned of the place where he is minister, vpon some notable and especiall cause, being some man of singular giftes, whose learning and credits may profite much to the bringing to passe of that thing, for the which he is to be sent. After this sort. \* *St. Cyprian* being in Africa had care ouer Rome in Europe, and wrote vnto the church there. After this sorte also was *Irenaeus* Bishop of Lyons sent by the french Churches, vnto the churches in (c) Phrygia, and after this sorte haue *St. Calixtus*, and *St. Wesa* bene sent from Geneva in Sauoy, to the Churches of France.

\* As it ap-  
peareth by  
diuerse es-  
pistles of  
his.  
Euseb. li. 5.  
cap. 3. & 4.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

The falsify-  
ing of Theo-  
doret retur-  
ned vpon the  
Replyer.

Theodor. lib.  
5. cap. 28.

It shall appeare God willing, whether *St. Doctors* memory or yours be worse: whether he hath an euill conscience in falsifying writers, or you in slandering of him: whether he taketh his stufte at the second hand, or you rather, that haue borrowed of other mens collections, almost whatsoeuer you haue heaped together in your booke. All this I say shall appeare, euen to trie your corrupt & vntreue dealing in this place: and certainly I cannot but maruell what affection hath so gotten the vpper hand of you, that it prouoketh you to such outrageous speeches in a matter so manifestly counterfet. If you haue not seene the Author I will ascribe it to negligent ignorance, but if you haue seene him, I cannot ascribe it to any other thing, than to vntreuefast malice. The whole

Booke as it is in Theodoret is this: Ο δὲ μέγας Ἰωάννης τὸς ἐκκλησίας διέταξε ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης, τὰς τε παρὰ τινῶν γινόμεναις ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν παρρησιαστικῶς ἐλέγχε, ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς παρρησιαστικῶς τὰ πρόσφορα, καὶ τὸς ἐρείας ἀφίει κατὰ τὸς καμίνους ποσολιτοῦναι νόμους. Τὸς δὲ τότε παρβαίναντο λωμῶντας, ἐπιβαίναντο ἀνακτόρων ἐκάλυν, ὁ χλῶαι λέγων. ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐρείων ἀρλάναν τιμῆς, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀλνῶν ἐρείων μὴ ζῆλαυ βιωτῶν. καὶ ταῦτῶν ἐποίητο τὴν προμήθειαν ὁ μόνον ἐκείνης ὁ πόλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ θράκας ἀπάσης, εἰς ἣς δὲ αὐτὴ ἡγεμονίας διήρπτο, καὶ ὁ ἀσίας ὅλης, ὑποφύει καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ μόντοι ὁ τὴν πορτικῶν τῶν τοῖς κατενοσμε τοῖς νόμοις, ἰσχυρῶς δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἔχου τὸ ἀσίας τὸς ἡγεμῶν.

John the great hauing receyued the sterne of the Church, reprobued the iniuries of certaine boldly, and counsayled the king and the Queene things couenient, and exhorted the Priests to walke according to the lawes appoynted. But such as were not afrayde to breake them, he suffered not to come to the table, saying it was not meete that those should enioye the honour of Priests, which would not follow the conuersation of true Priests. And this care he used not onely ouer that cite, but also ouer whole Thracia, which cōteyneth six prouinces, and ouer all Asia, which is gouerned vnder eleuen rulers: and moreouer he gouerned the Church of Pontus with these lawes, in which countie are as many rulers as in Asia. First he sayth that Chrysostome tooke the sterne or gouernment of the Church, then that he did freely



freely reprehend vice. Thirdly, that he commaunded the Priests to liue according to the lawes. Fourthly, that he did excommunicate and deprive of their priestly honour such as durst transgresse. Is not this to rule? what Archbishop in England both execute greater iurisdiction? Then it followeth immediatly in Theodor, and vvith this care he did provide for, or embrace not only his citie, but the Churches of Thracia, &c. Where it is to be noted that Theodorete sayth with this care &c. meaning that as he had the gouernment of the Church of Constantinople, and did there reprehend vice, comaunded the Priests to liue according to the lawes, excommunicate them that did not, and put them from their office, so did he also in the Churches of Thracia, Asia, and Pontus. Theodoretes wordes be *καὶ τὰς τῆς ἐπορίτης τῆς προμαρθείας* &c. and you haue craftely left out *τὰς τῆς* that you might the rather cloke Theodoretes plaine meaning. Besides this Theodorete sayth in playne wordes, that he gouerned the Churches in Pontus with these lawes, the Greeke wordes is *κατεκόσμη τοὺς νόμους*.

I shall molke hartely desire the Reader to consider this dealing of yours: surely I thinke fewe Papistes would haue dealt in lyke manner. And if the wordes of themselves were not playne (as they be most playne) yet very reason might haue taught you, that this was Theodoretes meaning, for if he should not haue ment some special care of these Churches, wherfore should he rather make particular mentiō of them, thā of other Churches? do you not thinke that wise mē can easily espie your grosse shifts?

Cyprians care ouer Rome, was not lyke the care that he had ouer his owne Churches, it could not be sayd that he embraced Rome with the same care of gouernment, of repprouing, of excommunicating such as durst offend &c. that he did Carthage, and other places committed vnto him, as it is here sayd of Chrysostome.

I omit your oversight in saying that Irenaeus was sent to the Churches in Phrygia: for Eusebius lib. 5. cap. 3. & 4. (which places you quote in your margent to proue it) hath no such thing: only he sayth that Irenaeus was sent to Rome to Eleutherius.

### Chap. 3. the. 66. Diuision.

T.C Pag. 89. Sect. 1.

Now if you will conclude hereupon that Cyprian ruled the church of Rome, or Irenaeus the Church of Phrygia, or M. Caluine, or M. Beza the churches of Fraunce, or that they were Bishops or Archbishops of those places, you shall but conclude as you were wont to do: but yet all men vnderstand, that here is nothing lesse than an Archbishop, or any such Bishop as we haue and vse in our church. And if so be that Chrysostome should be Bishop or Archbishop of all these churches, which were in all Asia, Pontus, Thracia, as you would giue the reader to vnderstand, you make him Bishop of (a) more churches than euer the Pope of Rome was, when he was in his greatest pryde, & his empire largest. For there were fixe presidentships in Thracia, & in Asia there were an eleuen princes, & had seuerall regions or gouernments, & in Pontus as many, & if he were Bishop or Archbishop of all the churches within these dominions, he had neede of a long spone to fede with all. (b) It is certayne therfore that he was Bishop only of the church in Constantinople, & had an eye and a care to those other churches. And that he was Bishop of one citie or of one church, it may appeare by that which I haue before alleaged out of the Greeke Scholiast vpon Titus, who citeth there Chrysostome, where it is sayd that S. Paule did not meane to make one ouer the whole Ile, (c) but that euery one should haue his proper congregation &c. And in another place he sheweth the difference betwene the Emperour and the Bishop, that the one is ouer the world, and the other, that is the Bishop, is ouer one citie.

(a) Or els you are deceyued.

(b) An vntroth as will appeare.

(c) The wordes of the Scholiast peruerted.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Your examples proue nothing, neither be they any thing like to this of Chrysostome, for Theodorete doth mention these Churches as places annexed to the Bishopricke of Constantinople, & properly apperteyning to the care and charge of Chrysostome the Bishop of that citie. Socrates speaking of a counsell assembled at Constantinople, sayth thus: They do againe establish the sayth of the Coucell of Nice: & deuiding prouinces they appoint Patriarkes, there was therefore allotted vnto Nectarius, the great and ample citie of Constantinople & Thracia, &c. And this Nectarius was Patriarch of Constantinople next before Chrysostome, so that it is manifest that Chrysostome was Patriarch or Archbishop both of Constantinople and also of Thracia, &c. Sozomenus

Thracia, &c. annexed to the bishopricke of Constantinople. Socrates, li. 5. cap. 8.

Sozomenus lib. 3. cap. 6.

pm. iij.

places



Chrysostome  
exerciseth  
Archiepisco-  
pal iurisdiction  
in Asia.

places also, and that he executed iurisdiction there accordingly: For he deposed to the number of 13. Bishops, some in Lycia, some in Phrygia, some in Asia, because they could be- nefices and bestowed them for fauour, and for rewarde. And if you were not eyther very ignorant, or wilfully bent, you might haue read in Ecclesiasticall histories, that one Bishop had authoritie and charge ouer diuers Churches, long before Chrysostomes time, the which thing I haue also before proued by diuers examples.

Cent. 5. cap. 10.  
Chrysostome  
Archbishop  
of Thracia,  
Asia, &c.

That Chrysostome was Archbishop of all those Churches (although it be suffi- ciently proued by the testimonie of Theodozete a worthe writer and notable diuine: and by Sozomene also) yet will I adde (as a full confutation of all your phantasies in this matter) the iudgement of the wyters and collectors of the Centuries, who being many learned, & trauayling especially in such matters, deserue great credit: In their 5. Centurie cap. 10. they wyte thus of Chrysostome: *Non autem tantum istius Ecclesie Pa- storem egit &c.* But he was not onely Pastor of this Church (meaning Constantinople) but was Archbishop also or overseer of other Churches in Thracia, which was deuided into sixe presidentships, in Asia which was ruled of eleuen pretors, and in the region of Pontus, which is likewise deuided into eleuen presidentships. If so report of any historiographer will please you, what remedy: though you remayne willfull still, yet I trust the tra- stable Reader may here finde sufficient to satisfie him. For a further proufe that the Bishops of Constantinople were called Archbishops, I could referre you to the gene- rall Councell of Calcedon which was Anno. 453. where *Flavianus* is called Archbishop of Constantinople sundry times. Where also it appeareth that the Archbishop of Co- nstantinople, had the ordeyning, allowing and disallowing of the Bishops in Pontus, Asia, and Thracia. You are greatly deceyued in saying that if he were Archbishop of al these Churches, he was Bishop of moe Churches, than euer the Pope was in his greatest pryde: for euen all these Churches, and all other Churches were made subiect to him, when by Phocas he was made the head of the Church and vniuersall Bishop: and though he had not possession of all, yet did he clayme interest in all, and iurisdiction ouer all, or at the least ouer so many of them as professed Chyristianitie.

Act. 16.

You say, it is certayne therefore that he was Bishop onely of the Church in Constanti- nople, and had an eye and care to those other Churches: and against this your owne certayn- tie without any ground or authoritie, I haue brought in Theodozete, Sozomene, the Councell of Calcedon, and the Centuries: although in effect you confesse asmuch as I desire: for there is neyther Archbishop nor Bishop in this Church, but he hath his pe- culiar sea and Church, and yet care of gouernment ouer other also, euen as Chryso- stome had.

The Scholi-  
ast falsified by  
E. C. and to  
what pur-  
pose.

You haue alleaged nothing, neyther can you, to proue that Chrysostome had not gouernment ouer mo Churches than one. The Greeke Scholiast (whom I haue an- swered) hath not one worde to that purpose: for enery seuerall parish hath a Pastor, notwithstanding the Bishop hath the care of gouernment of them, euen as Titus had in Creta. The wordes of the autho- be, *Sed singulas ciuitates suum habere Pastorem*, but e- uery citie should haue hir Pastor, And you haue translated it, that euery one shoulde haue his proper congregation: whereby you meane scant god sayth, but couertly go about to make your reader beleue, that the Scholiast would haue no ministers without a pro- per congregation. But of this and many other of your like corruptions, I trust the reader is already sufficiently instructed.

The wordes of Chrysostome Hom. 3. in Act. be these: *Nonne imperium orbis terrarū tenet imperator? Hic autem vnius ciuitatis Episcopus est.* Doth not the Emperour gouerne the world: but this man is Bishop of one Citie. The which wordes are spoken of Chryso- stome in this sense, that he which is but Bishop of one Citie, is asmuch subiect to af- fections and troubles as the Emperour is, that gouerneth the whole worlde. This to be Chrysostomes meaning the wordes following do declare: wherefore he doth not in that place shew any difference betwixt the Emperour & a Bishop, in the largnes or straightnesse of their charges, & places of gouernment (as you say) but in the troubles, in the opprobries & slanders that they be subiect vnto, wherewith the Bishop of one citie is moze tossed, thā the Emperour of the whole worlde: which Chrysostome spea- keth



keeth hyperbolically, for there was not one Emperour ouer the whole worlde at any time, and he himselfe being Bishop had the care and charge of diuerse Cities, wherfore he must be vnderstande *secundum subiectam materiam*: as the matter in hand requireth.

Chap. 3. the. 67. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition, Pag. 73. Sect. 3.

Theodoretus Episcopus Cyri in an Epistle that he writte to Leo, sayth of Theodoret, himselfe, that he had gouernment ouer. 800. Churches.

T. C. Pag. 89. Sect. 2.

Touching Theodozet Bishop of Cyzus, (a) to let passe that which the Bishops of Egypt cried in the Council of Calcedon, that he was no Bishop, it is to be obserued, that which the Emperours Theodosius & Valentinian, write vnto Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria, that he had commaunded Theodozet Bishop of Cyzus that he should keepe himselfe vnto his owne Church only: wherby it appeareth, (b) that he medled in moze Churches than was meete he should. Besides, that wanteth not suspicion that he speaketh this of himselfe, especially when he sayth that there was not in all those. 800. Churches one rare, that is (c) one hypocrite or euill man.

(a) You misse those that are agaynst you.  
(b) An vntruth, & foule ouersight.  
(c) Vntue interpretation.

In the. 1. Act.  
In the same Act.

Jo. Whitgiste.

In the conuocation holden in the first yeare of Quene Marie, the testimonie of this Theodozet, being alledged agaynst transubstantiation, D. Watson because he could not answer the authoritie, denyed the Authour, accusing him to be a Nestorian. To whom replie was made, that it was but a lewde refuge, when he could not answer, to denie the Authour. The same may be sayde to you, dealing in the selfe same manner. For this Theodozete as he is a notable Hystoriographer, & of great credite in therreporting of things done by other, & before his time, so is there no cause at all why he should be suspected speaking of him selfe. And he himselfe doth report of himselfe in that Epistle written by him to Leo, that he had not onely gouerned these 800. Churches, but so gouerned them by the space of. 26. yeares, that he susteyned no reproch or blame of the bishops of Antioche: whereof I might also truely gather, that the Bishop of Antioche was as it were his Archbishop or Metropolitane. This authoritie or rather example of Theodozete is so plaine, that you are driuen to seeke vnlawfull shifts to deface a worthy wyter: but let vs see how iustly.

Theodozete can haue no credite either with the Papists, or with the Replier.

You say, that the Bishops of Egypt cryed in the Council of Calcedon, that he was no Bishop, and you note in the margent the. 1. Act. of that Council: and I say vnto you againe, that the whole Council in the. 8. Action, cryed out and sayde, *Theodoretus dignus est sede Ecclesie, orthodoxum Ecclesia pastorem recipiat*. Theodoret is worthie the seat of the Church (that is the Bishoprike) let the Church receyue him as a Catholike Pastor.

You adde, that Theodosius and Valentinian, writte vnto Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria, that he had commaunded Theodozet Bishop of Cyzus, that he should keepe himselfe to his owne Church onely, &c. To this I answer, that you haue here delt, as commonly you do, that is, verie corruptly: for the wordes that followe in the same Epistle doe euidently declare, that the Emperours meaning was, that Theodozete should keepe himselfe at home, and not come to the Synode, vnlesse it should please the whole Synode to accept of him, and to admit him. The which also appeareth in another Epistle of the Emperours to Dioscorus in that first Act of the Council of Calcedon (in the which Epistle the Emperour calleth the Bishop of Jerusalem Archbishop) It appeareth that Theodozete was first by the Emperours commaundement inhibited from comming to that Synode, which was called the seconde Council of Ephesus, and afterwarde that he was conuincid in the same Synode in his absence, and not called to answer for himselfe, as he declareth in his Epistle written to Leo. But he was restoyed in this generall Council of Calcedon, and that seconde Council of Ephesus

The corrupt dealing of T. C.



was afterward condemned: so that all this that you speake to the discredite of Theodozete is but a friuolous, and yet a corrupt shift.

*Theod. in Epist. ad Leonē.*

*How Theodozete left no tares in his 800. churches*

You do but as you are wont, when you expounde that which Theodozete speaketh of his 800. Churches being without tares, of hypocrites and euill men. If you had read the authour your selfe, I thinke you would not so grossely haue erred: his words be these. By Gods helpe I deliuered more than a thousande soules from Martions heresie, and I conuerted many to Christ the Lorde from the sect of Arius, and Eunomius, & *ut in octingentis Ecclesijs pastor essem, mihi sortitū obtigit: tot enim paræcias, habet Cyrus:* and it was allotted to me to be pastor in 800. Churches, for Cyrus hath so many parishes: in the which through your prayers there did not remaine one tare: *sed ab omni errore heretico liberatus fuit grex noster*, but our flocke was deliuered from all hereticall error. Theodozete therefore meaneth heresie, he meaneth not hypocrisie, there was not one heretike in all his Bishoprike, he doth not say one hypocrite or euill man: so that you are farre wyde and do Theodozete double iniurie, for you do both slander him, and misconstrue him.

### Chap. 3. the. 68. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 89. Sect. 3.

Nowe, that it may appeare what great likehoode there is betwene this Theodozet, and our Lorde Bishops and Archbishops, it is to be considered which he writeth of himselfe in the Epistle vnto Leo, that is, that he hauing bene, 16. yeares Bishop, was knowne of all those that dwelt in those partes, that he had neuer house of his owne, nor felde, nor halfe penny, not so much as a place to be buried in, but had willingly contented himselfe with a poore estate, beyke he had a verie leene Archbishopske, and if the fatte morsels of our Bishoprikes, and Archbishopskes were taken and employed to their vles of maintenance of the poore, and of the Ministers, and of the Vniuersities, whiche are the seede of the ministerie, I thinke the heate of the disputation, and contention for Archbishops and Bishops woulde be well cooled.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

*Comparison made in office, not in riches.*

We speake of the office and authoritie, not of the lining, to the spoile of the which, you and most of your sautoys haue more respect, than you haue to the office, thonghe you pretende the contrarie: and yet it followeth not, but that Theodozete had lyving sufficient, and might haue bene more welthie, but as it seemeth he professed voluntary pouertie of purpose, for he gaue away that also whiche was left vnto him of his parents, as he in that Epistle testifieth saying, *Sed sponte electam amplexus sum paupertatem*: but I embraced pouertie which I chose willingly. His Bishoprike might be of large reuenues, and yet he poore, seeing that he had chosen, and professed pouertie. But if Bishops be better nowe prouided for, than they were then, it is their partes to be thankfull vnto God and the Prince for it, and to vse it well. It is not your dutie to enuie their prosperitie, because you are not in case your selfe.

### Chap. 3. the. 69. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 73. Sect. vlr.

But what shall I neede to vse such proofes in a matter so plaine, and euident to all such as haue read any thing of antiquitie? The best learned men of our dayes, and diligentest preferres of the Gospell of Christ do with one consent (one or two of the latest writers excepted) acknowledge and confesse that this distinction of degrees, and superioritie in the gouernment of the Church, is a thing most conuenient and necessarie.



How good reader thou hearest what M. Doctor hath bene able to rake together out of the olde fathers, which he sayth are so plaine in this matter, and yet can shew nothing to the purpose. Heare also what he sayth out of the writers of our age, all which he sayth (except one or two) are of his iudgement, and allow well of this distinction of degrees.

### Jo. Whitgife.

Tell what I haue raked together, and howe you haue carted these rakings away, I commit to the iudgement of the learned. These raking termes, in my opinion are not seemely in him, that would seeme so much to iustifie himselfe, and to condemne other of immodestie.

### Chap. 3. the. 70. Diuision.

Answwre to the Admonition. Pag. 74. Sect. 1.

Caluine in his Institutions sayth on this sort, that euery prouince had among their Bishops an Archbishop, and that the Councell of Nice did appoynt Patriarches vvhich should be in order and dignitie aboue Archbishops, it vvas for the preseruacion of discipline: Therefore for this cause especially vvere those degrees appoynted, that if any thing shoulde happen in any particular Church vvhich could not there be decided, it might be remo-ued to a prouinciall Synode: If the greatnesse or difficultie of the cause required greater consultation, then vvas there added Patriarches together with the Synodes, from vvhom there vvas no appeale but vnto a general Coucel; This kind of gouernment some called *Hierarchie*, an improper name and not vsed in the scriptures: for the spirit of God vvil not haue vs to dreame of dominion and rule in the gouernment of the Church: But if (omitting the name) vve shall consider the thing it selfe, vve shall finde that these olde Bishops did not frame any other kinde of gouernment in the Church, fro that vvhich the Lorde hath prescribed in his vvorde. Caluine here mislybeth this name *Hierarchie*, but he alloweth the names and authoritie of Patriarches and Archbishops, and thinketh the gouernment of the Church then bled, not to differ from that which God in his worde prescribeth.

Caluin. Cap. 8.  
Sect. 54.

T. C. Pag. 89. Sect. vlt. & Pag. 90. Sect. 1. 2.

M. Caluine first is cyped to proue those offices of Archbishop, Primate, Patriarch: The names whereof he cannot abyde, and as for him he approueth onely, that there should be some, which when difficult causes arise, which cannot be ended in the particular Churches might referre the matters to Synodes and prouinciall Councelles, and which might do the offices whiche I haue spoken of before of gathering voyces, &c.

But that he liketh not of those dominations and large iurisdictions, or at all of the Bishops or Archbishops, which we haue nowe, it may appeare plainly enough both in that place, when as he will haue his wordes drawn to no other than the olde Bishops, shutting out thereby the Bishops that now are, as also in other places, and namely vpon the Philippians, where reasoning agaynst this distinction betwene Pastor and Bishop, and shewing that giuing the name of Bishop, to one man onely in a church, was the occasion why he afterwarde vsurped domination ouer the rest, he sayth after this sort: In deede I graunt (sayth he) as the dispositions and manners of men are, order cannot stand amongst the ministers of the worde, vniuerselle one be ouer the rest, I meane (sayth he) of euerye severall and singular bodie, not of a whole prouince, much lesse of the whole worlde.

Now if you will needes haue M. Caluins Archbishop, you must not haue him neither ouer a prouince nor Diocese, but onely ouer one singular and particular congregation: how much better therefore were it for you to seeke some other title agaynst the forme than M. Caluins, which will not suffer you by any means to couer your selfe vnder his winges, but thrusteth you out all wayes as soone as you enter vpon him forceably.

Io. Whitgife.



Jo. Whitgiste.

Caluine ac-  
knowledgeth  
the names, and  
the end of the,  
and alloweth  
the kinde of  
gouernment.

¶ Caluine affirmeth directly, that euery prouince among their Bishops had an Archbishop, and that the Councell of Nice did appoint Patriarkes: he sayeth that these degrees were appointed for the preservation of discipline, and by calling of Synodes to ende controuersies that arise in particular Churches he well liketh this kinde of gouernment: onely he misliketh the name (*Hierarchia*) what can bee plainly spoken both of the name and office of the Archbishop: As for your sonde desire that it shoulde be his office onely to gather voyces, &c. it is singular to your selfe, you haue not one learned wynter (that I can read) with you.

The Bishops that now are in this Church, neyther haue, nor challenge to haue more iurisdiction than the olde Bishops had, nay they haue not so much, as it is euidently to be scene in the olde Canons: and therefore M. Caluine allowing of them, doth allow of ours also.

His place to the Philippians maketh agaynst you, for he alloweth one to be superiour amongst the ministers, and to rule the rest, and sayth. that as the nature and disposition of men now is, there coulde be no order except it were so: which doth utterly overthrow the equalitie that you and the Admonition dreame of. He saith that he speaketh *de singulis corporibus*. which he cannot vnderstand of particular parishes, for euery particular parish hath not many ministers: so that of necessitie he must haue manie several Churches to make the bodie he speaketh of: and therefore a Diocesse or a prouince. I thinke M. Caluine did thinke Geneva, and the towne thereof into adioyning and belonging to be but one bodie: so doe I thinke London and the Diocesse thereof to pertaine to be but one particular bodie. And likewise the Prouince of Canterbury, distinguished into diuerse partes and members, to be but one bodie in like manner. Neyer do I thinke that master Caluine euer shewed his misliking of these degrees in this Church as they be now vled: for (as I sayde before) the great abuse of them vnder the Pope, made him more to mislike of them, than he woulde haue done, but in these wordes that I haue repeated of his, he testifieth as much as I desire, that is the antiquitie and the cause, and vse of those offices, and (that which you omit and skip ouer) that herein the olde Bishops did frame no kinde of gouernment in the Church diuerse from that which the Lord hath prescribed in his word: which neyther you nor your adherents can abide to heare of.

T. C. letteth  
that say, that  
maketh a-  
gainst him.

## Chap. 3. the. 71. Division.

T. C. Pag. 90. Sect. 3.

¶ Vainst accu-  
sation.

But here I cannot let passe M. Doctors ill dealing, which receiving so much of master Caluine, (\*) cutteth him off in the waske, and leaueth quite oute that which made agaynst him, that is which M. Caluine sayeth in these wordes: Although (sayeth he) in this disputation, it may not be passed ouer that this office of Archbishop or Patriarke, was most rarely and seldom vled, which dealing seemeth to procede of a verie euill conscience.

Jo. Whitgiste.

I knowe not what perfection is in your booke, more than in mine, but I am sure that I haue followed mine owne booke saythfully and truly, neither haue I omitted one worde that maketh eyther with me or agaynst me: and therefore you haue brauely charged mee. The booke that I follow was printed Anno. 1553: where in there are no such wordes, that this office of Archbishop or Patriarke was most rarely and seldom vled. Neither is there cause why M. Caluine shoulde so say, for he could not but knowe that these offices haue had continuance in the Church, at the least, since before the Councell of Nice, for there are these wordes, *was antiquus perduret, &c.* and that they were continually assured to the Bishops of certaine Cities, as Rome, Antioch, &c.

Inde



In deede in the last edition of his institutions, he hath these wordes, *quoniam in hac disputatione prateriri non potest, quod rarissimi erat usus*, which wordes he referreth to the office of a Patriarch, whome he sayth the Picene Countell did place in dignitie and order aboue Archbishops, for the preservation of discipline, neither doth he say that the office of a Patriarke was moueable, or chosen at euery action, (for then shoulde he affirme that which is repugnant to all Hypotheses, Councelles, and auncient writers that speake of Patriarkes) but his meaning is, that there was but seldome tymes occasion offered for Patriarkes, to exercise the authoritie they had ouer Archbishops, which is the occasion that the most authours doe confounde them, and thinke them to be all one; other meaning than this, his wordes neyther can nor doe aduise.

The use of the Patriarch rare, in what sense

### Chap. 3. the. 72. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 74. Sect. vlt.

Hemingius in his Enchirid. sheweth, that these degrees in the Church be necessarie, & that discipline cannot be kept without them. And he addeth that their Church kepeth this forme, *Nec mouetur* (saith he) *Anabaptistarum ac Libertinorum effreni libidine, qui ecclesiam Christi barbaricum quendam hominum ceterum, sine ordine fingunt, cui habeat nostra ecclesia non solum exemplum Apostolicum & purioris ecclesie, verum etiam mandatum spiritus sancti omnia ordinare & decenter ad edificationem faciendi.* Neyther is our Church moued with the licentious libertie of Anabaptists and Libertines, which feine the Church of Christ to be a barbarous confused societie without order, seeing that our Church hath not onely the example of the Apostolicall and most pure Church, but also the commaundement of the spirite of God, to do all things orderly and decently to edifie.

Hemingius.

T. C. Pag. 90. Sect. 4.

Then followeth Hemingius, who you say approueth these degrees of Archbishop, Metropolitane, Bishop, Archdeacon, for so you must needs meane, when you say he approueth these degrees, or else you say nothing, for thereupon is the question. Howe howe vntuly you speake, let it be iudged by that which followeth. First he sayth that our Saviour Christ in S. Luke distinguisheth, and putteth a difference betweene the office of a Prince, and the office of the Minister of the Church, leaving dominion to the Princes, and taking it altogether from the Ministers: here you see, not onely howe he is agaynst you, in your exposition in the place of S. Luke, which woulde haue it nothing else but a prohibition of ambition, but also howe at a worde, he cutteth the throte of your Archbishop, and Bishoppe as it is nowe vsed. And afterwarde speaking of the Churches of Denmarke, he sayeth they haue Christ for their heade, and for the outwarde discipline, they haue Magistrates to punish with the sword, and for to exercise the ecclesiasticall discipline, they haue Bishops, Pastours, Doctours, which may keepe men vnder with the worde, without vying any corporall punishment. Here is no mention of Archbishops, Primates, Metropolitanes. And although he sheweth that they keepe the distinction betweene Bishops and Ministers, agaynst which there hath bene before spoken, yet he sayeth that the authoritie which they haue, is as the authoritie of a father, not as the power of a master, which is farre otherwise here. (\*) For the condition of many seruants vnder their masters, is much more free than the condition of a Minister vnder his Bishop. And afterwarde he sheweth wherein that authoritie or dignitie of the Bishop ouer the Minister lyeth, that is in exhorting of him, in chiding of him, as he doth the lay people, and yet he will haue also the Minister, although not with such authoritie, after a modest sort to do the same vnto the Bishop. And so he concludeth, that they reteyne these orders, notwithstanding the Anabaptistes. Howe let the reader iudge whether Hemingius be truly or saythfully alledged or no, or whether Hemingius do say that they haue in their Church Archbishops, Primates, Metropolitanes, Archdeacons, or whether the Bishops in the Churches of Denmarke are any thing like ours. For I wil omitte that he speaketh there agaynst all pompe in the Ministerie, all worldly superiortie or highnesse, because I loue not to wyte out whole pages, as Mr. Doctor doth out of other mens wytings, to helpe to make by a booke.

(\*) So is the condition of a good servant vnder a good master, much better than the condition of an vntuly sonne vnder a wise father.

\* And therefore you cut short & clip sentences.

Jo. Whitgiste.

Hemin in that very place quoted in your margēt hath first these wordes: *Præterea cū hic catus, &c.* Furthermore seing this society is ruled by the word of god, there are in it two sorts of

Cap. 10. 3. claff. lib. Enchirid. vwhere also among the popish orders here reckoneth the Archb.



Hemingsius  
alloweth dis-  
tinction of  
degrees in the  
ministers.

Hemingsius  
acknowled-  
geth Patriar-  
ches in the  
primitiue  
Church.  
The office of  
Patriarches in  
the primitiue  
Church.

To take away  
degrees is  
barbarousnes.

Ministers  
subject to Bi-  
shops.

Heb. 13.

What kind of  
authoritie the  
Bishops ex-  
ercise.

of men, that is to say the preachers of the worde, and their hearers, which do reuerence and loue one another as fathers and children. But in the Ministers there is great diuersitie: for although the authoritie of all Ministers in respect of spirituall regiment is all one (for of external discipline shall be spoken in the proper place) yet there are diuerse orders and degrees of honour and dignitie: and that partly by the worde of God, partly by the approbation and allowance of the Church. Where first he alloweth this distinction which you so greatly mislike that all Ministers be equall touching spirituall iurisdiction, that is their ministerie, but not concerning external discipline: then doth he allowe degrees of dignitie and superiortie among the Clergie: the which after that he hath proued by the Scripture, as namely the. 4. to the Ephesians, and by the examples of Paule, Timothie, and Titus, he proceedeth and goeth on forwarde: and sayth, *Ecclesia. etc.* The Church, to whome the Lorde hath giuen power vnto edification, hath ordeyned an order of ministeries for hir profite, that all things might be rightly ordeyned for the reedifying of the bodie of Christ. Hereof the Primitiue Church following the tymes of the Apostles, did appoynt some Patriarkes, whose office it was to prouide that the Bishoppes of euerie Diocesse should be rightly ordeyned and elected: that the Bishops should doe their duerie truely: and that the Clergie and people should obey them in those things that perteyned to the Lorde: it appoynted also *Chorepiscopos*, (that is coadiutors of Bishoppes whome we nowe call Prouostes) some Pastors, and Catechistes. This was the ordination of the Primitiue Church. Wherein he plainly declareth these degrees that I speake of (for vnder the name of Patriarkes, it is euident that he comprehendeth Archbishops or Metropolitanes) to haue bene in the Primitiue Church, immediately after the Apostles tyme, and in the purest tyme of the Church: than the which what can be spoken more directly for my purpose, whose chiefe intent is, to proue the antiquitie of these names and offices?

After this he sheweth the abuses of these offices in the corruption of doctrine vnder the Pope, and he doth not onely name Archbishops, but Bishops also, Curates, and other, and therefore the note in your margent, is but a note of a speciall spyte agaynst the Archbishops. In the end speaking of Bishops, Pastors, and Doctors, he sayth thus. *Inter hos ministros, &c.* Amongst these ministers also our Church acknowledgeth degrees and orders of dignitie, for the diuersitie of gistes, the greatnesse of labour, and the worthinesse of their calling: and iudgeth it to be barbarous, to will to take this order out of the Church: It iudgeth that other Ministers ought to obey their Bishops in all things that tend to the edification of the Church, according to the worde of God, and the profitable order of the Church: It iudgeth that the Bishops haue authoritie ouer the other ministers of the Church, not such as is of masters, but of fathers. Whereby he acknowledgeth distinction of degrees and superiortie among Ministers, and the iurisdiction of Bishops ouer other Ministers: After all this he concludeth with these wordes conteyned in mine answer: Nowe let the reader iudge whether I haue otherwise repoited of Hemingsius than he himselfe in that Chapter affirmeth: and whether he consent vnto me that would haue distinction of degrees among the Ministers, or to you that would haue an equalitie which he calleth an Anabaptistickall and barbarous confusion.

Touching your notes gathered out of him, I will bryefly answer: first, in the exposition of the. 22. of Luke, he is not agaynst me, for I would not haue Archbishops or Bishops, &c. to take from Kings their rule and dominion as doth the Pope: neither would I haue them to reigne ouer the people as Kings and Princes do. And I doe not thinke but that the authoritie and superiortie that they haue, is a ministerie for the quietnesse of the Church, and the commoditie of other, and yet a gouernment to: for the Apostle sayth, *ad Hebr. 13. Obedite his qui presunt vobis*, Obey them that beare rule ouer you &c. Hemingsius in that place especially dealeth agaynst the two swordes of the Bishop of Rome, and his excessive pompe.

For the kinde of authoritie that the Bishop hath ouer the Ministers, that it should be of a father, and not of a master, I agree with him, and I knowe that all you speake to the contrarie in the gouernment of this Church, is most vntrue: For vndoubtedly if they haue offended in any thing, it is in too much lenitie, whiche is a fault enen in a



in a father. The authoritie that Hemingius giueth to the ciuill Magistrate, we acknowledge with him to be moſte due, and I would to God you alſo dyd in heart and mouthe confeſſe the ſame. Thus you ſee that Hemingius and we agree, and that there is nothing aſcribed vnto him, whiche is not plaſſely to be founde in him.

Chap. 3. the. 73. Diuiſion.

Anſwere to the Admonition. Pag. 75. Lin. 11. & Sect. 1.

Wherefore thus I conclude with the very wordes of that worthy man, (who hath ſo well deſerued of this Church of Englande) Maſter Fore: In the eccleſiaſticall eſtate vve take not away the diſtinction of ordinarie degrees, ſuche as by the Scripture be appoynted, or by the Primitiue Church allowved, as Patriarkes or Archebiſhops, Biſhops, miniſters, and deacons, for of theſe foure vve eſpecially reade as chief: in vvhich foure degrees as vve graunt diuerſitie of office, ſo vve admit in the ſame alſo diuerſitie of dignitie: neyther denying that vvhich is due to eache degree, neyther yet maynteyning the ambition of any ſingular perſon. For as vve giue to the miniſter place aboue the Deacon, to the Biſhop aboue the miniſter, to the Archbiſhop aboue the Biſhop, ſo vve ſee no cauſe of inequalitye, vvhich one miniſter ſhould be aboue another miniſter, one Biſhop in his degree aboue another Biſhop to deale in his dioces: or an Archbiſhop aboue another Archbiſhop: and this is to keepe an order duely and truly in the Church, according to the true nature and definition of order by the authoritie of Auguſtine, *lib. de Ciui. Ordo eſt parium diſpariumq; rerum ſua cuiq; loca tribuens diſpoſitio.* Hitherto M. Fore.

Nowe let the indifferent Reader iudge whether theſe offices be ſtraunge and vnheard of in the Church of Chriſt, or no.

T. C. Pag. 90. Sect. vlt.

M. Doctor cloſeth by this matter with M. Fore, but eyther for feare that the place ſhoulde be founde, that there might be anſwere, or for feare that M. Fore ſhoulde giue me the ſolution which hath giuen you the objection, he would neyther quote the place of the booke, nor the booke it ſelfe, he hauing written diuers. You can not ſpeake ſo muche good of M. Fore, whiche I will not willingly ſubſcribe vnto: and if it be any declaration of good will, and of honor, that one beareth to another, to reade that which he writeth, I thinke (\*) I haue read more of him, than you. For I haue read ouer his booke of Martyrs, and ſo I thinke dyd neuer you: for if you had read ſo diligently in M. Fore, as you haue bene haſty to ſmatche at this place, he would haue taughte you the forgery of theſe Epistles, whereout you fetch your authorities, and would haue ſhewed you that the diſtinguiſhing of the orders of Metropolitans, Biſhops, and other degrees, whiche you ſay ſometimes had their beginnings in the Apoſtles tymes, ſometimes you can not tell when, were not in Magnus tyme, whiche was. 180. yeares after Chriſte. I (a) perceiue you feare M. Fore is an enemy vnto your Archbiſhop and primate, and therefore it ſeemeth you went about to corrupte him with his prayſe, and to ſeake to drawe him, if it were poſſible, vnto the Archbiſhop, and if not, yet at the leaſt that he would be no enemy, if he would not, nor could not be his friend. You make me ſuſpect that your prayſe is not hartly, but pretended, becauſe you doe ſo often and ſo bitterly ſpeake agaynſt all thoſe that will not receiue the cappe, and ſurplice, and other ceremonies, whereof M. Fore declareth his great miſliking. For anſwere vnto the place, becauſe I remember it not, nor meane not to reade ouer the whole booke to ſeake it, I ſay firſt as I ſayde before, that there may be ſomethyng before or after, whych may giue the ſolution to this place, eſpecially ſeeing M. Fore in another place page. 96. prouing the Epistles of Stephanus to be counterfeyt, he vſeth this reaſon, becauſe the ſyft canon of the ſayd Epistles, ſolemnly entreaterh of the difference betwene, Primates, Metropolitans, and Archbiſhops, which diſtinction (ſayth he) of titles and degrees, ſauour more of ambition than perfection. Moreover I ſaye, that M. Fore writing a ſtorie, dothe take greater payne, and looketh more diligently to declare what is done, and in what tyme, and by whome, than howe juſtly or vniuſtly, howe conueniently or inconueniently it is done. Laſt of all, if any thing be ſpoken there to the hinderance of the ſinceritie of the Goſpell, I am well aſſured that M. Fore, whiche hath traueled ſo muche and ſo profitably to that ende, will not haue his authoritie or name therein to bring any preiudice. Nowe will I alſo ioyne with you, and leaue it to the iudgement of the indifferent Reader, howe well out of the

(\*) I marvel this place could eſcape ſo diligẽt a reader.

(a) A ſuſpicious head.



Scriptures, Councils, Writings olde and newe, you have proued epyther the lawfulnessse at all of the names of Archbishops, Patriarkes, Archdeacons, Primates, or of the lawfulnessse of the office of them, and of Bishops which be in our times.

### *Io. Whitgife.*

If you had so diligently read M. Fore his booke of Partys, as you boast and brag that you haue done, then could not this place haue bene so straunge vnto you, for it is in the 20. page of his first tome, where he hath an whole treatise touching the supremacie of the Bishop of Rome, and speaketh of this matter at large. The words be his owne, and expresse his owne iudgement of these degrees & offices in this Church of Englande. It had bene some token of modestie, so to haue commended your selfe, and your owne reading, that you had not depraied any other mans: But to comend your selfe, and to detract from an other, is epyther arrogant foolishnesse, or foolish arrogancie. I can bring forth good testimonies of my reading of these bookes, though I make no bygge thereof, or wayne comparisons.

I haue alleaged none of these Epistles other wyse than M. Fore him selfe hath alleaged them.

M. Fore hath thewed him selfe (in the place by me cited out of his booke) to be no enemy epyther to Archbishop, Primate, or Bishop, for I am sure he speaketh as he thinketh. He is not a man like to be corrupted with payle, and therefore in so saying, you doe vs bothe great iniurie.

You may not iudge my heart: I thinke of M. Fore as of one that I loue and reuerence, I will not utter all that I could, least I should seeme to flatter.

There is nothing that goeth epyther before that place, or followeth after it, that can procure any other sense to his wordes, than that in the which I haue set them down. I doe not alleage M. Fore for the originall of these names and offices, but for the allowance of them. These words that I haue recited are not spoken in the wyse of any hypocrisie, but of the order of government of this Church, which he alloweth, and I dare saye for him, that he hath herein spoken nothing, which he thinketh maye hurte the synner of the Gospel. And I am right well content to let the goodly Reader iudge of bothe our partes.

## ¶ The defense of the answer of Master Iewell,

concerning Archbishops &c. agaynst the vnreuerende Replic  
of T. C. Chap. 4. the first Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 91. Sect. 1.

And for as much as I haue purposed to answer in one place that which is scattered in diuers, I will here answer halfe a sheet of paper, which is annexed of late vnto the booke, put forth in the name, and vnder the rebite of the Bishop of Sarisburie, wherein I will say nothing of those biting & sharpe words, which are giuen partly in the beginning, when he calleth the propounders of the proposition which concerneth archbishops and archdeacons nonices, partly in the ende when he calleth them children, and the doctrine of (\*) the Gospel wantonnesse, &c. If he had byrd, for his learning and grautie, and otherwyse good desertes of the Church, in defending the cause thereof agaynst the Papistes, we could haue easily borne it at his hands: now he is dead and layde up in peace, it tootes agaynst all humanitie to digge or to breake vp his graue, onely I will leave it to the consideration of the Reader vpon those things which are alleaged, to iudge whether it be any wantonnesse or muttie, which is confirmed by so graue testimonies of the ancient wyse of God.

(\*) A shamelesse  
and wicked lye.

### *Jo. Whitgife.*

If you doubt whether the Bishop of Sarisburie were the author of that halfe shete of paper, or no, you may see his owne hande writing. If you call the words which be blash there being and sharpe, what shall we thinke of yours? we had neede terme them Serpentine or viperous: or if there can be any other name that better expretheth such inuimbell



inmodest, contemptuous and scoffing speeches. *Hypocrita quid vides festum in oculo fratris tui.* But what are these biting and sharpe wordes that he useth: for sothe that he calleth the propounders of the proposition which concerneth Archbishops and Archdeacons, nouices: and in the ende he calleth them children, and their doctrine wantonnesse. Oh these be biting and sharpe wordes: but wouldest thou knowe good Reader whye T. C. taketh these wordes so grauenously: euen bicause they touche him selfe. For the man is of that humilitie and patience, that if there be neuer so little signification giuen of any unskillfulnesse or lacke of learning in him selfe, he roareth like a lyon, & swelleth like the sea: for none of that faction can in any case abide to haue their learning touched: and they will not sticke in commending them selues, to deface all other, yea euen that notable Quell, whose bothe labour and learning they doe enuie, and among them selues depzaue, as I haue heard with mine owne eares, and a number more besides. For further pzoofe wherof I doe but referre you to the reporte, that by this faction was spzed of him after his laste Sermon at Pauls crosse, bicause he did confirme the doctrine before preached by a famous and learned man, touching obedience to the Prince and lawes. It was then straunge to me to heare so notable a Bishop, so learned a man; so stout a champion of true religion, so paynesfull a Prelate, so vngreatfully, and spitefully used, by a sorte of waucering, wicked, & wretched tongues. But it is their manner; except you please their humoz in all things, be you neuer so well learned, neuer so paynesfull, so zelous, so vertuous, all is nothing with them, but they will depzaue you, rayle on you, backbite you, inuent lyes of you, and spzed false rumors, as though you were the vilest persons in the whole earth.

Why. T. C.  
scorneth so  
much at the  
wordes of the  
Bishop.

The malicious  
nature of  
that faction.

And consider whether T. C. be not euen noyse in that bayne: for howe maliciously both he slander that so Reuerend Bishop, saying, that he calleth & doctrine of the Gospel wantonnesse, when he speaketh of their childlike and phantasticall deuises, except all were Gospel that they speake, or that cometh from them. Pardon me, though I speake something earnestly: it is in the behalfe of a Quell, that is contemned and defaced by contentious and vngreatfull persons. If it had pleased God to haue suffered him to liue vnto this day, in answering this Replie, he should no doubt haue pzooued his biting and sharpe wordes, (as they be called) to be moste true. But seeing that he is at rest, and not here to answer for him selfe, though in respecte of him I am farre vnmeeete to intermeddle in his doings, yet in respecte of the cause and aduersarie, I will be bolde to iustifie his answers.

The Bishop  
maliciously  
slandered by  
T. C.

### Chap. 4. the. 2. Diuision.

¶ The Iudgement of that Reuerende father Iohn late Bishop of Sarum, auouched by his ovvne hande.

*Archiepiscoporum & Archidiaconorum nomina simul cum  
muneribus & officijs suis sunt abolenda.*

*Novitiorum  
assertio.*

#### The first Reason.

God so loued the Church, that he lefte a perfect paterne orderly. &c. Epho. 4. but there is named neyther Pope, nor Archbishop, nor Archdeacon. *Prima ratio.*

#### The answer of the Bishop of Sarisburie.

Hovve knowe you that the fourth chapter *ad Ephe.* is a perfecte patterne of all ecclesiasticall gouernment: vve haue nowve neyther Apostles, nor Euangelistes, nor Prophetes, and yet are they the cheefe in that patterne, neyther haue vve there eyther Bishop, or Presbyter, or Diaconus or Catechists, or Letter, and yet are these necessarie partes in ecclesiasticall gouernment.

*Eius solutio.*

The. 4. Eph.  
no perfect plat  
forme of all  
ecclesiasticall  
gouernment.

Nn. ij.

therfore



Therefore that patterne is not perfect to holde for euer, neyther vvere there then any publike Churches or Pulpits, or Scholes, or Vniuersities, &c. S. Paule nameth neyther Pope nor Archbishop I graunt, and the Church is not gouerned by names, but by offices. Euery Bishop then vvas called Papa: and Anacletus, that vvas nexte after Peter, (if there be any weight in his vvords) nameth Archbishops.

T.C. Pag. 91. Sect. 1.

Unto the place of the. 4. of the Ephesians before alleaged he answereth cleane contrarie to that which M. Doctor sayth, that we haue now neyther Apostles, nor Euangelists, nor prophets, wherupon he would conclude that that place is no perfect patterne of the ministerie in the Church. In deede it is true, we haue not, neyther is it needefull that we should. It was therfore sufficient that there were once, and for a tyme, so that the wante of those now, is no cause why the ministers there recyted be not sufficient, for the accomplishment and full finishing of the church, nor cause why any other ministeries should be added, besydes those which are there recyted.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Tract. 4. cap. 3  
diuis. 1.  
In what respect  
Apostles  
&c. be ceased.

Not one worde contrarie to any thing that I haue spoken, for I tolde you before in what respect it maye be sayde these offices to remayne, and in what respect they be ceased: there is nowe no planting of Churches, nor going throughe the whole worlde, there is no wytyng of newe Gospels, no prophesying of thinges to come, but there is gouerning of Churches, visiting of them, reforming of Pastors, and directing of them, whiche is a portion of the Apostolicall function: there is preaching of the Gospel, expounding & interpreting the Scriptures, which be incident to the Euangelist & Prophet. Agaynst this no learned man (as I thinke) speaketh.

The Bishops  
argument.

But nowe to my Lorde of Sarisburie his argument, whiche is this: that, from the whiche somewhat muste be taken, and vnto the whiche somewhat muste be added, is no perfect patterne, but Apostles, Euangelistes, Prophets, are taken away from the fourth to the Ephesians, and Deacons & Elders as you your selfe say must be added, Ergo, it is no perfect patterne: neyther do you, neyther can you answere this argument. But I will come to your accustomed shifts.

### Chap. 4. the. 3. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 91. Sect. 2.

Afterwarde he sayth, that neyther Bishop nor Elder are reckoned in that place. The pastor is there reckoned vpon, and I haue shewed, that the pastor and Bishop are all one, and are but dyuers names to signifie one thing. And as for those Elders whiche doe onely gouerne, they are made mention of in other places, and therefore the Bishop and Elder are there conteyned, whych thing also M. Doctor graunteth.

### Io. Whitgifte.

If the Bishop be conteyned vnder the Pastor, why may not the Archbishop be so likewise: but if the Elders (which you say do onely gouerne) be not there conteyned, and yet a necessarie function in the Church (as you thinke) howe can it then be a perfecte platfornne: or why may not Archbishops & Archdeacons be also necessarie, though they be not in that place named: but you say that those Elders be in other places mentioned. That is no answere to this place, but a reason rather to proue it no perfect patterne.

M. Doctor graunteth a Bishop to be conteyned vnder the name of a pastor. But he doth not graunt that your Elder is so, or euery Presbyter (to whome the ministerie of the worde of God and sacraments is committed) to be a Pastor.

### Chap. 4. the. 4. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 91. Sect. 3.

What say you  
to the Doctor,

After that he sayth there is no Catechista: if there be a pastor, there is one which bothe can, and ought to instruct the youth, neyther (\*) dothe it pertaine to any other in the church, and publicly to teache the youth in the rudiments of religion, than vnto the pastor, howsoeuer in some tymes and places they haue made a seuerall offyce of it.



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

If a pastor and a Catechiste maye be in one, why may not a Bishop and a gouer-  
nour also be one, and so your Elders shut out of the doores? But you may learne in  
auncient wryters, that the office of a Catechiste was necessarie in the Church, and  
distinde from the Pastor. Origene was a Catechist in the Church of Alerandria,  
as Eusebius in his sixte booke dothe in sundrie places declare, and yet he was not  
then a Pastor.

Catechist and  
pastor distin-  
guished.

*Chap. 4. the. 5. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 92. Sect. 1.

And where he sayth that there is neyther Deacon nor Reader mentioned: for the Deacon I  
haue answered, that S. Paule speaketh there onely of those functions which are occupied both in  
teaching and gouerning the Churches, and therefore there was no place there to speake of a Dea-  
con: and as for the Reader it is no suche office in the Church whiche the minister maye not doe.  
(\*) And if epyther he haue not leasure, or hys strength and voyce wyll not serue hym fyrst to reade  
some long tyme, and afterwarde to preache, it is an easy matter to appoynt some of the Elders, or  
Deacons, or some other graue man in the Church to that purpose, as it hath bene practised in the  
Churches in tymes past, & is in the Churches reformed in our dayes, without making any newe  
order or offyce of the ministerie.

(\*) Where haue  
you scripture  
for this geare?

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

This distinction helpeth not here: for if you saye the offices or names of Dea-  
cons be lefte out in this place because Sainct Paule speaketh not of suche offices, as  
be occupied onely in gouernment: first I answere, that the same maye be sayde  
of Archebishops and Archdeacons, who haue those names, onely in the respecte of  
gouernment. Secondly, I tell you that the office of a Deacon is also to preache, as is  
hereafter proued. And last of all, that the office of a Deacon (especialy as you re-  
strayne it) is neyther office nor name of gouernment, but of simple and absolute mi-  
nisterie and seruice.

Tract. 14.

Your starting holes will not hyde you: and this argument of the Bishop will not  
be answered. You haue sayde nothing to proue this place to be a perfecte paterne of  
all ecclesiasticall functions: neyther doe you saye any thing for omitting the names  
of Bishop, Deacon, Presbyter, &c. but we may saye the same for the names of Archebi-  
shop, Archdeacon, &c.

The Reader hath bene counted a necessarie office in the Church, and is of great  
antiquitie, and I knowe that the Deacon, or any other graue person vpon occasion maye  
be admitted to reade. But I pray you, where do you finde any such thing in the scrip-  
ture, especialy of those whiche you call Elders, which be in no degre of the ministe-  
rie: for it is great presumption for you to appoynt any suche office in the Church,  
not hauing your warrant in Gods worde, seeing you finde suche faulte with whole  
Churches for allowing offices vled in the best time of the Church, confirmed by the  
best Councels, and approued by all auncient wryters, because their names be not ex-  
pressed in the scripture: and seeing also that you your selfe a little befoze sayde, that  
onely the pastor ought publikely in the Church to teache the youth, and not a Catechist, and  
I take publyke reading in the Church to be as solemne a matter as Catechising  
the youth. But you haue libertie to coyne what order you lyfte, without ey-  
ther Scripture, or anye other approued wytyer: we muste make you another  
Pythagoras.

T.C. taketh  
greater libera-  
tie to himselfe  
than he will  
allowe to  
whole chur-  
ches.

In times past it was a peculiar office, and he that had it was called Lector, and  
therefore you can not saye (as it hath bene practised in times past) excepte you wyll  
confesse that name and office of Lector, and so also graunte some name and of-  
fice profitable for the Church, to be omitted in the fourth Chapter to the Co-  
rinthians.



Chap. 4. the. 6. Division.

T.C. Page. 92. Sect. 1. 2.

Where he sayth that by this reason we should haue no Churches, pulpits, scholes, nor vniuersities: it is first easily answered that S. Paule speaketh not in the. 4. to the Ephesians of all thinges necessarie for the Church, but only of all necessarie ecclesiasticall functions, which do both teache and gouerne in the Church, and then I haue already shewed that there were both Churches and pulpits.

(\*) I graunt, but not out of the. 4. to the Ephe.

As for scholes and Vniuersities, it is sufficient (\*) commaundement of them, in that it is commaunded that both the Magistrates and pastors should be learned, for he that commaundeth that they should be learned, commaundeth those things & those meanes, whereby they may most conueniently come to that learning. And we haue also examples of them commaunded vnto vs in the old Testament. As in the booke of the Judges when Deboza commendeth the Vniuersitie men & those which handled the penne of the wypter, that they came out to helpe in the battayle agaynst the enemies of God. And in the first booke of Samuell: and in the seconde booke of the Kings: when Hanoah and Bethel, Jericho, and a place beyonde Jordan are specified places which were scholes or Vniuersities, where the scholars of the Prophets were brought vp in the feare of God, and good learning: the continuance of which scholes and vniuersities amongst the people of God, may be easily gathered of that which S. Luke writeth in the Actes, where it may appeare, that in Ierusalem there were certayne Colleges appoynted for seuerall countrey men, so that there was one College to receiue the Jewes and Proselytes, which came out of Cilicia, another for those that came out of Alexandria, &c. to studie at Ierusalem. And if any man be able to shewe suche euidence for Archbishops and Archdeacons, as these are for vniuersities and scholes, I will not denie but it is as lawfull to haue them as these.

Iud. 5.  
1. Sam. 19.  
2. Kg. 1.  
Act. 6.

Io. Whitgife.

Yet sayth he truly, for in those tymes in Christian congregations there were neither publike Churches, or Pulpits, or Scholes, or Vniuersities, &c. and yet these doe apperteyne to the gouernemente of the Church. In deede S. Paule speaketh onely there of suche ecclesiasticall functions as doe teache and preache the worde, and not of suche as doe onely gouerne, and therefore it can not be a perfecte platfourme for ever, as I haue before declared: and yet byuers of these thinges mentioned by the Bishop of Sarisburie, pertaine bothe to the office of teaching and gouerning.

That which you saye of Scholes, and Vniuersities, I minde not to examine, because I knowe they be necessary for the Church, howe aptely soener you proue them. But this is the matter: they be necessarie in the Church bothe for the office of gouerning and teaching, and yet they be not expresse in the fourth to the Ephesians, therefore in that fourth to the Ephesians there is no perfecte paterne of all ecclesiasticall gouernment: for that is the thing that the Bishop of Sarisburie affirmeth, and therevnto you answered not one worde.

The Bishop is not answered.

Not one of these places that you alleage, proueth that in this terte to the Ephesians, eyther Scholes or Vniuersities be mentioned: though it be certayne, that they pertaine bothe to teaching and gouerning, and therefore all this speeche of yours is to no purpose, but onely to dalle the eyes of the Reader, least he should perceyue how you offends in ignorantia Elenchi, in not answering ad idem.

Ignorantia Elenchi.

Chap. 4. the. 7. Division.

T.C. Pag. 92. Sect. 3.

Furthermore he sayth, that the Church is not gouerned by names, but by offices, so is it in deede. And if the office of an Archbishop or Archdeacon can be shewed, we will not stryue for the name, but for so much as all the needfull offices of the Church together with theyr names are mentioned in the the Scripture, it is truly sayde that bothe the offices and names of Archbishop and Archdeacons, being not onely not coneyned in them (but also condemned) ought to be banished out of the Church.

Io. Whit.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

I haue before shewed, that the office of visiting Churches, of ouersailing many Pa-  
stors and Bishops, of suppressing schismes, &c. was in the Apostles, and is in the scrip-  
tures: But in these things both the office of an Archbysshop consist, and in part of them  
the office of an Archdeacon, therefore the offices of Archbysshops and Archdeacons be  
contained in the scriptures, and were in the Apostles time. For although (as I then  
sayde) that this part of the Apostolicall office, which did consist in planting and found-  
ing Churches through the whole world, is ceased: yet the manner of gouernment  
by placing Bysshops in euery Citie, by moderating and gouerning them, by visiting  
the Churches, by cutting of schismes and contentions, by ordering Ministers, remai-  
neth still, and shall continue, and is in this Church in the Archbysshops and Bysshops  
as most meete men to execute the same. Wherefore seeing the offices be in the scrip-  
tures, there is no cause why the names should be misliked, much lesse banished and cast  
out of the church.

The office of  
archbysshops  
& archdeacons  
contained in  
scripture.

*Chap. 4. the. 8. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 92. Sect. 4.

Last of all he sayth that Anacletus (if there be any wayght in his wordes) nameth an Archbys-  
shop. I haue before shewed what wayght there is in his wordes, & I refuse not that he be weygh-  
ed by the Bysshops owne weyghtes, whiche he giueth vs in the handling of the article of the su-  
premacie, and in the. 223. and. 224. pages, by the which weyghtes appeareth that this Anacletus is  
not onely lighte, but a playne counterfite.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Yet you see that learned men are content to vse such authoritie as occasion serueth, *Supra. cap. 2.*  
as I haue also before shewed other learned men to doe the lyke. And if it be so greatly *diuis. 13.*  
to be reproued, first smite at your selfe, as most guiltie in this poynt.

*Chap. 4. the. 9. Diuision.*

The second Reason.

The Synagogue of the Iewes was a figure of the Church of Christe. And God to the per- *Secunda ratio.*  
fection of that Church omitted nothing.

The Answer of the Bysshop.

I see not vwhat you vvoulde conclude: perhaps you vvill saye they had *Eius solusio.*  
not the names of Pope or Archbysshop. So had they not this name *Episco-*  
*pus* in all Moses lawe, yet vvere not all Priests of like aunciencie in gouern-  
ment. They had other names that vvore equiualent vvith Archbysshops: as  
*Principes Synagoge: Principes sanctuarij: Principes familiarum Leviticarum: Principes familia-*  
*rum sacerdotalium: Principes Sacerdotum: Principes domus Dei: Pontifex: Summus Pontifex:*  
*Summus sacerdos. &c.* Therefore this negative reason is but vweake. Agayne  
vvhereas it is sayde that to the perfection of the Synagogue there vvanted  
nothing, it may be answered, that to the perfection thereof there vvanted  
many things, as it is knowne and confessed. And as the Synagogue had not  
the names of Pope and Archbysshop, so had it not the name of Apostle, or  
Euangelist. &c.

T. C. Pag. 92. Sect. 5.

The second reason which sayth that the church of God vnder the lawe, had all all things neede-  
ful



full appointed by  $\gamma$  commaundement of God, the Bishop saith he knoweth not what could be concluded of it: I haue shewed before that there is nothing lesse ment, than that the Church vnder the Gospell should haue al those things that  $\gamma$  Church had, or should haue nothing which that had not. But this therupon is concluded, that the Lord which was so carefull for that, as not to omitte the least, would not be so carelesse for this Church vnder the Gospell, as to omit the greatest.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Tract. 2. cap. 6  
diuis. 3.

I tolde you before, that this which you call the perfection of the Synagogue, was rather a burthen than a perfection: for God therfore prescribed vnto them a prescript forme of externall things, that it mighte be a meanes to keepe them from further inconvenience, but to vs in such things he hath lesse a greater libertie: and the perfection of the Church both not consist in outward appearance, but in spirituall giftes, and therein hath the Lord muche more plentifully and grationly shewed his care for the Church vnder the Gospell, than he did for it vnder the lawe.

Tract. 2.

Touching externall orders both of ceremonies and gouernment he hath lesse the disposition therof to his Church in many things, as I haue proued in the beginning of this booke.

*Chap. 4. the. 10. Diuision.*

T.C. Page. 92. Sect. 6.

(\*) This was one  
cause, but not  
the only cause.

(a) A Popishe  
non sequitur.

And where he saith that there was then which was called high priest, and was ouer all the rest, he did well knowe that  $\gamma$  cause thereof was (\*) because he was a figure of Christ, and did represent vnto the people, the chietie and superiourtie of our Sauour Christ, which was to come: and that our sauour Christ, being come, there is now no cause why there should be any such preheminance giuen vnto one, and further that it is unlawfull that there should be any such, (a) vntlesse it be lawfull to haue one head Bishop ouer all the Church, for it is knowne, that that priest was the head priest ouer all the whole Church, which was during his tyme, vnto our Sauour Christ.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The high priest was a figure of Christ, so was Dauid and Salomon: but yet was the high priest also appointed to gouerne other for order and pollicie, and so was Dauid and Salomon. The figure is taken away and the kinde of Sacrifice: but the office of gouerning remaineth still, and is to be obserued as the state of the Church requirerh. Christ being come, the office of sacrificing ceaseth but not the office of gouerning: for Christ by his conuining did not take away gouernment, and pollicie, no nott rom the Ecclesiasticall state.

A popish reason  
bled by  
the Replier.

Caluine.

This reason of yours, that that priest was the head priest ouer all the Church, therfore if by his example we will haue an Archbshop he must be such a one as shall gouerne the whole church, is in deepe a plaine confirmation of the Papistes reason for  $\gamma$  supremacie, who thinke that they may reason in like maner. But I answere you as M. Caluine answereth the Lib. in it. cap. 8. Sect. 87. There is no reason that compelleth to extende that vnto the whole worlde, which was profitable in one nation: nay rather there is a great diuersitie betwixt one nation and the whole world. Bicause the Iewes were compassed in on euerie side with Idolaters, least they should be withdrawn through the varietie of Religion, God did place the seat of his worship in the midst of the earth: there he appoynted ouer them one prelate, whom all should looke vpon, that they might the better be contained in vnitie. Now when a true Religion is disperfed through out the whole worlde, who dothe not see it to be absurde, that the gouernment of both the East & VVest, should be giuen to one: it is like as if one would say, by cause one precinct of ground hath not many gouernours, therefore the whole world ought to be ruled of one president or gouernour.

Nowell.  
Lib. 1. 63.

I knowe that he maketh another answere likewise: euen the same that you haue borrowed of him, touching the figure, but his first answere is more direct in my opinion. And M. Nowell, against Dozman reasoning as you do, giueth him this answere, It agreeth very wel with the estate of the Iewes, that as they beyng one natio had one chiefe Priest, so is it good likewise that euery Christian nation haue their chiefe Priest or Bishop.

It



It agreeth not that because the Jewes, one nation, had one high Priest to governe them in doubtes, therefore all nations through the world should haue one high priest ouer al other: for not only the vnlikelyhood betwene these two, but the impossibilitie of the latter is most euident. Other learned men also ther be, as Hyperius Lib. 3 Method. Theolog. & diuers others, who answering this same argument of the Papists, say, that by it we may well proue that one Archbishop or Metropolitane maye governe one Prouince, or one kyngdome, but that it is to weake to proue that one Pope may governe all the world. Wherfore if you had rather giue strength to the aduersarie, than lacke argumentes to the defense of your cause.

### Chap. 4. the. 11. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 93. Line. 1.

And as for those titles chiefe of the Synagogue, chiefe of the sanctuarie, chiefe of the house of God, I say that that maketh much against Archbishops & Archdeacons, for when as in steade of the Synagogue, & of the sanctuarie, and of the house of God or temple, are come particular churches and congregations, by this reason it foloweth, that there should be some chief, not in euery prouince or diocesse, but in euery congregation, & in deed so ought there to be certain chief in euery congregation, which should governe and rule the rest. And as for the chief of the families of the Leuites, & chiefe of the families of the priests, the same was obserued in all other tribes of Israel, and by all these Princes ouer euery tribe and familie, as by the Prince of the whole lande God did as it were by diuers liuely pictures imprint in their vnderstanding the chietie and domination of our Saniour Christe. Besides this the order which was appointed in this popnt, was obserued in all the tribes.

### Io. Whitgifte.

These titles be as glorious as any that are now remaining in our church. And my L. of Sarum speaketh of names, to the which you do not answer one word, but seek out other matter to blind the Reader with, least he should beholde your follie. But I will follow you. You say that in steade of the Synagogues, &c. are come particular Churches and congregations, &c. and I say vnto you, that they had the particular Synagogues as well as we haue now particular Churches, the whiche you your selfe in effect haue confessed before. And you must vnderstand, that one Christian comunion weale is but one Church, as it was among the Jewes, & therefore such offices of government may be such in the Church, as was among the Jewes, and such superiortie among ministers, as was then amongst Priests and Leuites. And I marvel that you wil deny this, especially seeing that you would binde vs to the ciuill law of Moses, wherof this is a portion.

You adde that by all these princes ouer euery tribe and familie, as by the prince of the whole land, God did as it were, &c. all this maketh nothing against our offices, except you will also take away the Prince of the whole land.

As this order among the Jewes was obserued in al tribes: so is it now in al Prouinces and Diocesse. This is but slender stuffe you bring, and yet not to the purpose, for the Answer speaketh of names and you giue it to offices. Indeepe you almost in no place reason *ad Idem*, which is a manifest argumente, that you are but a shifting cauiller.

### Chap. 4. the. 12. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 93. Line. 13.

Wherfore these orders and pollicies touching the distribution of the offices of the Leuites and priests, and touching the appointment of their gouernours, were done of Dauid by the (\*) aduise of the Prophets, Gad and Nathan, which receiued of the Lord by commaundement, that whiche they deliuered vnto Dauid. And if so be that it can be shewed, that Archbishops and Archdeacons came into the church by any commaundement of the Lord, then this allegation hath some force, but now being not only not commaunded, but also (as I haue shewed) forbydden, euery man both sees that this reason hath no place, but seructh to the vtter overthrow of the Archbishop and Archdeacon. For if Dauid beinge suche a notable personage, and as it were an Angell of God, durste not take vpon him to bring into the Church, any orders or pollicies, not onely not against the wordes

The Reader  
steppeth by the  
matter.

Pag. 22. line. 1.



of God, but not without a precise word and commandment of God, who shal dare be so bold as to take upon him the institution of the chiefe office of the Church, and to alter the pollicie that God hath appointed by his seruantes the Apostles?

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

You runne away with the matter, as though all were cleare when as it is not so. You affirme, y David did apoint these orders & pollicies touching the distribution of the offices of the leuites & Priests. &c. by the aduise of Gad, and Nathan the prophets of God. And for proof hereof you quote in the margent. 2. Chron. 19. where there is not one word for your purpose, or signifying any suche thing. In deed in the 2. Chron. 29. there is affirmed the lyke thing. But my L. of Sarisburie hath answered you, that such negative reasons are very weake. And if you wil denie it to be a negative reason from authoritie, yet can you not denie but that it is as feeble an argument as almost can be. For what if David did appoynt these orders touching the distribution of the offices of the leuites & priests &c. doth it therfore follow that the church at no tyme may appointe suche offices as shall be thought mete for the gouernment of it, according to the tyme, places, and persons? where haue you learned of a singular example to make a generall rule, or to frame an argumente *ex solis particularibus*?

Scripture al-  
leaged against  
himselke.  
2. Chron. 19.  
vers. 8.

In the 2. Chron. 19. which you haue quoted in the margent, there is a notable place against you: for there expresse mention is made that Iehosaphat set in Ierusalem of the Leuites, and of the Priests. &c. for the iudgemente and cause of the Lord, and made Amariah the Priest chiefe over them: neyther were they Judges for the citie of Ierusalem onely, but for the whole countrey. And yet we reade not of any commandment that Iehosaphat had, so to do.

*Chap. 4. the. 13. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 93. Sect. 1.

This is di-  
rectly contrary  
to your selfe.

And where the Bishop sayth, it is his owne and confessed that ther wanted many things to the perfection of the Church of the Jewes: truly I doe not knowe, nor can not confesse that that Church wanted (\*) any thing to the perfection of that estate, which the Lord would haue them be in, vntill the comming of our sauoure Christ. And if there were any thing wanting, it was not for wante of good lawes and pollicies, whereof the question is, but for wante of due execution of them, which we speake not of.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

T.C. contra-  
rie to himselfe.

Pag. 22. Sect. 1.

*Conueniet nulli. &c.* Howe can he agree with anye other man, that dothe not agree with him selfe? For befoze (after you haue recyted diuers thinges lefte to the order of that Church of the Jewes, for the whiche they had no expresse worde) You saye, that you wyll offer for one that I bring that we haue lefte to the order of the Church, to shewe that they had twenty, whiche were vnderdecided by the expresse word of God. And here you saye, that it wanted nothing to the perfection of that estate: how you wyll reconcile your selfe, I knowe not: or whether it be your pleasure not to respects your owne credite, so that you may seeme to discredite that whiche that notable Bishop hathe spoken: but that whiche I haue alleadged of Iehosaphat, 2. Chron. 19. dothe manifestly iustifie my Lord of Sarisburies saying, and condemneth yours. For there it is to be seene that in matters of gouernment, orders were appointed which neyther were commaunded by any expresse commandemente of neyther yet expressed in the worde of God. But of thys matter I haue spo-

po.  
God,  
ken be.

Chap.



## Chap. 4. the 14. Division.

## The third Reason.

Where the substance of any thing is most perfite, there the accidents be most perfite: but the substance of true Religion was most perfite in the primitive Church: and yet there was then no Archbyshop. *Tertiu ratio.*

## The Answer of the Byshop.

First, this *Modus* is not proved: for it may well be doubted, whether the most perfite substance hath evermore most perfite accidentes. And againe the substance of Religion is the same now that it was then: the difference is therein be-try, standeth in accidentes, and not in substance. Therefore this allegation of substance and accidentes was not needefull. In the primitive Church God raised up Apostles, and Prophets, and gave them power extraordinary, as the gifte of tongues, the gifte of healing, the gifte of government, &c. In place whereof he hath now given Universities, Scholes, Byshops, Archbishops, &c. But you say there was then no Archbyshop. So may you say that before king Saul there was no king in Israel. So may you say that before of late times, there was neither Duke nor Earle in England. So may you say that in the primitive Church, there was neither Deane, nor person, nor prebendarie. And yet now both in Ecclesiasticall and civill government, all these are thought necessarie. Last of all, where you say there was no Archbyshop in the primitive Church, it is written by many that S. Paul made Titus Archbishop of Creta. Erasmus saith, *Paulus Titum Archiepiscopum Creta constituit.* And Lyra likewise sayth *Paulus instituit Titum Archiepiscopum Cretensem.* These authorities like you not: Chrysostome sayth *Paulus Titum multum Episcopum dedit Creta.* Now having the government of many Byshops, what may we call him but an Archbyshop. *Erasmus in arg. epi. ad Titum. Chrysostomus. Tit.*

## T. C. Pag 93. Sect. 2.

For the two last reasons against the Archbyshop and Archdeacon, although I be well acquainted with the authors that favour this cause, yet I did never heare them before in my life: and I believe they cannot be ground to be his reasons, whose they are supposed to be, and which did set downe the proposition, that the Byshop confuteth. Notwithstanding the former of these two seemeth to have a good probability, and to be grounded of that place of Logike, that sheweth, that according as the substance of any thing is excellent, so are those things that are annexed and adjoined unto it. But in this I would the simplest should understand what is sayde or written, I will willingly confute them in these reasons, the termes whereof are not easily perceived, but of those whiche be knowne.

## To Whitgiste.

For as much as you may disclaime what you lyfe, for you coulde never be brought before the court to set downe your reasons in writing: and there is no holde at your word, for you will affirm and deny, even at your pleasure, and so tell diverse of your companions as experience hath taught. But yet you thinke that this former reason hath a good probability. I will not say, but you answered not one word to my I. of Sarums solution, which putteth it to be very forte. *The inconstancy of the Replier & his companions.*



Chap. 4. the. 15. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 93. Sect. 3.

And as for the answere which the Bishop maketh, that in place of Apostles, Prophets, & gifts of tongues, of healing, & of government, are brought in vniuersities, scholes, Bishops & Archbishops for scholes & vniuersities, I haue shewed they haue bin alwayes, & therfore cannot come in, to supply the roome of the Apostles & prophets. And whether a man consider the schollers that learne, or the schoolmasters which teach, or the orders appointed for the gouernment of y<sup>e</sup> scholes, they shal be founde to be rather ciuill than Ecclesiasticall, and therfore can not come in steade of any Ecclesiasticall ministerie. If the Bishop do meane that they come in place of the gift of the tongs, and knowledge of the Gospell that was first giuen miraculously, I graunt it, and then it maketh nothing to this question.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

You haue not shewed that scholes & vniuersities were alwayes in the Church of Christ nor you cannot shew that there were any vniuersities or scholes of Christians in the Apostles time. I am not disposed to contrary any thing y<sup>e</sup> is alleaged for vniuersities or scholes: neither would I haue you to denie this truth affirmed by my L. of Sarum for it is certeine that God wo: keth now in the Church by meanes of vniuersities & scholes, that which he wrought in the Apostles time miraculously, by his Apostles & prophets. And those gifts of tongs, healing, gouernment, &c. which he then inspired at once without teaching, doth he now giue by little & little vsing y<sup>e</sup> ministry of scholes, vniuersities, & such like: wherfore it is true that the Bishop hath said.

And wheras you say y<sup>e</sup> scholes whether a man consider y<sup>e</sup> schollers that learne, or the schoolmasters which teach, or orders appointed for y<sup>e</sup> gouernment of y<sup>e</sup> scholes, they shal be founde rather ciuill than Ecclesiasticall: If you speake of scholes in a prophane or heathenlike common wealth, it is true. But if you speake of a Christian kingdome it is most vnttrue. For in a Christian comon wealth, scholes are the first nurseries, that bring vp childre in y<sup>e</sup> true knowledge of God, & of his word, & prepare many of the to the ministerie, both which are Ecclesiasticall. Moreover if you talke of vniuersities, such especially as be in this Realme of England, then whether you consider either y<sup>e</sup> masters, fellows, or schollers, or rules or orders appointed for y<sup>e</sup> gouernment of them, they be for y<sup>e</sup> most parte Ecclesiasticall, and therfore those things make greatly for the purpose, and you haue said nothing that can ouerthrow them.

Chap. 4. the. 16. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 93. Sect. 4.

As for Bishops they can not come in place of Apostles or prophets, for as much as they were when the Apostles, Euangelists & prophets were, & are one of those ministeries, which S. Paule mentioneth in the. 4. to the Ephesians, being the same that is the pastor.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

I tolde you before, that y<sup>e</sup> part of the Apostles office which consisted in gouernment, is now remaining in Archbishops and Bishops, as to visite Churches, to reforme disorders, to suppress contentions and such like: which also they practised in the Apostles time, in such places as were committed vnto them by the Apostles, as it is euident in Timothie and Titus.

Bishops succede  
Apostles  
in gouernment.  
Cyprian.

Ambrose.  
Zuinglius.

That Bishops do succede the Apostles in this function of gouernment it may appeare by sundry learned writers Cyprian Lib. 3. Epist. 9. writeth thus. But Deacons must remember that the Lord hath chosen Apostles, that is to say Bishops and chief gouernours, but the Apostles after the Ascension of the Lord into heauen did appoint vnto themselves Deacons, Ministers, of their Bishopricke, and of the Church. And Ambrose in. 4. ad Ephe. saith, *Apostoli Episcopi sunt*: Apostles are Bishops. Zuinglius also in his Ecclesiastes saith that the Apostles when they left of goyng from place to place, and remayned in one Church, were no more called Apostles but Bishops, as Iames at Ierusalem, and Iohn at Ephesus. Wherby it may appeare that it seemeth straunge neither to the olde wyrters, nor to the new, to say that Bishops succede the Apostles and come in place of the...

Chap.



Chap. 4. the. 17. Division.

T. C. Page. 93. Sect. vlt.

There remaineth therefore the Archebischoppe, whyche if he came in place of the Prophetes and Apostles (as the Bischop sayth) how cometh it to passe, that the bishop sayth by and by out of the authoritie of Erasmus that Titus was an archebischoppe: for at that tyme there was bothe Apostles, Prophetes, and Euangelistes. If it bee so therefore, that the Archebischoppe muste supplie the wante of Apostles, &c. howe cometh it to passe, hee sayeth not his tyme whylest they were dead, but cometh in lyke vnto one which is bozne out of tyme, and lyke the vntymely and hastye fruite, whyche is seldeome or neuer holesom. And for one to come into the Apostles or Prophetes place, requirerh the authoritie of hym which ordeyned the Apostles, &c. whyche is the Lorde, and his institution in his worde, whyche is that which we desire to be thewed. But herof I haue spoken befoze at large.

Io. Whitgiste.

It is not unknowne to suche as be willing to learne, that where the Apostles coulde not be presente themselves, there they appoynted some other to gouerne the Churches for them: as the Apostle Paule did Titus at Creta. Therefore this reason of yours is some answered. And in that that the Apostles dyd appoynt Bishoppes in Churches whyche they had planted, and gaue vnto them suche authoritie, it is euident that therein they made them theyr successours, which they did not withoute sufficient testimonie and warrant of the spirite of God: and therefore you do but talke, you proue nothing.

Chap. 4. the. 18. Division.

T. C. Pag. 94. Lin. 9. & Sect. 1. 2.

The necessitie of Deanes I do not acknowledge, & I haue already spoken of them. Touching Prebendaries I shall haue occasion to speake a worde hereafter. For Earles and Dukes and suche lyke titles of honour they are ciuill, neyther dothe it followe, that bycause there may newe titles or newe offices be brought into the ciuill gouernment, that therefore the same maye be attempted in the Church. For God hath left a greater libertie in instituting things in the common wealth than in the Church.

For, for so muche as there be diuers Common wealthes, and diuers formes of common wealthes, and all good, it falleth out, that the offices and dignities whyche are good in one common wealth, are not good in an other: as those whych are good in a Monarchie, are not good in Aristocratie: and those whyche are good in Aristocratie: are not good in a popular state: But that can not be sayde of the Church whyche is but one and vniforme, and hath the same lawes, and forme of gouernment thorough out the worlde.

In common wealthes also, there are conuersions, one forme being chaunged into an other whyche can not be in the true Church of God.

Io. Whitgiste.

Your acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessitie of Deanes, &c. is not greatly materiall: they depende not vpon you. To the example of king Saule the first king of Israell, you say nothing, and yet it is materiall. There is no suche difference betwixte the ciuill gouernment of the common wealth, and the externall gouernment of the Church, but that the one in many thinges may be vsed as an example for the other. And it is vnttrue y the external forme of gouernment in the Church ought to be one, and the selfe same thorough out the worlde in all tymes and places, as it shall hereafter moze fully appeare. But still I woulde haue the Reader to note what kynde of gouernmente of the Church you doe allowe: and loyne the same wyth that assertion of yours, that the gouernment of the common wealth muste bee framed accoording to the gouernmente of the Church, as the hangynge to the house.

Tract. 17.

Chap. 4. the. 19. Division.

T. C. Pag. 94. Sect. 2.

As for Erasmus authoritie which sayth that Titus was an archbishop, I haue answered to it.

Do.

And



M. Iewels  
answere  
iustified.

(\*) Virtue, for  
you have not as  
yet spoken one  
word of it.

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## The defense of the answer

Tract. 8.

And where as Chrysostome sayeth, that the iudgemente of many Bishoppes was committed to Titus, \* I haue declared in what sorte it is to be vnderstanded, and yet vpon these wordes the Bishoppe can hardly conclude, that whiche he dothe: that Titus hadde the gouernments of many Bishoppes. For it is one thing to saie, the iudgement of many was committed vnto Titus, and another thing to say, that he had the gouernment of many.

### Io. Whitgiste.

And shall the same answer serue for Lyra too? Well I haue answered your answer to Erasmus. And I truste that these authorities with the Goodlie Reader shall haue the more credite, because this Reuerende Father dothe herein confirme their opinions: whose iudgement for his singular vertue and learning, ought to be more esteemed, than a number suche as you are.

You neyther haue answered, nor doe answer, nor can answer these wordes of Chrysostome, and it is but a verie ryme shifte, to make suche a distinction betwixte iudgemente and gouernment. For what is it else to haue the iudgemente of many Bishoppes committed vnto him, but to haue the gouernment: there is a difference if you can: No doubt you woulde haue done it, if you coulde. Wherefore this authoritie of Chrysostome remaineth vntouched: and it confirmeth my answer to the Greeke Scholiast, who borrowed his wordes of him. Neyther would you haue thus dalyed in this place, if you had looked vpon Chrysostomes wordes, who there affirmeth, that Paule diide committe to Titus, the whole yle of Creta.

### Chap. 4. the. 20. Division.

#### The fourth Reason.

Quarta ratio.

The Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill gouernment maye not be confounded, or be together in one person. But to be a chiefe or a ruler is a ciuil power Ergo it can not be exercised by any Ecclesiasticall person.

#### The answer of the Bishop.

Eius solutio.

Bothe these gouernmentes vvere confounded in Moyse: Therefore they may be confounded. And the priestes of Israell had the iudgemente and gouernment of the people. And Sainct Augustine was troubled with hearing and determining of causes, as it appeareth by Possidonius.

And vwhere you saie to be a chiefe or a ruler is a ciuil gouernment, nay in Ecclesiasticall causes it is ecclesiasticall gouernment and not ciuil. And these differences of gouernment may not so vnaduisedly be confounded. This is the key of ecclesiasticall correction, and belongeth only to the ecclesiastical officer, and to none other. Hereof S. Paule sayth, *Seniorem ne corripiaris nisi sub. &c. Tradidi illum Satanae. &c.* This iurisdiction is not ciuill but ecclesiasticall, and therefore may be exercised by any ecclesiasticall person.

T.C. Page. 94. Sect. 3.

The answer of the Bishoppe vnto the fourth supposed reason, pertaineth vnto another question, that is, whether Ecclesiastical persons oughte to exercise ciuill iurisdiction, wherevnto I will answer by Gods grace when I come to speake vpon occasion of M. Doctors booke of that question. In the meane tyme I will desire the reader to consider what swaie groundes the Archbishoppe and Archdeacon stande vpon, seying that the Bishoppe of Sarum, being so learned a man, and of so greates readyng, coulde say no more in their defense, whiche notwithstanding in the controuersies agaynst Doctor Harding is so pythie and so plentyfull.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The Bishop of Sarum hathe sayde muche more than you haue answered vnto:  
and in



and in the respecte of the reasons he hath sayde fully inough. You may not thinke but that if he had bin disposed to haue delt of purpose in this cause, he coulde haue sayde muche moze. But your secrete and priuie nippes, whereby you insinuate to the Reader, that he would willingly defende a false cause, shall neuer be able to deface so worthe a Prelate. You maye perceiue by this his conclusion (whiche toucheth you so nere) that he toke no great care or tyme for answering these weak reasons: so thus he concludeth, I beseeche you to take these sodaine answers in good parte: As for these reasons, in my iudgement they are not made to buylde vp, and they are to vveake to pull downe. *Stultitia nata est in corde pueri, & virga disciplina fugabit illam. Proverb. 22.* It is but vvantonnesse, correction will helpe it.

Thus haue I answered in his behalfe, who bothe in this and other lyke controuerfies, might haue bene a greate stay to this Church of Englands, if we hadde bene worthe of him. But whilest he liued, and especially after his notable and most profitable trauailes, he receiued the same reward of wicked and bagrateful tongues, that other men be exercised with, and all must looke for, that will doe their duetie. But nowe agayne to T.C.

## The causes of Archbishops and of their prerogatives, and the estate of the olde Bishops, (assigned by T.C.) examined.

### Chap. 5. the. 1. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 94. Sect 4.

Now I haue shewed howe little those things which M. Doctor bringeth, make for prooffe of that wherof he alleageth them, I will for the better vnderstanding of the reader sette downe what were the causes why the Archbishops were first ordeyned, and what were their prerogatives and preheminences before other Bishops, and the estate also of the olde Bishops, which lyued in those tymes, wherein although there were great corruptions, yet the Church was in some tollerable estate, to the intent it may appeare, partly howe little need we haue of them now, & partly also howe great difference there is betwene oures and them. Of the names of Metropolitans it hath bene spoken, howe that he shoulde not be called the chiefe of priests, or the high priest, or Bishop of Bishops: Now I will set downe their office and power, whiche they hadde more than the Bishops.

### Io. Whitgiste:

If you haue no more trushe in your words folowing, than you offer in the beginning of these: or if you deale no soundly in them, than you haue done in the other, M. Doctors proofes shall serue the turne. But it is in vayne to answer wordes, I will therfore come to your matter.

### Chap. 5. the. 2. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 94. Sect. 5.

In the Council of Antioche it appeareth that the Bishop of the Metropolitane seat, called (a) Synodes, & propounded the matters which were to be handled, &c. The archbishop doth not now call Synodes, but the Prince doth, forasmuche as there is no conuocation without a parliament, and he dothe not propounde the matters, and gather the voyces, but an other chosen, whiche is called prolocutor: therefore in the respecte that an Archbishop, and Metropolitane was first ordeyned, we haue no neede of an Archbishop or Metropolitane. Agayne, an other cause also appeareth there (b) whiche was to see that the Bishops kepte them selues within their owne diocesse, and brake not into an others Diocesse, but for this maye be doone withoute an Archbishoppe, and then it is not doone of the Archbishop himselfe, giuing licences vnto the wandering ministers to goe thoroughout not so fewe as a dosen diocesse: therefore the office of an archbishop is not necessarie in this respecte, and if it were, yet it muste be other than it is now.

(a) An vnto the, for there is no synche thing in that ninth canon

(b) An other vnto the.



## Io. Whitgifte.

There is no Councell moze flatte agaynst you, than is that Councell of Antioche, no; any Canon that overthoweth your assertion moze directly than that ninth Canon, the wordes whereof I haue repeated before, but youre vntreue allegation in a manner compelleth me to repeat them agayne, that the Reader may see before his eyes, what truthe there is in your doings. And although it do pertaine to the office of the Metropolitane or Archebischoppe to call Synodes, yet is there not one worde thereof in this Canon, no; yet of propounding any matters in Synodes, or of seying Bishoppes keepe themselves within theyr owne diocesse, as you doe here anonche without all truthe: and notwithstanding as I sayde before, those things doe pertaine to the office of the Archebischoppe: yet if they were also comprehended in that Canon, it were rather a confirmation of that office, than otherwise.

The contentes of that Canon be onely these: firste it sayeth, that it behoueth the Bishoppes of euery countrey or prouince to knowe theyr Metropolitane Bishoppe to haue the care and oversighte, or gouernment ouer the whole Prouince. By the whiche wordes, the authoritie and name of a Metropolitane or Archebischoppe is mooste playnely confirmed, and proued to be a permanent office: Secondly, this Canon willethe all those that haue any businesse to doe, to resorte to the Metropolitane citie.

Wherby also is given to the Metropolitane Bishop greate preheminance: and therefore it followeth immediatly, that he shoulde excell all the reste in honour: and that the other Bishoppes shoulde doe nothing of importance without him: according to the olde rule made by their forefathers, but onely those thyngs whiche pertaine to theyr owne diocesse: and those places and possessions that pertaine vnto the same. In whiche wordes who seeth not what preheminance is given to the Metropolitane ouer all the Bishoppes in his Prouince: and what iurisdiction to the Bishop in his owne diocesse and places pertainyng vnto it? where also it is to be noted that the Councell sayeth, *secundum antiquam à patribus nostris regulam constitutam*: according to the aunient rule appointed of oure forefathers. Whiche argueth a greate antiquitie of this office. Then it followeth: for euery Bishop hath authoritie ouer his owne Diocesse, to rule and gouerne it, *iuxta reuerentiam singulis competentem*, accordyng to the reuerence due vnto euerie one of them, and that he hath especiall care of that whole region that is subiecte to his Citie, so that he maye ordeyne Priestes and Deacons, & *singulasuo iudicio comprehendat*. But he may not attempt any other thyng without the Metropolitane Bishop, nor the Metropolitane do any thing without the counsel of the other Priestes.

What can be moze playne, eyther for the authoritie of the Archebischoppe, or iurisdiction of the Bishop: and what one worde of this Canon haue you truly alleadged: and yet it is quoted in your margent.

But if we imagine these thinges to be true, whiche you saye, howe will you conclude? forsooth, that the Metropolitane did then call Synodes, and propounded the matters, but now he dothe not call Synodes, and propounde the matters: Therefore there is now no neede of a Metropolitane. Firste it is vntreue, that Metropolitanes did then call eyther all Synodes, or that they called them of theyr owne authoritie without the consente of the Prince, and Ciuill Magistrate: whiche thing is euident when the Magistrates were christened.

Councils summoned by Princes.  
Euse. de vita  
Constant. lib. 3.

The Councell of Nice was summoned by the commaundement of Constantine the Emperoure, *Eusebius de vita Constanti. lib. 3.* Constantius called the Councell whiche was in Sardina cinitate. The Bishoppes in the Councell of Constanti. confesse, that they came together by the Emperours wytt. Ambrose in the Councell of Aquileia, speaking of himselfe and of other Bishoppes sayeth, that they were assembled oute at Aquileia, by the commaundemente of the Emperoure: The same dothe Hierome testifie concernyng a Councell holden at Rome, *In Epist. Pauli. Pope Iulio Epist. 9. ad Theodos.* desyryeth the Emperoure, that by his authoritie there myghte be a Councell in Italpe. *Zozomen. libr. 6. cap. 7.*

Wherewith



the which holwe certayne Catholyke Bishoppes intreated the Emperoure, that they myght haue leaue to gather together for the redressing of certayne errorres. But what shall I neede to labour in a matter mosse manifest: No man can be ignorant that readeth Ecclesiasticall histories, but that the Emperours authoritie was required in summoning Councils and Synodes, not only generall, but prouinciall also. Secondly, it is vntre that the Metropolitane in this Churche dothe not call Synodes, or propoundeth not the matters in them, &c. For he dothe bothe, although he calleth no Prouinciall Synode, withoute the commaundement of the Prince, no more than other Metropolitans haue done in the beste tyme of the Churche vnder christian Princes. Laste of all, though all thys were true, that is here vntrely affirmed, yet were the office of an Archebischoppe necessarie, for it dothe not onely consist in calling Synodes, but in sundrye thinges besyde, as I haue shewed before, and this counsell of Antioche manifestly declareth. And surely yf you would proue any thyng hereof directly, it shoulde be thys, that eyther the Archebischoppe dothe not exerceise that iurisdiction whiche he oughte to doe, or else can not doe that whiche pertaineth to his office, and so shoulde you speake for the amendement of the Archbishops iurisdiction.

Agayne, you saye an other cause appeareth there, whyche was to see that the Bishops kepte themselves within theyr owne diocesse, &c. but first thys may be doone without an Archebischoppe, &c. I tell you there is no suche thyng in that nynthe Canon: I say further, that it maye beste and mosse orderly be done by an Archebischoppe. Thirdely, I answer as before, that it is but one parte of his office. Fourthely, I saye vnto you, that this is a simple Argumente, the Archebischoppe dothe not keepe suche olde Canons as be not in vse in thys Churche, therefore there is no neede of his office. Laste of all, you oughte to knowe, that those whome you call wandering ministers, be faithfull Preachers a number of them: And suche as laboure diligently in preaching the worde, and haue not a little profyted the flocke of Chryste, so that youre conclusion is not worth a strawe.

### Chap. 5. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 95. Sect. 1.

Chap. 9.

Agayne the cause why the Metropolitane differed from the reste, and why the calling of the Synode was giuen to him, as it appeareth in the same Council, was for that the greatest concourse was to that place, and mosse assemble of menne, wherunto also may be added, for that there was the best commoditie of lodgyng and of vittayling, and for that as it appeareth in other Councils, it was the place and seate of the Empire. But with vs neyther the greatest concourse nor assemble of men, nor the greatest commoditie of lodgyng and vittayling, neyther yet the seate of the kingdome is in the Metropolitane cite, therefore with vs there is no suche cause of a Metropolitane or Archebischop.

### Io. Whitgiste.

This is not alleadged as a cause why there shoulde be a Metropolitane, or why he differed from the reste, or why the calling of the Synode was giuen vnto hym, but rather why he was placed in the chiefe cite: so that these wordes touche not the Metropolitane or his office, but the aptnesse of the place where he shoulde continue. And yet if credite be to be giuen eyther to interpreters, or to the glosse in Gratian, *caus. 9. que. 3. per singulas*, the wordes be not as you interpret them, for thus they be set downe in the booke of Councils, *Tom. 1. Propter quod ad Metropolim omnes vniuersi, qui negotia videntur habere concurrant*, For the which let all that haue any businesse haue recourse from all places into the Metropolitane cite. An other translation is thus: *Propter quod ad Metropolitanam ciuitatem ab his qui causas habent concurratur*. And this last interpretation

Do. iiij.

on the



on the authoꝛs of the Centuries do vse. *Cent. 4.* Of whiche wordes there can be no suche thing gathered, as you doe imagine, but farre otherwise. And the meaning of the Councell is, that suche as haue causes to be heard, may resort to the Metropolitane citie where the Metropolitane is.

And you must vnderstand that it was in the power of the Emperour, and other Princes, to appoint the seat of the Metropolitane, where it pleased them, as it appeareth in the. 12. cap. of the Councell of Chalcedon, and in the. 17. Hom. of Chrysostome, *Ad populum Antiochenum.*

### Chap. 5. the. 4. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 95. Sect. 2.

T. C. con'esseth  
Cyprian to be  
Metropolitane.

In the Councell of Carthage holden in Cyprians tyme, it appeareth that no Bishoppe had authoritie ouer an other, to compell an other, or to condemne an other, but euery Bishop was left at his owne libertie to answere vnto God, and to make his accompte vnto Christe, and if any thing were doone against any Bishoppe, it was done by the consent of all the bishoppes in the prouince, or as many as coulde conveniently assemble. Therefore Cyprian whiche was the Metropolitane bishop, had then no authoritie ouer the rest, and yet then there being no christian magistrate whiche would punish the disorders whiche were committed of the christian bishopps, there was greatest neede that there shoulde haue bene some one, which myght haue had the correction of the reste. If therefore when there was most neede of this absolute authoritie, there neither was nor might be any suche, it foloweth that now we haue a Christian magistrate, which may and ought to punish the disorders of the Ecclesiasticall persons, and may and ought to call them to account for their fautes, that there shoulde be no suche neede of an Archbishop.

### Io. Whitgiste.

You here fall into the same faulte that a little before you ascribed to me, for you come backe from the Councell of Antioche, whiche was Anno. 360. to the Councell of Carthage, being Anno. 260. I omitt to tell you, that that Councell concluded an heresie for the whiche only it was assembled. And therefore though it be in the booke of the Councells, yet is it not reckened among the Councells: Only I demaund the wordes of that Councell that doe signifie one Bishoppe not to haue had authoritie ouer an other. I tolde you before out of Cyprian himselfe, and out of Gregoris Nazianzene, that he had ample and large iurisdiction. The wordes of Cyprian in that Councell, whiche seeme to touche the matter you talke of, I haue expounded and answered before, they make not for your purpose.

It is no reason to proue that a Bishop muste not be subiecte to anye, bycause he is left at his owne libertie to answere to God, and to make his accompte vnto Christe, for by the same reason he myghte be exempted from the authoritie of the Ciuill Magistrate, and from all Lawes and orders touching Church matters, and so myghte euery priuate man in lyke manner. But you muste remember that a Bishoppe is so left to his owne libertie, to answere vnto God, and make accompte vnto Christe, that hee muste also acknowledge his duetie towards man: and be subiecte to orders and lawes.

What do you saye for the freedome of a Bishop from obedience vnto the Archbishop, but it may be sayde lyke wyse of his freedome from subiection to his Prince in lyke matters: and of euery Anabaptist, for his deliverance from subiection to all superiours: Wherefore you toyng Cyprians wordes to an euill sense.

You haue bin oft tolde that no Archbishop hath such power ouer either Bishop or inferioure minister, that of his owne authoritie he can do any thing againste them. The lawes of the realme will not suffer it, no the Canon law dothe by no meanes permit it: And therefore you do but dreame of an authoritie that is not.

Cyprian being a Metropolitane had authoritie ouer the rest.

The ciuill Magistrate doth gouerne the ecclesiasticall state, punisheth disorders among them, calleth them to accompt for their fautes by Archbishops, Bishops, and other



other officers, as he doth the same in the ciuill state, by ciuill magistrates. Your meaning is not (I dare say) to haue the Prince heare al matters hir selfe: You wil giue hir leaue to appoint vnder officers, as Moses, Dauid, Solomon, Jeholaphat, & other good kings haue done. If you will not allow the Magistrate so to do, let vs vnderstand your reasons, for surely I beleue there is some such toy in your head.

Chap. 5. the. 5. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 95. Sect. 3.

34. Canon.

The moderation of their authoritie in the auncient times may appeare first, by a canon which is falsely giuen to the Apostles, being as it is like a canon of the councell of Antioch (\*) wherein al- though it ordeyneth one Primate in euery nation ouer the rest, and will not suffer any great matter to be done without him, as also will not suffer him to do any thing without the rest, yet euery By- shop might do that which apperteyned vnto his owne parrish, without him, (a) and he nothing to do with him in it. But as it seemeth the meaning of the canon was, that if there were any weighty matter to be concluded for all the Churches in the nation, then the byshops of euery parish should not enterprise any thing without calling him to councell. Now we see that the Archbyshop med- leth with that which euery Byshop doth in his owne dioces, and hath his visitations for that pur- pose, and will take any matter out of their hands, concludeth also of diuers matters, neuer making the Byshops once priuie to his doings.

(\*) This canon is falsified both by adding, and detracting.  
(a) This you add vnto the canon.

Jo. Whitgiste.

If it be a false canon or falsely giuen to the Apostles, why do you vse it as a p<sup>ro</sup>u<sup>er</sup>se? I might say vnto you, as you said before vnto me: haue you such penurie of p<sup>ro</sup>u<sup>er</sup>ses, that you are constrained to alleadge false canons? if it be a canon of the Councell of Antioch, shew what canon it is: if it be within that Councell, vndoubtedly it is the. 9. canon before by you alledged, and how much that p<sup>ro</sup>u<sup>er</sup>ses your cause the very igno- rant reader may iudge.

But let vs heare this canon be it true or false, and consider your collections of it: The canon the wordes I haue recited before, but I will set them downe againe, that your py- thy reasons (reasoning altogether against your selfe) may appeare. The Byshops of e- uery nation or countrie must know who amongst them is chiefe, whome they ought to e- steeme as their head, and do nothing without his councell, besides those things only, which belong vnto their owne parish, and the places which are vnder it: neyther ought he to do a- ny thing without the aduise of them all: for so shal there be concord, and God shall be glo- rified by Christ Iesus in the holy Ghost. &c. Here first ther must be a Primate or chicfe Byshop (that is Archbyshop) of euery nation or countrie, whome the rest of the by- shops must acknowledge as it were for their head. Secondly, the Byshops must do nothing vnaccustomed without him. Thirdly, that the other Byshops may do those things only *que ad parochiam eius, & regiones ei subditas pertinent*: VVhich pertaine vnto his parish, and places subiect vnto it: which last words you leaue out. Last of all, that thys Primate must do nothing without their consents: what hath the Archbyshop lost by this canon: surely not one iote: I think verily he doth not require so much. Euery by- shop may do as much in his owne dioces now, (the authoritie of the Prince and his lawes reserued) as he might do by that canon, for the Archbyshop dothe not rule by will, but by law, not of himselfe, but vnder the Prince, to whome both he and all o- ther byshops be subiect.

The canon alledged as against him- selfe.  
Can. Apost. 34.

You hit nothing lesse than the meaning of the canon: nay vndoubtedly you imagine a sense contrary to the expresse words of the canon.

When the Archbyshop dothe visite, it is not to make newe lawes, or appointe newe orders (except he be commaunded so to doe by greater authoritie) but to see those orders and lawes kepte, that all Bishoppes and other are bounde vnto, and therefore he doth nothing in their diocesse contrary to that which they are bound to do, neyther doth he conclude any thing without them, which by their consent and au- thoritie of the law and Prince is not giuen vnto him.

Do. liij.

Chap.



## Chap. 5. the. 6. Division.

T. C. Pag. 95. Sect. 4.

(\*) A grosse pe-  
titiō of the prin-  
ciple, or rather  
an vntruth.

Viginius or as some thinke Delagius (I speake here as Platina reporteth, not thinking that in Viginius time, ther was any Metropolitane) ordeyned that no Metropolitane should cōdemne any Byshop, vnlesse the matter wer first both heard, and discusset by the byshops of that prouince, at what time, and after a greate while, a byshop was the (\*) same we call a minister. Howe the Archbyshop will without any further assistance or discussion by others suspend him, and in the end also throw him out of his charge, and if he haue the same authoritie ouer a byshop, as a byshop ouer the minister, (as it is said) he may do the like vnto him also. Platina cap Higin.

## Io. Whitgifte.

This is another forged witnesse (such sound p̄oses the man hath that reprobates other men for the like) and yet God knoweth his witnesse maketh nothing for him. For who giueth authoritie to the Archbyshop to dep̄me eyther Byshop or inferiour minister, without due p̄ofe and examination of the cause: touching consente of other, if he deale with him according to law, then dealeth he with the consent, not of the other Byshops only, but of all the realme: because that which is done by law: is done by the consent of all that consented either to the confirming or making of that law. Your glaunces by the way, (that there was then no Metropolitane: that then the same were byshops which we now call ministers) because they be but barely affirmed, it shal be sufficient as flatly to denie them, and for p̄ofe thereof to referre the Reader vnto that which hath bin spoken befoze.

## Chap. 5. the. 7. Division.

T. C. Page. 95. Sect. 5.

No such thing  
in the. 17. canon.

The councell of Antioch ordeyned, that if the voyces of the byshops were euen, and that if halfe did condemne him, and halfe cleare him, that then the Metropolitane byshop should call of the next prouince some other byshops, which should make an end of the controuersie: whereby appeareth that the Metropolitane had so small authoritie and power ouer and aboue the rest, that he had not so much as the casting voyce, when both sides were euen. And therefore it appeareth that besides the names of Metropolitane, there was little or no resemblance betwene those that were then, and those which be now. Can. 17.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

Com. Antio.  
ca. 14.

You haue writtē in the margent the. 17. canon of that councell, in the which ther are no suche words, nor any thing tending to that purpose: it is the. 14. canon, that I thinke you meane, for in that canō it is thus determined: that if a Byshop be iudged for certaine crimes and it happen that the other byshops of the same prouince varie in iudgement, some thinking him to be innocent, some guiltie, for the resoluing of all doubte, it pleased the holy Synode, that the Metropolitane byshop shal call for other iudges out of the next prouince, to end the cōtrouersie, who togyther with the Byshops of the same prouince, shall approue that which is iust and right. Here is no mention of equalitie in voyces, but only of disagreeing in iudgement among the Byshops of the same prouince. Likewise in this canon it appeareth that a Metropolitane had authoritie ouer moe prouinces than one, for he might call the Byshops of another prouince to decide the matter, if the Byshops of the same prouince could not agree.

The authori-  
tie of Archby-  
shops and by-  
shops, lesse,  
than in times  
past.  
Can. 12.

I see not how this canon can any thing help you: for now neyther the Metropolitane, nor all the Byshops in the prouince can dep̄me any Byshop without the consent of the pryncē: so that in that poynt the authoritie of the Metropolitane is nothing encreased, nor yet the authoritie of the Byshops. For then as it appeareth in the canon of that councell, if a Priest or a Deacon had bin condemned of his owne byshop, or a byshop of a Synode, it was not lawfull for them to complaine to the Emperoure: if they had complayned, it was determined in the same canon, that they should neuer be pardoned, nor haue any place of satisfaction, nor hope of restitution. But now it is farre otherwise. The. 11. canon of the same councell is much to the same effect. Wherefore the authoritie of the Metropolitane & other Byshops is not encreased as you p̄tend, but both the Metropolitane and other Byshops had as much authoritie then ouer other priests, ministers, and deacons, as they haue now, as appeareth by sundry canons of the

Can. 11.



the same counsell.

In the.4.canon it is decreede, that if a Byshop condemned by a Synode, or a priest, or a Deacon condemned by his owne Byshop, shal take vpon him to exercise any ministerie, he shall be without all hope of restitution, and who soeuer doth communicate with hym, shall be excommunicated. In the.5 canon it is thus determined: If any priest or deacon contemning his proper Bishop, hath separated himselfe from the Church, and gathering people apart, hath erected an altar, and hath not obeyed the admonition of his Bishop, neyther hath consented and agreed vnto him calling him backe diuers times, let this man be condemned, and deposed by all meanes, and let him not obteyne any remedie afterward, bycause he cannot receiue againe his dignitie. But if he persist to trouble the Church, let him be corrected by the outward power as a seditious person. By these canons it is euident that the Bishop of every seuerall diocese had authoritie by himselfe to excommunicate, to depriue, and to seclude from the ministerie any priest, deacon, or any other of the cleargie in moze ample and large manner, than he hath at this day. The which thing also may be seene in the.6. & 12. canons of the same Counsell: so that you haue sought for help at the Counsell, whiche is one of the greatest enemies to thys your assertion, and doth flatly condemne it. Diuers canons of the which Counsell, if they were practised, woulde soone remedie the sects and schismes whiche you haue stirred.

### Chap.5.the.8.Division.

T.C. Pag.95. Sect.vlt.

Now, to consider how the Byshops which are now, differ from the Byshops, which were in times past, I must cal to thy remembrance (gentle reader) that which I haue spokē before, which was that then there was, as appeareth out of Cyprian, and Jerome and others, one Byshop in every parish or congregation: now one is ouer a thousand, then every Byshop had a seuerall Church where he preached and ministered the sacraments: now he hath none, then he ruled that one Church (as I shewed out of Jerome) in comon with the elders of the same: now he ruleth a thousand by himselfe, shutting out the numbers, to whome the rule and government belongeth: then he ordeined not any minister of the Church, except he were first chosen by the presbyterie, and approued by the people of that place whereunto he was ordeined: now he ordeineth where there is no place byde, and of his priuate authoritie, without either choyse or approbation of presbyterie or people. Then he excommunicated not, nor receiued the excommunicated, but by sentences of the eldership, and consent of the people, as shall appeare afterward: now he doth both. And thus you see that contrary to the word of God, he hath gotten into his owne hand, and pulled to himselfe both the preeminence of the other ministers, and the liberties of the Church, which God by his word had giuen.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

There is scarce one worde of all this true, and surely I muche maruell that you dare be so bolde so manifestly to speake against your owne conscience & knowledge. I haue before sufficiently proued all that is here by you auouched, to be cleane contrary for the most part. It shall be therefore sufficient, as briefly now to answer, as you do propound. Demetrius was Byshop of all the dioces in Egypt and Alerandria. Euseb. li.6. cap.1. Euseb. lib.6. cap.1. Cyprian was Byshop of Carthage, Numidia, Mauritania, Cyprian lib.4. Cyprian lib.4. ep.8. Timothy being Byshop had the government almost of the whole countrie of Asia, as Chrysostome declareth vpon the.1.Tim.5. and.2.Tim.4. Titus was Byshop of the whole Ile of Creta, as the same Chrysost. testifieth ad Tit.1. I haue before by sundry Idem. examples and testimonies, by diuers counsells, and especially the counsell of Nice, refuted the vanitie & vntruth of this that is here affirmed, that is, that there was one Byshop in every parish and congregation: and the wordes of Cyprian and Jerome be cleane contrary: for they both make a difference betwene a Byshop, to whome the government of many pastors is committed, and a pastor that hath but one seuerall flocke or charge. For further vnderstanding whereof, I referre the Reader to that, which is spoken before.

The byshops haue now as seuerall churches to preache and minister the sacraments in, as they had then. They haue no moze authoritie in government now, than they had at that time, nor so much: and yet if they had moze authoritie than they either haue now, or had then, I thinke it were moze for the commoditie of the Church, the



the state of the time, and conditions of men considered.

As for ruling every severall church by those, whiche you call Elders, you have shewed no such thing out of Jerome, neyther can you. For Jerome in that place you meane, by *presbyteri* meaneth Priests, as he dothe in all other places that I remember. Neyther doth he there speake of particular parishes.

Tract. 3.

Touching the electing and ordaining of ministers, sufficient hath bin spoken before. The Byshop doth nothing therein, but that which he may iustly by the word of God, and testimonie of the best and most worthy writers.

Tract. 18.

Of excommunication we shall speake hereafter, you do glance at it now out of place. And thus he that is an indifferēt Reader may understand that the Byshops in these days in this Church of England have no other authoritie, than the word of God doth give unto them: The Byshops of the primitive Church have practised liberty of the Church wel beareth: and the state of the time, and condition of men requireth.

### Chap. 5. the. 9. Division.

T. C. Pag. 96. Lin. 7.

(\*) A worthy  
councell.

And as for the offices wherein there is any labour or travayle, those they have turned unto the other ministers, as for example in times past (\*) it was not lawfull for him that was then an elder, to preach or minister the sacraments in the presence of the Byshop, because the Byshop himselfe should do it, and now those which they call elders, may preach and minister the sacraments by the Byshops good licence, although he be present.

Hispal. con.  
ca. 7.

### Io. Whitgifte.

A corrupt  
councell al-  
ledged.

Hisp. Con. 2.  
Can. 7.

There is no iust cause of complaint for most of the Byshops in that behalfe. For I thinke the time hath not bin, wherein there were more preaching Byshops, than are at this day, in this Church. But do you thinke that a minister may not preach or minister the sacraments in the presence of the Byshop? Or do you so well allow of that Councell and canon quoted in your margent? It was the second councell called *Hispalense concilium*, it was not generall, but provinciall, celebrated Anno. Dom. 659. the contents of the canon by you alledged are these. That a Priest may not consecrate alters, but only the Byshop: that a Priest and *Chorepiscopi* may not consecrate virgines, erect alters, blesse and anoynt them, hallow churches, make holy oyle, and such like, but only the Byshop. Like wise that no priest may baptise, say Masse, teach the people, or blesse them in the presence of the Byshop. Surely this is a worthy Councell, and a notable canon, especially for you to alledge, that haue so depraied other worthy writers for some imperfections founde in them.

The councell  
alleged a-  
gainst himself

But what doth it make for your purpose? They might both preach and minister the sacraments in the presence of the Byshop, if he willed them, and so is the canon. This law was made for the encreasing of the Byshops pompe and dignitie: for no man might presume to speake or do any thing in their presence, without their leave and licence: so were they esteemed the, and such authoritie had they. But if our Byshops should claime the like, you would say that it were an intolerable arrogancie and pride.

T. C. Chap.  
geth the office  
with the fault  
of the men.

I would to God all those that be deluded by you, would consider your allegations, and the grounds of your proofes. Surely I would be loth to alledge any Councell of that time to prove any thing in controuersie. Much more loth would I be to alledge so corrupt a canon: but lothest of all to alledge that, which should be so flat against the cause, & prove the cleane contrary to that, which I affirme, as this doth in your case.

And here I haue one thing to tell you, & diuers of those things, wherein you would make this difference betwixt our Byshops and those of the primitive church, if they were true, yet were they no faults in the office, but in the men: as for example, thys which you here set downe. Will you make a difference in the offices of our Byshops and those of olde time, because some of them do not preach? This compareth the men together, not the offices, except you prove that it is forbidden or unlawfull for one of our Byshops to preach: There are other such like, which I omitte.

Chap.



## Chap. 5. the. 10. Division.

T. C. Pag. 96. Sect. 1.

Now if you will also consider how much the Lordship, pompe, and stateliness of the Bishops in our days, differ from the simplicitie of them in times past: I will give you also a rarer cherol, at first of all I shew the beginning, or as it were the fountaine whereupon the pompe grew, which was when in stead of having a Bishop in every parish and congregation, they began to make a Bishop of a whole diocess, and of a thousand congregations.

Marke how this  
is proved

## Io. Whitgiste.

If the pompe began as you say, then began it in the Apostles time, for then began they to make one Bishop over a whole diocess, as Timothy almost over all Asia, and Titus over all Crete, as I have declared. Which order hath bin from that day to this observed throughout all Christendome, as it may appeare by that, which is al- ready said.

## Chap. 5. the. 11. Division.

T. C. Pag. 96. Sect. 2.

Concil. to. 3.  
epist. Zacha-  
rie ad  
Bonifac.

In an epistle of Zacharie unto Pope Boniface, it is thus written, it hath bin oftentimes decreed, & there should not be a Bishop appointed in every village, or little citie, least they should waxe vile (a) through the multitude: whereby it both appeareth that ther was wont to be a Bishop in every parish, and upon how corrupt and evill consideration one Bishop was set over a whole diocess. No doubt, those that were authors of this, had learned to swell our olde proverbe, the fewer the better cheare, but the more Bishops, the merier it had bin with Gods people.

(\*) It is an epistle  
of Pope Zacha-  
rie to Boniface,  
not of Zacharie  
to Pope Boni-  
face.  
(a) An vntruth as  
will appeare.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

This epistle was writte by Pope Zacharie to one Boniface which was Bishop in France, and not to Pope Boniface: moreover it is in the. 2. tome of Councils, and you have quoted in your margent the third. But to the matter.

You have not one word in that epistle to proue that there was wont at any time to be in every parish a Bishop. And you have falsely alleadged the words of the epistle: for these words (least they should waxe vile through the multitude) are not ther to be found. The words of the Epistle be these. For you must remember what we are commaunded by the olde canons to obserue, that we ought not to ordein Bishops in villages, and smal citie, least the name of a Bishop should waxe vile. What one word is there here of placing Bishops in every parish: Zacharie telleth Boniface, that it is according to the olde canons that Bishops should not be placed in such smal citie, but in more ample and large citie, because the contemptibleness of the place, dothe oftentimes bring contempt to the person, and a Bishop ought to be esteemed and reuerenced. If you had red the epistle, you should haue perceiued that this Boniface had lately conuerted to christianitie *interiorem Germaniam*, and that he had ordeyned among them certaine Bishops to gouerne them, whome he desired Pope Zacharie by his authoritie to confirme, to whome Pope Zacharie answering, willet him to consider whether the places be so conuenient, or the number of the people so great, *ut Episcopos habere mereantur. Meminerimus enim* (saith he) *quid in sacris canonibus.* &c. as I have rehearsed them before. And a little after he nameth the places, where he will haue the byshops seates, so that there is nothing lesse ment, than that there was in every parish a Bishop, least much as there was there before no Bishop in any parish: but this is all that may be gathered, that the seates of Bishops were by the olde canons appointed to be in the best citie, and most famous places: which to be true you may some perceiue in those canons themselves, mentioned here by Zacharie: they are to be found. dist. 80.

The Epistle  
of Pope Za-  
charie falsified

## Chap. 5. the. 12. Division.

T. C. Pag. 96. Sect. 2.

And they might with as good reason hinder the sunne from shining in all places, and the raine from falling upon all grounds, for feare they should not be set by, being common, as to bring in such a wicked



When, or  
where did God  
ordeyne this?

a wicked decree, whereby under pretence of deliuering the Bpshop from contempt, they sought nothing else but an ambitious and statey Lordship ouer those, whiche had not that title of Bpshop that they had, although they did the office of a Bpshop better than they did. And what intollerable presumption is this, to change the institution of God, as though he (\*) which ordeyned not one onely, but some number more or lesse of Bishops in euery Church, did not sufficiently foresee, that the multitude and plenty of Bishops could breed no contempt of the office. And it may be as well ordeyned that the children of poore men should not call them that beget them, fathers and mothers, but only the children of the rich, and of the noble, least that if euery man that hath children, should be called a father, fathers should be set nothing by.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

It is a maruellous matter that you delight to runne so fast vpon a false string: I tell you once agayne, that you neuer red that Epistle, neyther yet those canons that it speaketh of. If you had red them, you would neuer haue affirmed (if there be any modestie left in you) that the multitude of Bishops is alledged there as a cause of contempt, no such thing being mentioned. The canons haue a very good consideration, and be not wicked, but wise and godly. This superiortie of Bishops is Gods owne institution, and it hath a necessary vse in the Church of God, as is shewed before. It hath bin, and may be abused: and it is, and may be well used. All these glorious wordes of yours, are but very wordes, and therefore as wordes, I will committe them to the winde.

But one Bishop in a citie

This one thing I cannot let passe that you say, God ordeyned not one onely, but some number more or lesse of Bishops in euery Church. What scripture haue you to proue that there should be more Bishops than one in one Church? What one example in al the primitive Church haue you to warrant this your assertion? Nay you haue the whole practise of the Church to the contrary, euen from the beginning. James alone was Bishop of Jerusalem, Timothie of Ephesus, Titus of Creta, Clemens of Rome, &c. and it hath bin alwayes compted as monstrous to haue two Bishops of one citie, as to haue two heads of one body. But such bolde assertions without proue, are meete principles for such a ruinous and tottering platfome, as you dreame of.

### Chap. 5. the. 13. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 96. Sect. 2.

(\*) In what place  
of scripture?  
(2) Is not this  
soundly proued?

And here let vs obserue by what degrees and stagers, Satan lifted the child of perdition vnto that proud title of vniuersall Bishop. First (\*) where the Lord did ordeyne that there should be diuers pastors, elders, or Bishops in euery congregation, (2) Satan wrought first, that there should be but one in euery Church: this was no doubt the first steppe. Afterwards he pushed further, and stirred by diuers not to content themselves to be Bishops of one Church, but to desire to be Bishops of a diocess, wherevnto although it seemeth that there was resistance (in that it is sayd, that it was decreed often) yet in the end this wicked attempt preuailed, and this was another steppe: then were there Archbishops of whole prouinces, whiche was the thirde stager vnto the seate of Antichrist. Afterwards they were patriarches of one of the fower corners of the whole world, the whole Church being assigned to the iurisdiction of fower, that is to say of the Romaine, Constantinopolitane, Antiochene, and Alexandrine Bishops, and these fower stagers being layde of Satan, there was but an easie stride for the Bishop of Rome into that chaire of pestilence, wherein he now sitteth.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

All this is as coldely proued, as it is boldly affirmed, for here is neyther scripture, doctore, story, Councell, or any thing else, but *ipse dixit*. How proue you that the Lord ordeyned that there should be in euery congregation diuers pastors, elders, or Bishops? The place of scripture (if there be any) had bin sone quoted. How proue you that Satan wrought first that there should be but one in euery Church? Is it Satans worke that one Church should haue but one pastor? This is straunge doctrine, and far from an Apostolicall spirit: contrary to the practise of the Apostles, and of the Church euen from the beginning. But seeing you haue so barely set it downe without any kinde of proue, I will passe it ouer, by putting you to your proue. But yet tell me, vnto what Satan stirre by Timothie and Titus, who were Bishops of one whole diocesse?

Satan not  
the cause of  
one Bishop  
in one church.

Did



Did he stirre vp the other auncient fathers and godly Bishops of whome I haue spoken: Whither will this clamorous mouth reache: whome will this benemous tongue spare, if it speake so spitefully of such worthe Pastors?

Your collection of resistance that hath bene to such superiozitie (being grounded of the place, that you neuer sawe nor red) is rashe and vnadvised. For if you had seene eyther that Epistle, or those Canons, you woulde (or at the least you might) haue learned another lesson.

Archbishops, Patriarches, &c. were allowed by the Councell of Nice, the goodlyest, and the most perfect Councell (since the Apostles time) that euer was. And did Sathan rule there also and pzeuayle? And that Arius were aline to heare it. These steppes whereof you make Sathan the authour, and whereby you say, the Bishop of Rome hath ascended into the Chayze of pestilence, &c. haue bene the best, and most conuenient kinde of gouernment, that euer was in the Church since the Apostles time: approued and allowed by the best Councels, and the next meanes to haue kept Antichrist out of his seate, if in all places they had remayned in theyr full force and authoritie.

But this I may not passe ouer, that you in effect confesse your kinde of gouernment by elders to haue ceased before the Councell of Nice, and also one Bishop to haue bene ouer one whole Diocesse before that time, in that you say that the childe of perdition was lifted vp by these degrees; the last whereof was allowed in the Nicene Councell.

### Chap. 5. the. 14. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 96. Sect. 2.

Having now shewed howe this Lordly estate of the Bishop began, and vpon what a rotten ground it is builded, I come to shewe howe farre the Bishops in our tyme are for theyr pompe and outwarde statelynesse degenerated from the Bishops of elder tymes.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

A man woulde haue thought that you being so great an enimie to those degrees, woulde not haue thus concluded vpon so small pzease, and the same vtterly untrue: vsing onely for your grounde the Epistle of Pope Zacharie, which maketh nothing for your purpose. Now let vs see, how farre the Bishops of our tyme are for theyr pompe, &c. degenerated from the Bishops of elder tymes.

### Chap. 5. the. 15. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 96. Sect. 3.

And here I call to remembrance, that which was spoken of the poore estate of Basil, and Theodoroze: and if M. Doctour will say (as he doth inderde in a certaine place) that then was a time of persecution; and this is a time of peace, it is easily answered, that although Basil were vnder persecution, yet Theodoroze liued vnder good Emperours. But that shall appeare better by the Canons which were rules giuen for the Bishops to frame themselves by.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

It is for lacke of other examples, that you are constrained to repeat these: To the pozenesse of Theodoroze I haue answered: there may be as poore Bishops now, as there was then, and there might be as riche Bishops then, as there are now. It is not one or two examples that can proue the contrarie.



## Chap. 5. the. 16. Division.

T.C. Pag. 97. Sect. 1.

In the 4. Councell of Carthage it is decreed that the Bishops should have a little house neare unto the Church, what is this compared with so many fayre large houses, and with the princely Palace of a Bishop? And in the same Councell it is decreed that he should have the furniture and stuffe of his house after the common sort, and that his table and dyet should be poore, and that he should get him estimation by saythfulness and good conuersation.

14. Canon,  
it calleth it  
hospitioll,  
15. Canon,

Jo. Whitgiste.

In the 52. and 53. Canons of the same Councell, Clarke, how learned so ever they be in Gods word, are willed to get their living by some occupation, or by husbandrie, but I thinke you will not have them so to do now at this time. Wherefore you must consider the diuersitie of the time and state of the Church. If God hath dealt now more bountifullly with his Church in externall benefites, if he hath put into the hearts of Christian Princes thus to deale with the ministers of the word: and if this state and condition be necessary for this time, and people, why should you enuie it? Kitchens and fayre houses be no hinderances, but helpes, if they be vsed accordingly: and commonly hypocrisie and pryde, lieth hidde vnder the name of pouertie and simplicitie.

## Chap. 5. the. 17. Division.

T.C. Page. 97. Sect. 1.

(a) No suche  
thing in that  
place.

And in another Councell, that the Bishops should (a) not giue themselves to feastes, but be content with a litle meate. Let these Bishops be compared with oures, whose chambers shine with gilt, whose walles are hanged with clothes of Auris, whose cupboards are laden with plate, whose tables and diets, are furnished with multitude and diuersitie of dishes, whose dayly dinners are feastes, let them I say be compared together, and they shall be founde so unlike, that if those old Bishops were alive, they would not knowe each other. For they would thinke that oures were Princes, and oures would thinke that they were some hedge Priests, not worthy of their acquaintance or fellowship.

5. Canon  
concil. Ty-  
ronens.

Jo. Whitgiste.

If you meane the first Tyronense Concilium, there is no such thing to be found in the 5. Canon of it, nor in the whole Councell. The fifth Canon conteyneth a profitable admonition for you and such as you are, for it forbiddeth vnder the payne of excommunication, that any being a Clarke should leaue of his calling, and become a lay man. If you meane the seconde Tyronense Concilium. I make you the like answer. Belike your collector hath deceyued you, but what if it were so? This onely might be gathered, that vnlasse Bishops then had bene welthie, there should not haue needed a decree against feasting. If our Bishops should make the like now, it would be thought they did it for sparing. And I thinke that, and such like Canons meete not onely for Bishops, but for all states and degrees of men.

Riches no  
impediment  
to godly men.  
Wherein our  
Bishops may  
be compared  
with the olde  
Bishops.

Riches and costly furniture bee no impediment to a godly man for doing his duetie. And in suche externall thinges the condition of the time, and state of the Countrey is to be obserued. Lette our Bishoppes be compared with them in truthe of doctrine, in honestie of life, in diligent walking in theyr vocation, and in knowledge (I speake of the moste in bothe ages) and I thinke the difference will not be so greate, but that they maye bothe knowe one another, and very well agree



agreed among themselves: this onely excepted, that the doctrine of the Gospell is now much more purely professed by our Bishops, than it was at that tyme by them, for both the Councils are in sundrie points very corrupt.

### Chap. 5. the. 18. Division.

T. C. Pag. 97. Sect. 2.

Can. 34.

In the same council of Carthage, it was decreed that no Bishop sitting in any place should suffer any Minister or Elder to stande. Nowe I will report me to themselves howe this is kept, and to the poore ministers which haue to do with them, and come before them.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

A poore quarell: though this humilitie is to be required in all Bishops, yet is it to be used with discretion: for thus to deale with a proude and hauocie stomacke, were but to giue nourishment to arrogancie and contempt. It is meete that euery man haue that honour and reuerence giuen vnto him, which his place, his office, and his person requireth. And as it is humilitie in him to remitte any part of it: euen so it is an intollerable contempt and pryde for those that be inferiours, so to looke for suche equalitie, that in the meane tyme they refuse to doe that, which civillitie, good maners, and due respect requireth. But let all men consider those notes and tokens of your hauocie stomackes, and perswade themselves, that it would not bee long before you would challenge the same equalitie, wyth other states and degrees in like maner.

### Chap. 5. the. 19. Division.

T. C. Pag. 97. Sect. 3.

Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 30.

Ruf. lib. 1.  
cap. 13.

The Bishoppes in tymes past had no tayle nor trayne of men after them, and thought it a shame to the Gospell to haue a number of men before and behinde them. And therefore is Paulus Samosatenus noted as one that brought Religion into hatred, and as one that seemed to take delight rather to be a Capitaine of two hundred, than a Bishop, because he had gotten hym a sort of serving men to waight on him. In other example not vnylike and lykewyse reprehended is in Rustine of one (a) Gregorie a Bishop. Nowe in our dayes it is thought a commendation to the Bishop, a credite to the Gospell, if a Bishop haue 30. 40. 60. or more waiting of him, some before, some behinde, whereof thys partes of them (set apart the carrying of a dishe vnto the table) haue no honest or profitable calling to occupie themselves in two houres of the day, to the filling of the Church and common wealth also with all kinde of disorders, and greater incommodities, than I minde to speake of, because it is not my purpose.

(\*) He was renowned for vnging himselfe like a capitaine, being accompanied with a garde of souldiours.  
(a) Gregorie for George.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

In Eusebius it is sayde that Paulus Samosatenus used to walke publicly in the market places reading letters and boasting himselfe, being accompanied with a number of Souldiours some before him and some behinde him, more like to a Capitaine than a Bishop. If any of our Bishops walke in the streets to be seene, or stande in the market places, or other open and public assemblies reading of letters, accompanied with Souldiours and men of warre, then may it be truly sayde of them, that is here truly spoken of Paulus Samosatenus. But if they being farre from such vanitie, keepe that countenance and retinue of men, which their place, the manner of their Countrey, the honour of the Prince, the state of the Church requireth, then doe you vncharitably and vniustly applie this example agaynst them. But vnlesse Paulus Samosatenus had bene riche and wealthie, howe coulde this pompe of his haue bene mainteyned: Wherefore this example is rather agaynst you, than for you: neither doth it condemne wealth and riches in Bishops, but pride, vainglorie, and lightnesse. For they accuse him of spoiling the Church, and thereby enriching himselfe.

Λογυπορεῖς  
μειροῖς,  
that is accom-  
panied with  
spearmen, and  
halbardes.  
The example  
of P. Samos-  
atensis is ap-  
plied to our  
Bishops.



Ruffin. lib. 1.  
cap. 23.

In the example of George, whom you call Gregorie, mentioned in Ruffine, there is no worde spoken of any sacred men, or souldiers: onely he is there reponed, because he got his Bishoppe by violence, and thought that the office of iudgement in ciuill causes was rather committed vnto him, than the Priesthoode. &c. If any Bishop offende in the like with vs, it is the fault of the man, not of the office. By this example also it may appeare, that Bishoppes in those dayes had ryches and authoritie: For this abusing of their wealth and authoritie, doth argue that they had both, which they might haue vsed rightly and well.

## Chap. 5. the. 20. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 97. Sect. 4.

And here I will note another cause which brought in this pompe, and princely estate of Bishops, wherein although I will say more in a worde for the pompous estate, than M. doctour hath done in all his treatise: yet I will shewe that although it were more tollerable at the first, now it is by no means to be borne woth. \* In the Ecclesiasticall storie we reade that the inscriptions of diuers Epistles sent vnto Bishops were *τιμωτάτους κρείστος*. \* We reade also of *ἀσπασινδύ οἰκον* house of salutations, which Ambrose Bishop of Millayn had. As for the tytle of (moste honourable Lorde) it was not so great, nor so statelie, as the name of a Lorde or knight in oure Countrey, for all those that knowe the maner of the speech of the Grecians doe well vnderstande, howe they vsed to call euery one of any meane countenance in the common wealth where he lyued *κρείστος*; that is Lorde, so we see also the Euangelists turne Rabbi which signifyeth master by the Grecke worde *κρείστος* Lorde, as lykewyse in France they call euery one that is a Gentleman, or hath any honest place Monsieur, and so they say also, sauing your honour. Howe we know this worde (Lorde) in our Countrey is vsed otherwise, to note some great personage, epyther by reason of birth, or by reason of some high dignitie in the common wealth, which he occupieth, and therefore those tytles although they were somewhat excellen, yet were they nothing so swelling and statelie as ours are.

\* Theo. li. 5  
cap. 8.  
\* Licodem  
cap. 18.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

Pro. 27.

The wise man sayth, Let not thine owne mouth prayse thee: but you for lacke of good neighbours, or else for too much selfe lone, oftentimes forget this lesson, as in this place.

The tytle of  
most honourable  
Lorde.

Whosoever the Grecians vsed to call euery one of any meane countenance in the common wealth, where he lyued *κρείστος*, Lorde, yet did they not vse to call him *τιμωτάτους κρείστος* most honourable Lorde, for that tytle was onely giuen to such as were of great dignitie and authoritie: as it is in the place of Theodozete (by you quoted) giuen to Bishops: and therefore you haue made an obiection, which you cannot answer. This worde Lorde, doth signifie prebeminence and superiortie, and hauing this title (most honourable,) ioyned with it, it cannot but signifie some greate state and degree of authoritie.

Rabbi.

The same I answer to that, which followeth. And yet Rabbi was a name giuen *primarijs hominibus, et honore aliquo preditis*: to the chiefe men, and those, which were indued with some honour: and in that the Euangelistes do translate it Lorde, it is manifest that this name, Lorde, signified then a degree of superiortie: but hauing (as I sayde) this tytle (most honourable) added vnto it, as it is in that place of Theodozete, it cannot but signifie some especiall prebeminence, and therefore equiuallent with the titles now vsed. Master Caluine vpon the. 20. of John. verse. 16, sayth that (Rabboni) which is there interpreted (master) is *nomen non modò honorificum*: not onely an honourable name, but also, *quod professionem continet obedientia*, such as conteyneth a profession of obedience.

Caluine.

Merie honou-  
rable titles gi-  
ue to bishops.

But doe the tytles of honour, and degree giuen vnto Bishops so much trouble your hawtie stomacke? Surely you are not then of that spirit, that the olde auncient fathers were, who disdeigned not to call Bishoppes by as honourable tytles as we do:



doe: looke in Atha. his. 2. *Apol* you shall there find the Synode gathered at Jerusalem, writing to the Bishops of Alexand. call Athanasius sundrie tymes *Dominum*, not as by a common tytle, but a tytle of dignitie, *quum vobis restitueret pastorem vestrum & dominum comministrum nostrum Athanasium*: VVhen he shall restore vnto you your Pastor and Lorde our fellow minister Athanasius. In the same *Apol*. Bishops are called *domini preciosissimi*, most excellent or worthie Lordes. And it is euident in the same booke, that there was no other tytle gyuen to the Emperoure himselfe, for there he is onely called (Lorde) and so were other of his Nobles in like maner. So that in those dayes it was not grudged at, to giue vnto Bishoppes the same tytles of honour, that was giuen to the Emperour & other Nobles. The name of (most reuerend) is as much as the name of most honourable, and yet was that name also giuen vnto Bishops in Athanasius tyme, as appeareth in the same booke in sundrie places. For Athanasius himselfe is called by his Bishops and Deacons *reuerendissimus Episcopus*.

Eusebius Nicomed. writing to Paulinus Bishop of Tirus useth this stile, *Dominus meo Paulino*, &c. To my Lorde Paulinus to. i. con. But what shoulde I labour to proue the antiquitie of such tytles, which cannot be vnknowne to such as be learned? I had more neede to declayne agaynst the pryde and haughtinesse of such, as do disdain to vse them: but I will not spende paper in wordes.

### Chap. 5. the. 21. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 97. Sect. 5.6.

And as touching Ambrose house, albeit the wordes doth not employ so great gorgeousnesse nor magnificence of a house, as the Palaces and other magnificall buildings of our Bishops, yet the cause where vpon this rose, doth more excuse Ambrose, who being taken from great wealth and government in the common wealth, giuing ouer his office, did receyue (\*) his house and that which he had gotten.

But our Bishops (a) do mainteyne this pompe and excelsse, of the charges of the Church, with whose goodes a great number of yole loytering seruing men are mainteyned, which ought to be bestowed vpon the Ministers, which want necessarie finding for theyr families, and vpon the poore and maintenance of the Vniuersities. As for these riotous expences of the Church goodes, when many other Ministers want, and of making great dinners, and intertynning great Ladies and magistrates, and of the answere to them that say they do helpe the Church by this meanes, I will referre the reader to that, which Jerome writeth in an Epistle ad Nepotianum monachum, where this is handled more at large.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Your answer for Ambrose his house hath no probabilitie in it, for the wordes of Theodozete in that place, do plainly declare that it was neare vnto the Church, *pea infra septa Ecclesie*: within the bondes or close of the Church, and therefore most like to be the house pertainyng to the Bishopricke, and not any part of Ambrose his former possessions. For if you remember, you sayde a little before, that it was decreed in the 4. Council of Carthage. Can. 14. that a Bishop shoulde haue his house neare vnto the Church. But wise men can consider from whence such unlikely assertions without any shew of proufe do come.

Bishops buylde not these great houses of the Churches goodes, but receyue them as left vnto them by such as were farre from seeking a spoyle: they vse them according to the lawes of the lande: and their number of men can in no respect be diminished, tending to the defense and strength of the realme, the honour of the Prince, and their owne honest and good education. Our Bishops therefore vse the goodes of the Church according to the first institution and foundation, and I doubt not but they vse them to make profite both of the Church and common wealth, than they should be vled, if your phantasies might take place.

Your complaint for ministers, for the poore, &c. may be other wise satisfied than by a spoyle: For if benefices were rightly vled, the Ministers of this Realme

*Athan. Apol. 2*

(\*) It was the house belonging to the Bishop.  
(a) A heape of slaunders.

Ambrose house within the bounds of the Church.

Bishops defended against the slaundersous reple,

Provision for ministers.



Admission for  
the poore.

Whereunto  
the Repliers  
clamour ten-  
deth.

The same are  
is lifted as  
gainst Uni-  
uersities, that  
hacketh at by-  
shops landes.

are better provided for, than in any countrey or age: yea there are mo sufficient ly-  
mings for them besides the Bishopricks, than can be supplied with able ministers.  
The poore also are well provided for (God be thanked,) by sundrie meanes, if lawes  
made for the same were duly executed, and Hospitallies with suche other prouisi-  
ons deliuered from unreasonable Leases, and bestowed vpon the poore according  
to their spyll ordinances. Wherefore this clamour of yours is nothing but the  
hopes of an envious spirite proclayming the spoyle of the Church, to the decay of  
learning, and bringing in of barbarisme, if it be not in time presented.

The vniuersities are much beholding to you for your care ouer them: but what  
reasons haue you vied agaynst the lyuings and houses of Bishoppes, that may not  
also be vied agaynst their landes and Colledges: for in tymes past, when that  
Councell of Carthage (before by you alledged) was holden, there were nosuche  
Colledges indued with such possessions, as there are now. Neyther are there (as  
I haue hearde) in Chyftenborne the like Colledges, and the like linings for Stu-  
dientes, as are in this Realme of Englande. Wherefore if such examples and con-  
ditions of Countries, tymes, and persons bee sufficient to ouerthrowe Bishoppes  
houses and landes, I see not howe Colledges can stande long after them, and there-  
fore we pray you speake for your selfe, we require not the helpe of so euill a Pro-  
cur. Woulde you seeke to mainteyne learning with the spoyle of the Church,  
and the diminishing of the rewarde of learning? *Annon vides, quam pugnantia lo-  
queris?*

The thing  
must not be  
condemned for  
the abuse.

By that Epistle of  
Jerome ad Nepotianum  
it appeareth that the  
state of the Clergie  
was not then so poore,  
as you woulde seeme  
to make it.

By that Epistle of Jerome ad Nepotianum, it appeareth that the state of the Clergie  
was not then so poore, as you woulde seeme to make it. Jerome reproveth the abuses  
of his time, as conetousnesse, gluttonie, gorgeous and costly apparell with such lyke  
which at all tymes are in lyke manner to be condemned. But doth he that reproveth  
the abuse, condemne the thing? It is a fault by conetous or vniuersal dealing to waie  
riche: but yet it is no fault to be riche. Wide in apparell is to be condemned: but  
yet euerie man may lawfully weare that apparell, that is mete for his degree. No  
man alloweth gluttonie or immoderate feasting: neyther doth any wise man con-  
demne a plentifull table, and good house keeping. It is not god dealing to applie that  
which is spoken agaynst the abuse of a thing, to the condemning and quite overthrow  
of the thing it selfe, as you do the wordes of Jerome in that Epistle.

## Chap. 5. the. 22. Division.

T.C. Pag. 98. Lin. 2.

This is before  
answered.

By that which I haue cited it appeareth, what was one cause of this excelle and state-  
pomp of the Bishoppes, namely that certayne noble and riche men, being chosen to the ministerie,  
and living somewhat like vnto the former estates, wherein they were before, others also assayed  
to be like vnto them, as we see in that popit the nature of man is to reade to followe, if they see  
any example before their eyes. But there is no reason because Ambrose and such like did so, there-  
fore our Bishops should do it (-) of the Churches costes. For because Ambrose and such like  
did tarie in their trim houses, which they had built them selues of their owne charge before they  
were Bishops, that therefore they should come out of their chambers or narrow houses into courts  
and pastures, builded of the Churches costes.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

Where haue you shewed any such thing by Ambrose his example: or how doth  
it appeare that by such memories the pompe of the Bishops (as you cal it) was brought  
in: That which you speake of Ambrose house is most untrue: it was pertaining to  
the Bishop, and no part of Ambrose his proper possessions, as it is euident by this,  
that it was nere vnto the Church, even within the limits of the Church, as I haue  
sayde before.



## Chap. 5. the. 23. Division.

T. C. Pag. 98. Sect. 1.

Another reason of this pompe and stateliness of the Bishops was, that which almost brought in all popson and popish corruption into the church, and that is a foolish emulation of the manners and fashions of the idolatrous nations. For as this was the craft of Sathan to draw away the practices from the true service of God, by theyr sonde desyre they had to conforme themselves to the fashions of the Gentiles, so to punish vnthankfull receyuing of the Gospel, and to fulfill the prophecies touching the man of sinne, the Lord suffered those that professed Christ to corrupt their wayes, by the same sleight of the Diuell.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

If it be enough to say without any kinde of prooff, then you haue sayd some thing: but if wordes without prooffes be but light, then are these wordes so to be esteemed, & not otherwise. I know the Papistes through foolish imitation of the Gentiles, haue brought in sundrie superstitions of the Gentiles. But I speake of the matter we haue in hande, that is inequalitye of degrees; and authoritie among the ministers of the Church, and the names and offites of Archbishop, Bishop, Archdeacon, &c. which you neyther haue shewed, nor can shew to be brought into the Church, by any imitation of the Gentiles, and therefore you do still *Peters principium*.

T. C. still of-  
fendeth in pe-  
titione prin-  
cipij.

## Chap. 5. the. 24. Division.

T. C. Pag. 98. Sect. 2.

Euseb. 8.  
cap. 15.

Galerius Maximinus the Emperour to the ende that he might promote the idolatrie, and superstition whereunto he was addicted, chose of the choicest magistrates to be priests, and that they might be in great estimation gaue eche of them a traine of men to followe them: (a) and now the Christian Emperours thinking that that would promote the Christian reli-  
gion, that promoted superstition, and not remembering that it is often times abhominable before God, which is alceded in the ties of men, endeuoured to make their Bishops encounter and march with those idolatrous priests, and to cause that they should not be inferior to them in wealth and outwarde pompe. And therefore I conclude, that being the causes and fountaynes, from whence this pompe and stateliness of Bishops haue come, are so corrupt and hanght, the thing it self which hath risen of such causes can not be good.

(a) A wrong  
collection.

## Io. Whitgiste.

There is no such thing in that place of Eusebius quoted in your margent: for in that booke and chapter of Eusebius, he onely sheweth that Inchaunters and Sozcerers were greatly esteemed of Maximinus, and that he buylded Churches of Idols in euery Citie, and appoynted idolatrous Priests in euery place, also that he placed in euery prouince one to be chiefe ouer the rest, & furnished him with souldiers and seruants: but there is not one worde, that any Christian Prince toke any example of him to do the like in Christianitie. It rather appeareth that Maximinus did in this point imitate the Christians, who had theyr Metropolitans, and one chiefe Bishop in euery prouince long before this time, as I haue declared before. And I see no cause why you should say that Christians did followe the Gentiles rather in providing for the ministers of the Gospel sufficiently, than in buylding of Churches in euery Citie, and placing ministers in them, for Maximinus did this aswell as he did the other. This I am well assured of, that there is no such signification in that place of Eusebius, that any Christian Prince should followe this example. And therefore your conclusion beyng collected and gathered of such false and vnttrue coniectures, must needs be lyke vnto them.

I do not speake to magnayne any excellencie of outrageous pompe, but I speake of the degrees in the Ecclesiasticall state, and of the manners and conditions of the persons, as they be now according to the lawes and customes allowed in this Church of England.



## Chap. 5. the. 25. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 98. Sect. 3.

And thus will I make an ende, leauing to the consideration and indifferent waying of the indifferent reader, how true it is that I haue before propounded, that our Archbishops, Metropolitans, Archdeacons, Bishops, haue besides the names almoste nothing common with those, which haue bene in elder tymes, before the summe of the Gospell beganne to be maruelously darkened, by the stinking mistes which the Diuell sent forth out of the bottomlesse pit, to blynde the eyes of men, that they should not see the shame and nakednesse of that purpled whoore, which in the person of the Cleargie, long before she gatte into hir seate, prepared hir selfe by paynting hir withen face, with the colours of these gorgeous titles, and with the shewe of magnificall and worldly pompe. For the Diuell knewe well enough, that if he should haue set by one onely Bishop in that seate of perdition, and lefte all the reste in that simplicitie, wherein God had appoynted them, that his eldest sonne should neyther haue had any way to get into that, and when he had gotten it, yet being as it were an owle amongst a sorte of byrdes, should haue bene quickly discovered.

Jo. Whitgiste.

And I also leaue it to the iudgement of the learned and indifferent Reader, to consider by that, which I haue sayde before, how vnture all this is, that you here asseirme, (I speake of these degrees and offices as they be nowe vled in this Church of England) if there be any difference, it is because they haue not so large and ample iurisdiction and authoritie now, as they had then.

The subtiltie  
of Sathan in  
counterfeyte  
godlinesse  
must not pre-  
iudice that  
which is true.

Discretion is  
very necessa-  
ry.

Sathan worketh by sundrie meanes, and spareth no fetches to bring to passe his purpose. Under the pretence of zeale, he hath ingendred sectes and schismes: vnder the title of puritie & perfection, he hath brought in heresie: vnder the cloake of simplicitie, he hath spread abroad many kindes of idolatrie and superstition: vnder the shadow of humilitie, he hath covered vntolerable ambition, and marueylous arrogancie: and what soeuer he bringeth to passe, commonly he doth it vnder the colour of vertue, and of that which is good: and therefore I thinke that euen vnder the names and titles of lawfull degrees and calling, he hath established vnlawfull authoritie: but neyther is true zeale, puritie, perfection, simplicitie, humilitie, nor yet lawfull degrees and callings therefore to be condemned. *Vicia (as Cyprian sayeth) vicina sunt virtutibus.* Vices be very nigh vnto vertues: and the one laboureth to imitate the other, but we must not therefore the lesse esteeme of vertue, but rather learne prudently to discerne what is the difference betwixt the one and the other. If we haue not learned this lesson, what state in the common wealth, what office, what degree of person, nay what kinde of government shall we allowe: it is the greatest folly in the worlde to condemne the thing it selfe, because of the abuse.

## Chap. 5. the. 26. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 98. Sect. 3.

A proper ca-  
neat.

But I haue done, only this I admonish the reader that I do not allowe of all those things, which I before alleaged in the comparison betwene our Archbishops and the Archbishops of olde tyme, or our Bishops & theirs. Onely my intent is to shew that although there were corrupti-  
ons, yet in respect of ours they be much more tollerable: and that it might appeare how small cause there is, that they should alleage their examples, to confirme the Archbishops and Bishops that nowe are.

Jo. Whitgiste.

You do well to worke surely, for now shall no man take any great advantage of your wordes, how be it, it had bene curteously done to haue let vs vnderstand what you allowe of this you haue wyrtten, and what you allowe not. For in leauing the matter so raiely, you will make vs suspect, that you haue spoken you know not what.

Other



Other things concerning the offices and authoritie of our Cleargie, of inequalitye of degrees amongst ministers, &c. dispersed in other places of the Answer.

*Chap. 6. the. 1. Division.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 75. Sect. vii.

Concerning the offices of an high commissioner & iustice of peace, how necessarily they be committed to some of the best & wisest of the Cleargie, what vice by them is bidden, what inconvenience mette with, what necessarie discipline used, those know that be wise, & haue experience in publike affaires and gouernment. There is no worde of God to proue why these offices may not concurre in one man. But it is the commission that troubleth these men, as for peace they are at defiance with it.

T. C. Pag. 98. Sect. 4.

Concerning the offices of commissioner ship, and how vnmeet it is that ministers of the worde should exercise them, and how that the worde of God doth not permitte any such confusion of offices, there shall be by Gods grace spoken of it afterwarde.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

And vntill that (afterward) be perfozmed, will I also differre that, which is further to be sayd in this matter.

*Chap. 6. the. 2. Division.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 76. Sect. 1. 2. 3. & Pag. 77. Sect. 1.

To be shorte, they say that all these offices be plainely in Gods worde forbidden, and they alleage Math. 23. Luc. 22. 1. Cor. 4. 1. Pet. 5. The places of Mathew & Luke be answered before. Christ beateth Tract. 1.  
downe ambition and pryde, and desire of bearing rule, as he did before, when he sayde, be ye not called Rabbi, and call no man father, be not called Doctozs, he doth not condemne the names, but the ambition of the minde.

In the. 1. Cor. 4. it is thus wrytten, Let a man thus thinke of vs, as of the ministers of Christ, &c. The ministers of the worde in deede are not to be esteemed as Gods, but as the ministers of God. Some among the Cozinthians glozied in their ministers, and attributed to much vnto them. Hereof came these factiōs, I holde of Paule, I of Apollo, &c. This teacheth your adherentes and disciples, not to attribute to much to you, & such as you are, or any other minister of Gods word. It maketh nothing agaynst the names or authorities eyther of Archbishop, Lord bishop, or any other that you haue named, who be the ministers of Christ, and ought so to be esteemed.

The place of S. Peter cap. 5. is this, Feede the flocke of God, &c. not as though you were Lordes ouer the flocke, &c. Peter here condemneth hautinesse, contempt, and tyrannie of pastozs towards theyr flockes, he doth not take away lawfull gouernment. The Pastoz hath rule and superioritie ouer his flocke, but it must not be tyrannicall.

These be but very slender proofes that the names and offices of Archbi-



Archbishops, Lordbys, &c. be plainly forbiddē by the word of God.

Surely you had thought that no man would haue euer taken paynes to examine your margent.

T.C. Pag. 98. Sect. vlt.

To your answere also vnto the places of S. Mathew & Luke the replie is made before. The place of the fourth of the first to the Corinthians is well alleaged, for it teacheth a moderate estimation of the ministers, and a meane betwene the contempt & excessive estimation: neyther can there be any readier way to breed that disorder, which was amongst the Corinthians, as to say I holde of such a one, and I of such a one, & I of such another, than to set by certayne ministers in so highe titles, & great shew of worldly honour: for so cometh it to passe that the people will saye, I will beleue my Lorde, and my Lorde Archbishop, what soeuer our persone say, for they be wise men and learned, as we see it came to passe amongst the Corinthians. For the false Apostles because they had a shew & outward pompe of speech, they caried away the people. For although S. Paule sayeth that some sayd I holde of Paule, I holde of Apollo, I of Cephas, yet as it appeareth in his fourth chapter, they helde one of this braue eloquent teacher, and another of that. For he translated these speeches vnto him & his fellowes by a figure. All that rule is tyrannicall which is not lawfull, and is moze than it ought to be. And therefore the place of S. Peter is fitly alleaged, whereof also I haue spoken some thing before.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

The Corinthians did not burst out into these factions & partes taking, in respect of any title or office committed to any of their preachers: but it was a partiall affection that they had towarde the teachers in preferring them (for they supposed vertue & learning) before other of whom they had not conceived so good an opinion. A moze liuely example whereof can not be, than the dissentio that is at this day, wherein some of your fautors forgetting all modestie, do so greatly magnifie you, and your companions, that nothing may be heard, that is spoken to the contrary: nay in comparison, all other men be flatterers, worldlings, vnlearned, doltes, & asses. So do some sorte of men extoll you, and contemne other: so did the Corinthians extoll & magnifie their false Prophets, & depraue the true preachers. Wherefore to take away this partiall affection & iudgement, the Apostle sayeth, *Sic nos estimet bono, &c.* Let a man so esteeme of vs, as of the ministers of Christ, &c. You will not (I am sure) acknowledge that at this time among the Corinthians there was any such difference of titles, or degrees of superiortie. Wherefore you cannot (speaking as you thinke) say that the Apostle in this place meaneth any such matter. But wel you wotte that these affectio (which I haue spoken of) were rise among them, and therefore it is most certeyne that the Apostle laboureth for the suppression of them. So that the interpretation, that I haue giuen of this place in myne Answere, is true, neyther haue you refuted it.

The rule that a Bishop hath ouer other ministers in his diocese is lawfull: neither is it such tyrannicall rule as the worde *κατακυριεύουσιν* (used by S. Peter, and spoken of before) doth signifie, that is to rule with oppression: and therefore the place is vnaptly alleaged.

### Chap. 6. the 3. Diuision.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 77. Sect. 1.

I am of Hemingius opinion in this poynt, that I thinke this your assertion smelleth of playne Anabaptisme.

T.C. Pag. 99. Sect. 1.

You are you say of Hemingius minde, & thinke that this opinion smelleth of Anabaptisme. I haue shewed how you haue depraue & corrupted Hemingius, and desire you to shewe some better reason of your opinion. *αὐτός ἐφη* will not suffice vs.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

And I haue shewed how vntruly you haue reported of me. Hemingius alloweth superiortie, & degrees of dignitie among the ministers: he condemneth your confused equalitie, & calleth it Anabaptisticall. Moreover if you well marke the beginniges & proceedings of the Anabaptistes, you shall perceyue that they first began with the misterie, in the selfe same manner and forme that you now do.

Chap.



## Chap. 6. the. 4. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 77. Sect. 1.

And surely if you had once made an equalitie (such as you phantasie) among the Cleargie, it would not be long or you attempted the same among the laitie. Let them take heede: *Tunc tua res agitur, &c.*

T.C. Pag. 99. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

You say that if we had once obteyned equalitie amongst the Cleargie, we would attempt it in the laitie.

Deut. 18.

In what starre do you see that M. Doctor? Moyses sayeth, that if a man speake of a thing to come, and it come not to passe as he hath spoken, that that man is a false Prophet, if your prophetic come not to passe, you know your iudgement already out of Moyses.

The Pharisees when our sauour Christ inueighed against their ambitio, accused him that he was no friende to Cesar, and went about to discredite him with the ciuill magistrate, you shall applye it your selfe, you will needes make the Archbshop, &c. neyghbours vnto the ciuill magistrates, and yet they almost dwell as farre a sunder as Rome and Ierusalem, and as Sion and S. Peters Church there, so that the house of the Archbshop may be burnt sticke and stone, when not so much as the smoke shall appoche the house of the ciuill magistrate.

## Io. Whitgiste.

In the starre that is in your forehead, in the accustomed practises of the Anabaptists, in the places of scripture alleaged by the Admonition for the equalitie of all ministers, which very same the Anabaptists do also vse against the ciuill magistrate. To be short, I see it in your owne wordes, where you say that the gouernment of the common wealth must be framed according to the gouernment of the church, & what kinde of gouernment you would haue in the Church, who knoweth not? I do not take vpon me to prophetic, but *ex antecedentibus colligo consequentia*, I gather that we shall haue stormes, by the blacke cloudes. You are not Christ, neyther is your cause like vnto his, and therefore you make a very vnequall comparison. To whom the name of Pharisee doth most aptly agree, is shewed in my Answer to the Admonition.

The selfe same reasons ouerthrow the ciuill magistrate, that ouerthroweth the Ecclesiasticall. And therefore the fire kindled against the one, muste needes be very daungerous for the other.

## Chap. 6. the. 5. Diuision.

Admonition.

In steade of the Seniors in (r) Denery Church the Pope hath brought in, and yet we mainteyne the Lordship of one man ouer sundry Churches, yea ouer many shires.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 116. Sect. 1. 2.

I haue proued befoze in my answer to your 13. & 14. reason, that this lordship of one man (as you terme it) but in deede lawfull iurisdiction ouer sundry churches, was not the inuentio of any Pope, but of great antiquitie in the church of Christ, allowed by that famous Councell of Nice, & practised since of most godly and learned fathers.

In the 9. Canon. Concil. Antioch it is thus written: *Per singulas regiones Episcopus conuenit nosse Metropolitani Episcopum sollicitudinem totius prauincie gerere, propter quod ad Metropolim omnes vndiq. qui negotia videntur habere, concurrant, vnde placuit eum & bonore precellere, & nihil amplius prater eum ceteros Episcopos agere, secundum antiquam a patribus nostris regulam constitutam, nisi ea tantum, que ad suam Diocesim pertinent, &c.* It behoueth the Bishops in euery countrie to knowe their Metropolitan Bishop to haue care ouer the vvhole prouince, and therefore all such as haue any businesse muste come to theyr Metropolitan Citie: vvhetherfore it pleaseth this Councell, that he also excell in honour, and that the other

Bishops

Equalitie of ministers will pull on the equalitie of other estates.

Pag. 144.

Sect. 1.



Bishops do nothing without him, according to the auncient rule prescribed by our forefathers, but those things onely which pertain to his owne diocese, &c. **This Councell was about the yeare of our Lord. 345.**

T.C. Pag. 99. Sect. 4. 5.

In the. 116. page, for the authoritie of the Archbishop, is alleged the. 9. Canon of the councell of Antioche, which I haue before alleged to proue how farre different the authoritie of the Metropolitan in those tymes, was from that which is now. For there the Coscel sheweth that euery Bishop in his diocese hath the ordering of all the matters within the circuite thereof, & therefore the meaning of the Councell to be, that if there be any affayres that touch the whole Church in any lande, that the Bishops should do nothing without making the Metropolitan priue, as also the Metropolitan might do nothing without making the other Bishops a Councell of that, which he attempted, which M. Doctor doth cleane leaue out.

And if this authoritie which the Councell giueth to the Metropolitan being nothing so excessive, as the authoritie of our Metropolitans now, had not bene ouer much, or had bene iustifiable, what needed men father this Canon (which was ordeyned in this Councell) of the Apostles, for the seeking falsely of the name of the Apostles, to giue credite vnto this Canon, both carie with it a note of euill and of shame, which they would haue couered as it were with the garment of the Apostles authoritie.

### Io. Whitgifte.

There is no Canon that maketh moze directly against you than this doth, all the shifts that you haue to auoyde it, I haue answered before. There is as great authoritie giuen to the Metropolitan in that Canon, as now he eyther bleth or requireth. For euery Bishop obseruing the lawes of the realme, and of the Church, hath the ordering of all matters within his diocese: and the Metropolitan in this Church may attempt no newe thing, or any matter of great importance, not already by lawe established, though he haue the consent of all the Bishops, so farre is he from hauing authoritie to do any such thing without the consent.

That Canon of the Apostles is repeated & confirmed in this Councell, as diuerse Canons of the Councell of Nice are in like maner repeated and confirmed by diuerse Councells following. This is so farre from discrediting that Canon with wise men, that it rather addeth great authoritie vnto it: but you keepe your olde wonte, in discrediting the authoritie, which you cannot answere.

### Chap. 6. the. 6. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

Now then, if you will restore the Church to his auncient officers, this you must do. In stead of an Archbishop, or Lorde byshop, you must make (x) equalitie of ministers.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 123.

I haue proued before that aswell the name as office of an Archbishop is both most auncient, and also most necessarie in the Church of Christ: & that this equalitie of ministers, which you require, is both flatly against the scriptures, & al auncient authoritie of councells and learned men, & the example of all Churches, euen fro Christs time, as moze plainly appeareth by these wordes of M. Bucer in his booke *De regno Christi. Iam ex perpetua Ecclesiarum obseruatione, ab ipsis iam Apostolis videmus, visum & hoc esse spiritui sancto, ut inter Presbyteros, quibus Ecclesiarum procuratio potissimum est commissa, unus Ecclesiarum, & totius sacri ministerij curam gerat singularem: eaq; cura & sollicitudine cunctis praeat alijs. Qua de causa Episcopi nomen huiusmodi summis Ecclesiarum curatoribus est peculiariter attributum. &c.* Now we see by the perpetuall obseruation of the Churches, euen from the Apostles themselves, that it hath pleased the holy ghost, that amongst the ministers to whom the gouernment of the Church especially is committed, one should haue the chiefe care both of the Churches, and of the vhole ministerie, and that he should go before all other in that care and diligence, for the which cause the name of a Bishop is peculiarly giuen to such chiefe gouernours of Churches, &c. **Furthermore I haue declared**

Bucer.

x  
2. Cor. 10.

7.  
Colos. 1. 10.



declared that it engendreth schismes, factions, & contentions in the Church, and bringeth in a meere confusion, and is a branche of Anabaptisme.

T.C. Pag. 99. Sect. 6.7.

And in the hundredth twentie & three page, to that which M. Bucer saith, & in the Churches there hath bene one, which hath bene chiefe over the rest of the Ministers, if he meane one chiefe in every particular Church, as one chiefe over the Ministers of diuerse Churches meeting at one Synode, and chiefe for the time, and for suche respectes as I haue before shewed, then I am of that mynde which he is: and if he meane any other chiefe, as after any other sorte, I denie that any such chieftie was from the Apostles times, or that any such chieftie pleaseth the holy Ghost, wherof I haue before shewed the proofes.

And whereas M. Bucer seemeth to allowe, that the name of a Bishop, which the holy Ghost expressly giueth to all the Ministers of the worde indifferently, was appropriated to certayne chiefe gouernours of the Church, I haue before shewed by diuerse reasons, howe that was not done without great presumption and manifest danger, and in the ende great hurt to the Church.

### Io. Whitgifte.

M. Bucers wordes are plaine, there is no cause why you shoulde make such (3fs) but onely that you may be thought able to say some thing, howe contrary to truth and reason soeuer it be. Your owne bare deniall of M. Bucers iudgement, will weigh little with any wise or learned man, considering what difference there is betwixte your knowledge and his: the triall that hath bene of him, and the triall that hath bene of you: his experience, and yours. But what shoulde I compare together things so unlike: That M. Bucer is directly against you in this assertion of yours, it dothe not appeare onely in these wordes of his, but in others also, which he speaketh to the like effect, as in the 4. to the Eph. as I haue before declared. And again vpon the same chapter he saith, The third part of discipline is obedience, which is first to be rendred of al to the Bishop and Minister, then of euery clearge, to those that be in degree aboue him, & to suche as may helpe him to the well executing of his ministerie. Last of all of Bishops to synodes, and to their Metropolitane Bishops, and to all other, to whom a more ample charge of the churches is committed. And in the same commentaries after that he hath proued by sundry examples & apt reasons, y this superiortie among Ecclesiasticall persons is conuenient and profitable, and the wed that these degrees in the Church, Bishop, Archbishop, Metropolitane, Primate, Patriarke, be not onely most auncient, but also necessarie, he concludeth on this sort. Bicause it is necessarie that euery one of the cleargie should haue their rulers and gouernours, the authoritie, power, vigilancie, and seueritie of Bishops, Archdeacons, and all other, by what name soeuer they be called (to whome any portion of keping and gouerning the cleargie is committed) should or ought to be restored, least there be any in this order out of rule, and without gouernment. Howe thinke you now of M. Bucers iudgement? Is it not directly against you: be not his wordes plaine?

Bucer in 4. Ephe.

Idem.

### Chap. 6. the. 7. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 124. Sect. 1.

Your places quoted in the margent to proue that there ought to be an equalitie of Ministers, sounde nothing that waye. 2. Cor. 10. vers. 7. these be the wordes of the Apostle. Looke ye on things after the appearance: If any truste in him selfe that he is Christes, let him consider this againe of himselfe, that as he is Christes, euen so are vve Christes. Howe conclude you of these wordes your equalitie? I promyse you it passeth my cunning to wzing out of them any suche sense: rather the contrary may be gathered oute of the wordes following, which be these: For though I shoulde boast somevvhat more of our authoritie,

Scriptures wreasted to proue equalitie of Ministers.

Qq.

vvhich



Caluine.

Degrees of  
honour in the  
ministerie.

vvhich the Lord. &c. I should haue no shame. M. Caluine expounding these wordes sayth on this sort, It vvas for modestie that he ioyned him selfe to their number, vvhome he did farre excell: and yet he vould not be so modest, but that he vould kepe his authoritie safe: therefore he addeth that he spake lesse than of right he might haue done. For he vvas not of the common sorte of ministers, but one of the chiefe among the Apostles; and therefore he saith, if I boaste more, I nede not be ashamed, for I haue good cause. And a litle after: *Quamuis enim commune sit omnibus verbi ministerii idemq; officium, sunt tamen honoris gradus*: Although the selfsame office be common to all the Ministers of the vvorde, yet there is degrees of honour.

Thus you see Caluine farre otherwise to gather of this place than you doe.

T. C. Pag. 100. Sect. 1.

Here he defendeth  
not the admonition,  
but shifteh it off by  
cauilling.

And if M. Doctor delight thus to oppose mens authoritie to the authoritie of the holie ghoste, & to the reasons which are grounded out of the scripture, M. Caluine doth openly mislike of the making of that name proper and peculiar to certaine, which the holie ghost maketh common to mo. And where as of M. Caluines wordes, which sayth that there be degrees of honoure in the ministerie, M. Doctor would gather an Archbishop, if he had understood that an Apostle is aboue an Evangeliste, an Evangeliste aboue a Pastor, a Pastor aboue a Doctor, and he aboue an Elder that ruleth onely, he neded neuer haue gone to the popish Hierarchie to seeke his diuersities of degrees, which he might haue founde in S. Paule. And whereas vpon M. Caluines wordes, which sayth that Paule was one of the chiefe amongst the Apostles, he would seeme to conclude an Archbishop amongst the bishops, he should haue remembered that S. Paules chiefestie amongst the Apostles, consisted not in hauing any authoritie or dominion ouer the rest, but in labouring and suffering more than the rest, and in giftes more excellent than the rest.

Io. Whitgiste.

I do not oppose mens authoritie to the authoritie of the holie ghost, & to the reasons, which are grounded out of the scripture, but I oppose them to your authoritie, and to your reasons, who spurne against that order, whiche the holie ghoste hath placed in the Church, & most shamefully abuse the scripture to mainteine your errors: an example wherof is this present text alledged by the Admonition, which you passe ouer in silence, condemning therby their leueneresse in abusing the same. It is you and yours that abuse the name and authoritie of the holie ghoste: it is you that wring and wreste the Scriptures vntollerably: it is you that falsifie authorities of learned men, & corruptly alledge them: It is you I say, that depraue and discredit such writers as haue bene, and be notable instrumentes in the church of Christe, and all this you do to maintaine your erroneous opinions and false doctrine, wherewith you endeour to subuerste this church of Englande.

M. Caluines wordes be playne, and they directely overthrowe your equalitie of ministers, and shewe the fondnes of the Admonition in alledging that place of scripture to proue any such equalitie. M. Caluines wordes be these: *Quamuis commune sit omnibus verbi ministerii, idemq; officium, sunt tamen honoris gradus*: Although the selfe same office be common to all the ministers of the worde, yet there are degrees of honor. Which wordes disproue the equalitie of ministers by the admonition affirmed, & confirmed with this portion of scripture by M. Caluine here interpreted, that is. 2. Cor. 10. verse. 7.

T. C. contrary to himselfe. If there were degrees of honour in the Apostles tyme among those which had *idem officium*, the selfe same office, as M. Caluine affirmeth, why should there not be so now likewise? But will you see howe unlike you are vnto your selfe, even in these fewe lynes: first you saye that M. Caluines meaning is that an Apostle is aboue an Evangeliste, an Evangelist is aboue a Pastor, &c. and by and by after you confesse that there was chiefestie euen among the Apostles, but it consisted in labouring and suffering more than the rest, and in giftes more excellent than the rest.

To



To omitte these contrarieties of yours, into the whiche the plainenesse of Master Caluines wordes hath diuinen you: this inequalitytie that you confesse to haue bene in these offices (which notwithstanding you speake of your owne head without any warrant of Gods worde) argueth that there maye be superiortie among the ministers of the Church. And the degrees of honour that you acknowledge to haue bene among the Apostles, quite casteth downe your confused equalitie. As for your saying the matter in saying, that this chiefetie among the Apostles consisted not in hauing any superiortie aboue the reste, but in laboring, &c. it may please vnskillfull persons, but it will not satisfie men of discretion and wisdom. For it is to be thought that euery one of the Apostles laboured in their calling to the uttermost of their powers, that they suffered whatsoeuer God laide vpon them, that they had all giftes most abundantly necessarie for their functions. Wherefore in all these things there was *summa equalitas*, and no man sought such preheminance, or receyued it being offered vnto him, but according to their owne doctrine euery one thought of another better than of himselfe. Wherefore it could not be for this respect, but it was for order & pollicie to auoyde confusion.

I haue tolde you before why you labour so muche to haue honour and dignitie distributed according to the excellencie of gifts, for then you perswade your selfe, that the chiefetie would light on your owne necke, but you may peraduenture be deceiued.

### Chap. 6. the. 8. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 123. towards the ende.

And now I adde, that you desire this equalitie, not because you would not rule (for it is manifest that you seeke it most ambitiously in your maner) but because you contemne and disdain to be ruled, and to be in subiectio. In deede your meaning is (as I said before) to rule and not to be ruled, to do what you list in your seueral cures, without controlement of Prince, Bishop, or any other. And therefore pretending equalitie, most disorderly you seeke dominion. I speake that I know by experience in some of you.

why I doe  
monitors des  
sire equalitie

T. C. Pag. 100. Sect. 2. 3.

Now whereas he saith that we desire to pull the rule from others, that the rule might be in our hands, and we might doe what we list, and that we seeke to withdrawe our selues from controlement of Prince and Bishop, and all: first he maye learne, if he will, that we desire no other authoritie, than that which is to the edifying of the Church, and which is grounded of the worde of God: which if any Minister shall abuse to his gaine or ambition, then he ought to abyde not onely the controlement of other Ministers, yea of the brethren, but also further the punishment of the Magistrates according to the quantitie of the fault.

And seying you charge the brethren so sore, you must be put in remembrance, that this vnreasonable authoritie ouer the rest of the ministers and cleargie, (\*) came to the Bishops and Archbishops, when as the Pope did exempte his chancelings from the obedience, subiection, and iurisdiction of Princes. Nowe therefore that we be ready to giue that subiection vnto the prince, and offer our selues to the princes correction in things wherein we shall doe amisse, doe you thinke it an vnreasonable thing that we desire to be disburdened of the Bishops and Archbishops yoke, which the Pope hath layde vpon our neckes?

(\*) An vnreasonable  
for the lawfull  
authoritie of Bi-  
shops and Arch-  
bishops was  
long before.

### To Whitgife.

Your answer maketh the matter more suspicious: for this authoritie you speake of which you say is to the edifying of the Church, and grounded of the word of God, is as it pleaseth you to interpret it. For what so euer you phantasie, and whatsoeuer authoritie you blurpe shall haue the same pretence: and if the Prince seeke to restraine you, or to breake your will, you and your Seniors will excommunicate him if he be of your parthe. In the more the greatest preeminence he can haue, is to be one of your seigniorie, and then must the Pastor be the chiefe, and so in authoritie aboue the Prince and consequently a Pope, but of this more in due place shall be spoken.

Excessive au-  
thoritie is  
sought vnder  
pretence of  
equalitie.



The authoritie of Bishops & Archbishops came not from the Pope.

This authoritie, which the Bishops and Archbishops now exercise, came first from the Apostolicall Church, then from the example of the primitive Church for y<sup>e</sup> space of five hundred yeares after the Apostles time. Thirdly, from the Councils of Pyce, Antioche, Constantinople, and all the beste and purest Councils that ever were. And last of all from the authoritie of the Prince, and by the consent of this whole Church and Realme of England, & therefore not from the Pope, who hath rather diminished it (by taking all to himselfe) than in any respect encreased it. Wherefore you also in exempting your self, from the authoritie and iurisdiction of the Archbishop and Bishop, resist God in his Ministers, the Prince in his officers, and the lawes of the Church & Realme in their executors. And as for your protested obedience, it is so entwapped with conditions and p<sup>ro</sup>viso<sup>es</sup> (as in other places of your booke more plainly appeareth) that when it should come to the triall (if your platf<sup>o</sup>rme were builded) it would p<sup>ro</sup>ve as little, as ever the Popish Bishops was, in their greatest pride.

### Chap. 6. the. 9. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 124. Sect. 2.

The place in the first to the Coloss. vers. 1. is this, Paul an Apostle of Iesus Christ by the will of God, & Timotheus our brother. Surely your minde was not of equalitie (I thinke) when you quoted these places to p<sup>ro</sup>ve it. But it is your usuall maner without al discretio<sup>n</sup> & iudgement to dally & play with the scriptures. For what sequele is there in this reason, Paule calleth Timothie brother, Ergo in all respectes there must be equalitie. As though there were not distinction of degrees even among brethren.

### Io. Whitgifte.

*Magis mutus, quam piscis*, and by his silence the oversight confessed.

### Chap. 6. the. 10. Division.

Admonition.

And (as the names of Archbishops, Archdeacons, Lord bishops, Chancelours, &c. are drawn out of the Popes shop, together with their offices: So the government which they use by the title of the Pope, which is the Canon law, is Antichristian and diabolike, and contrarie to the scriptures.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 208. Sect. 1.

Scriptures  
Spoken.

Both of the names, and also of the offices of Archbishops, Archdeacons, Lord Bishops, &c. I have spoken before sufficiently, and fully answered those places quoted in this margent, saying the. 2. to the Galat. the. 5. to the Hebrewes. Ezech. 34. 2. Cor. 1. for these places have bene founde out since, and thoughte meete now to be alleaged, but howe discretely, by examination it will appeare. The words of the Apostle to the Galat. 2. verse. 6. be these. And of them which seemed to be great I was not taughte (what they were in tyme passed, it maketh no matter to me, God accepteth no mans person) nevertheless they that

8  
Lu. 12. 15  
16.  
1. Pet. 5. 3  
4. 5  
Math. 10.  
25. 26.  
Math. 23. 8  
11. 12.  
Gal. 2. 6.  
Hebr. 5. 4  
Lu. 16. 15  
Eze. 34. 4  
1. Cor. 1. 24



that are the chiefe, dyd communicate nothing wvith me. The Apostle in these wordes doth declare, that he receyued not the Gospell, which he preached, of men, no not of the Apostles, but of Iesus Christ, and that the Gospell preached by him oughte to be no lesse credited, than the Gospell preached by them. So that in those wordes he declareth that the truthe of the doctrine dothe not depende of any mans person. He speaketh not hyng agaynst superiortie *quoad ordinem*, concerning order, but dothe rather acknowledge it, for he sayth, they that are the chiefe, &c. But it is true that Master Caluine noteth on this place. *Hic non est certamen ambitionis, quia nequaquam de personis agitur.* The contention is not for ambition, for it is not vnderstanded of the persons. Nowe I praye you consider this argument, Paule receyued the Gospell that he preached, not of the Apostles, but of Christ: or the Gospell preached by Paule, is equiualent with the Gospell preached by other of the Apostles: therefore the names of Archbishops, Archdeacons, &c. are drawne out of the Popes shop together wyth their offices, or this. Paule sayth that they that were the chiefe did communicate nothing with him: *Ergo*, the names and offices of Archbishops be taken out of the Popes shop.

## T. C. Pag 100. Sect. 4.

And in the 207. page vnto the middest of the 214. page this matter is agayne handled, where firste M. Doctor woulde drawe the place of Galatians the seconde, (\*) to proue an Archbishop and that by a (a) false translation, for oi *ΑΙΟΝΩΤΕΣ*, which is they that seemed, or appeared, he hath translated they that are the chiefe, and although the place of the Galatians maye be thought of some not so pregnant, nor so full against the Archbishop, yet all must needes confesse, that it maketh more agaynst hym, than for him. For Saynt Pauls purpose is to proue there, that he was not inferior to any of the Apostles, and bringeth one argument thereof, that he had not his Gospell from them, but from Christ immediately, and therefore if the Apostles that were esteemed moste of, and supposed by the Galatians and others to be the chiefe, had no superiortie ouer S. Paule, but were equall wvith him, it followeth that there was none that had rule ouer the reste. And if there needed no one of the Apostles to be ruler ouer the reste, there seemeth to be no neede that one Bishop should rule ouer the rest.

(\*) This is an vntruth, for it is only proued that the place is not against the Archbishop. &c.  
(a) Here you rashly accuse the translation of the Bible printed at Geneva, and others.

## Io. Whitgiste.

I haue set downe the wordes of the Apostle as they be translated in the English Bible printed at Geneva, not altering one title, and therefore if there be any falsehood in the translation, it is in that Bible not in me. Nowe truly you haue translated oi *ΑΙΟΝΩΤΕΣ* *ΑΙΟΝΩΤΕΣ*, saying it signifieth, they that seemed or appeared, let the Reader iudge after he hath translated, considered these wordes of M. Beza vpon the same word *ad Galat. 2. verse. 2.* with those Beza. that are of reputation, *ΤΟΙΣ ΔΟΚΟΥΟΙ* (that is) *ΤΟΙΣ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΟΥΟΙ* (those which are well esteemed of) the contrarie whereof are, *οι ἀδοξαστες* (they which are without renoune or estimatiō) the comon translatiō hath, which seemed to be some thing, *ΤΟΙΣ ΔΟΚΣΙΕΙΝΟΙ ΤΙ*, which is contrarie to al our booke, & vnto Ieromes interpretatiō also. For thus he writeth, which thing Erasmus also dothe well note. I did very carefully search (saith he) what that should be that he said (*qui videbatur*) they which seemed: but he hath takē away al doubt, in that he addeth, *Qui*



*videbatur esse columna*, they which were accounted to be pillars. Hether to Hierom: wherby he doth evidently declare, that he had not read in this place *ἐῖς αὐτὸν*: But in such sort notwithstanding, that he seemeth not to have knowne *τοὺς ἀποστόλους* to have bene called of the Grecians absolutely *τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ οὐνοῦ* that is, those, who are of great estimation with all men. And this ignorance of the Greke tong, as I thinke, was the cause that the olde interpreter (being more bolder than Hierom) did adde, *aliquid esse*. And Erasmus in his annotations upon the same place agreeth with M. Beza herein *ἀποστόλους* absolutely dicuntur *Grecis*, qui *magna sunt auctoritatis*: they which are of great authoritie, are of the Grecians absolutely called *ἀποστόλους*. Budeus also saith, that the Apostle in this place taketh thys worde *ἀπό*, for *ἐκ τοῦ οὐνοῦ* *ἐμὲ*. And both M. Beza himselfe and Erasmus translate it, as it is in the Geneva Bible. Wherfore here your cunning faileth you, and you had not well considered the matter befoze you entred this accusation of falsifying.

The true sense and meaning of this place to the Galat. I have set downe in my Answer: and it is according to the interpretation of the best wryters, iustified by the words of M. Caluine there alleaged, and not confuted by you. Wherfore the conclusion remaineth as it did.

That there was superiortie among the Apostles, *ordinis & politie causa*, I have shewed befoze.

This place to the Galatians is not brought in by me to proue the authoritie of the Archbyschop (although it might well be alleaged to proue degrees of honour in the ministerie) but it is quoted in the Admonition fondly and foolishly, to proue that the names of Archbishops, Archdeacons, Lordbishops, &c. are drawne out of the Popes shoppe together with their offices. And of this dalying with the Scriptures, you speake not one worde, so you care not howe they be profaned, so it be for the maintenance of your owne cause.

### Chap. 6. the. 11. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 208. Sect. vlt.

The wordes in the. 5. to the Hebrewes verse. 4. be these. And no man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God as Aarō was. The Apostle here sheweth that Christ was a lawfull Priest, because he was thereunto called by God as Aaron was. What is this to Archbishops, &c. This place teacheth that no man ought to intrude hymselfe to any function, except he be thereunto called by God. But what maketh this against any lawfull function or authoritie: or what conclusion call you this? Christ did not take vnto him that office, wherunto he was not called, or no man muste take vpon him that, wherunto he is not called: Ergo Archbishops, &c. and their offices came out of the Popes shop. you shoulde first proue that which ought to be your *Minor*.

T. C. Pag. 100. Sect. 4.

A cleanly shifte.

But that I runne not backe to that I have handled befoze, I will not here so much digge & place, as I will not doe also of the Hebrewes which followeth, & yet the argument is stronger than that M. Doctor could answer. For if the wryter to the Hebrewes do proue our Saviour Christs vocation to be iust and lawfull, (because his calling was contained in the scriptures, as appeareth in y. 4. and 6. verse, then it followeth, that y. calling of the Archbyschop, which is not comprehended there, is neither iust nor lawfull. For that no man (saith the Apostle) taketh the honour vnto himself, but he that is called of God, &c. But I say, hauing befoze sufficiently spoken of the reasons, which overthrow the Archbyschop, I will not passe these and other places, answering onely that which M. Doctor bringeth for the establishment of them.

(\*) Verus.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The Popes groweth not which is despised.

This is a cleanly & handsome shifte to auoide y. defense of these grosse & vnapt allegations of scriptures. I haue answered the argument groundd vpon the. 5. to y. Hebrewes, and



and required the p<sup>r</sup>oofe of the *minor*, whiche is this, that Archbishops, Lordbishops, &c. intrude them selves into their offices without any lawfull calling, whiche bothe they and you haue omitted: and therefore I haue answered sufficiently, vntill you haue p<sup>r</sup>oued that which is by me denied.

It is not true, that the Apostle to the Hebrewes p<sup>r</sup>oueth the vocation of our saviour Iesus Christ to be iust and lawfull, because his calling was conteyned in the scriptures: he onely sheweth by euident testimonies of the Scriptures, that Christ dyd not intrude hym selfe, but was called of God. And if you will haue no man to execute any function in the Church, but him that hath suche speciall and personall testimonies of the scriptures to shewe for him selfe, I see not howe any man can iustifie his calling. It is therefore sufficient if his calling be generally conteyned in the Scripture, as al lawfull and ordinary functions are, euen the offices of Archbishops, and Lordbishops, &c.

### Chap. 6. the. 12. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 209. Sect. 1. 2. 3.  
& Pag. 210. Sect. 1.

In the. 16. of Luke verse. 25. it is thus w<sup>r</sup>itten: But Abraham sayd, Scriptures w<sup>r</sup>itten. sonne remember that thou in thy life time receyuedst thy pleasures, & likewise Lazarus paynes: now therefore is he comforted, and thou arte tormented. The riche glutton in his lyfe receyued pleasure, and therefore was after in hell tormented: Lazarus receyued paynes, and after was comforted: Therefore Archbishops, &c. and their offyces come oute of the Popes shoppe. These fellows neyther care for maior, minor, nor conclusion, so they saye something, and baynely paynt their margent, with shamefully abusing the scriptures.

The words of Ezech. Chap. 34. verse. 4. be these. The vveake haue ye not strengthened, the sicke haue ye not healed, neyther haue you bound vp the broken, &c. In the which place the Prophet speaketh agaynst suche Kinges, Magistrates, and rulers, as despise the people of God, & vse them selues cruelly towards them. This dothe as well condemne Kinges & Magistrates, as it doth Archbishops: although in derde it condemneth no office or superiortie, but the abuse of the same, that is, the man abusing the office, and not the office it selfe. Abuse of offices condemned, not the offices.

In the. 2. Cor. 1. verse. 24. the Apostle speaketh thus vnto them: Not that we haue dominion ouer your fayth, but we are helpers of your ioy, for by fayth you stande. S. Paule heere sayth, that he hath no authoritie to alter true religion, or to rule ouer their consciences, but how p<sup>r</sup>oueth this, that Archbishops, &c. came out of the Popes shoppe? Paule sayth that he had no power ouer the consciences of the Corinthians, therfore Archbishops, &c. and their offices were drawne out of the Popes shop. If you had beens more studious when you were a Sophister (if euer you were any) you would haue learned better to frame an argumēt, and haue had better iudgement in the sequele of the same. If you had not troubled your margent with these quotations, you had lesse bitered your folly.

So muche of the Canon lawe as is contrarie to the Scriptures, Canon lawes not altogether condemned. is Antichristian and diuelishe: But there be diuers Canons in it be- ty good and profitable, whiche may well be reteyned. Good lawes may



may be borrowed euen of Turkes, and heathenish Idolaters: and why not of Papists also? I haue tolde you before, that the thing it selfe is to be considered, not the inuentor: if it be good and profitable, it may be bled whosoever dyd inuent it.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Not one worde answered to all this.

*Chap. 6. the. 13. Diuision.*

Admonition.

And as safely may we by the warrant of Gods worde subscribe to allowe the dominion of the pope, vniuersally to reygne ouer the Church of God, as of an archbishop ouer a whole prouince, or a Lorde bishop ouer a Dioces, whych conteyneth many shires and parishes. For the dominion that they exercise, the Archbishop aboue them, and they aboue the rest of their brethren, is vnlawfull, and expressly forbydden by the worde of God.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 210. Sect. 2.

In that you say, that you may as safely by the warrant of Gods worde subscribe to allowe the dominion of the Pope vniuersally to reygne ouer the Church of God, as of an Archbishop ouer an whole Prouince. &c. You expresse but your heate, I suppose you thinke not so: can the Pope as well gouerne the whole Church, as the Archbishop one Prouince, and a Lord bishop one Dioces? Is one king as well able to gouerne the whole worlde, as he may be to gouerne one kingdome? Or bicause you can rule one parish well, can you therefore in lyke manner well gouerne twentie parishes? Surely an Archbishop may well gouerne one Prouince, but the Pope can neuer well gouerne the whole Church. And yet an Archbishop hath not the charge of government ouer the whole Prouince generally, but onely in cases exempted, and therefore may do it more easly.

In archbishop may gouerne one prouince, but the Pope not all the worlde.

T. C. Pag. 100. Sect. 4.

He sayth therefore afterwarde that although one man be not able to be Bishop ouer all the Church, yet he may be Bishop ouer a whole Dioces, or of a prouince. Nowe if I woulde saye the one is as impossible as the other, and for prooffe thereof alleage that whiche the philosophers say, that as there are no degrees in that whych is infinite, so that of thinges whiche are infinite, one thyng can not be more infinite than another, so there are no degrees in impossibilitie, that of thinges whych are impossible, one thyng should be more impossible than another. If I should thus reason, I thinke I should put you to some payne. But I wyl not drawe the reader to suche thorny and subtyll questions, it is enough for vs that the one and the other be impossible, although one should be more impossible than the other. And that it is impossible for one man to be Bishop ouer a whole prouince, or ouer a whole Dioces, I leaue it to be considered of that whych is before sayde in the description of the offyce of a Bishop, pastor, or minister, where I speake of the necessitie of the residence of the Bishop in hys Church.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

In so saying I say but as other learned men haue sayd, and especially M. Caluine, in the place afterwards alleaged in my answer: and as the practise of the Church hath bene in the best state, and vnder the best Bishops, as it may appeare by that which hath bene hitherto spoken. Your Philosophicall argument is sone answered without any great payne. For to gouerne one Prouince in that maner and forme that is required of an Archbishop, is neyther infinite, nor impossible. But it is great lack of iudgement to thinke that bicause one man can not well gouerne the whole worlde, therefore he can not well gouerne a prouince or dioces. I haue shewed the practise of the Church to be contrarie in the Apostles tyme, and since their time.

Chap.



## Chap. 6. the. 14. Division.

T.C. Page. 101. Sect. 1.

As a Prince may rule a whole Realme, such as France or Englande, (\*) so may he rule the whole worlde by officers and Magistrates appoynted vnderneath him. And there haue bene diuers Princes, which haue had as many landes vnder their power, as the Pope hath had Churches, and although it be somewhat inconuenient, yet I knowe not why they mighte not so haue, comming lawfully by them. Nowe I woulde gladly heare, whether you woulde say the same of a Bishop, and if you dare not, then why doe you bring the similitude of the gouernment of a prince ouer a lande, to proue that an Archbishop may be ouer an whole prouince? M. Doctor dare boldly say, that there may be one Bishop ouer a whole prouince, but he dare not saye that there may be a bishop ouer the whole Church. But what better warrant for the one than for the other? Is (a) if the whole Church be in one prouince, or in one realme, whiche hath bene, and is (b) not impossible to be agayne, if there may be nowe one bishop ouer a realme or prouince: then there may be one bishop ouer all the Church, so that in travelling with an Archbishop, he hath brought forth a Pope.

(\*) This is absurdissimum, as M. Caluine sayth Instit. cap. 8. sect. 92.

(a) If the skye fall, &c.

(b) Yes surely, as the state is nowe.

## Io. Whitgiste.

The selfe same reason you had before, and I answered it nowe as I did then. The causes by me there alleaged be sufficient to proue the difference betwixt the gouernment of a Prince, and the gouernment of a Bishop. And yet no man will denie but that one Prince shall better be able to gouerne one kingdome, than the whole worlde. And to affirme that the whole worlde may be conteyned in one Monarchie, learned men saye is *multis modis absurdissimum*, In diuers respectes moste absurde. I bring the example of a King, because other writers vse the like examples in the like matter to confute suche vniuersally reasons, and namely M. Caluine in the wordes following.

Supra, cap. 3. diuis. 31. 32. 33.

Cal. Inst. cap. 8. Sect. 92.

That which M. Doctor affirmeth of one bishop ouer one whole prouince, and of one Bishop ouer the whole worlde, no man will denie. A warrant for the one are the examples of Timothy and Titus, and the continuall practise of the Church without contradiction in the best tymes: but there is no warrant for the other of any credite or sufficiencie, being onely in the moste corrupt tyme of the Church, and contrarie to all former examples and Canons.

You say, if the whole Church be in one prouince, &c. I say, that if the skie fall you may catche larkes, as the common p[ro]uerbe is. Whereouer, if it were possible so to be (as nowe it is not) then it were no absurditie the Bishop of that prouince still to remaine Bishop of the same. But what moueth you to suche straunge suppositions? I might aswell say, if the whole Church were in one Citie, or Towne, or Parishes, as it was in Ierusalem after Christs ascension, and one Bishop or Pastor might be ouer that citie, or towne, or parishes, then one Bishop or Pastor shoulde be ouer the whole Church: and so you like wise in travelling with a pastor to be in one Church at the length bring forth a Pope. But doe you not knowe that the Church of Christ is dispersed throughout the whole worlde, and can not now be shut vp in one kingdome: muche lesse in one prouince, excepte you will become Donatistes. He that is not wilfully blinde may see into what streights you are diuen, when you are constrained to utter suche impossibilities for reasons.

The repliers (if) turned vpon him self.

The Church cannot be shut vp in one prouince nowe.

## Chap. 6. the. 15. Division.

T.C. Page. 101. Sect. 2.

But he sayth that an Archbishop hath not the charge of gouernment ouer the whole prouince generally, but in cases exempted, and so may doe it more easily. But he shoulde haue remembered, that he assigned before the offices of Archbishop and bishop, to be in all those things whiche other ministers are, and that beside those offices, he giueth them particular charges. So that where the office of the minister is but to preache, pray, and minister the sacraments in his parishes, the office of archbishop and bishop, is to doe the same, and more too in the whole prouince or diocess: And so it followeth that it is easier for a minister to discharge his dutie in his parishes, than for an archbishop or bishop to discharge their duties in any one parish of their prouince or diocess: for they haue in euery parishes more to doe, and greater charge, than the minister of the parishes hath, then muche lesse are they able to doe their duties in all the parishes of their prouinces or diocesses.

Io. Whit.



## Io. Whitgiste.

I speake of the office of gouernment, and so be my words. Euery particular parish hath a particular pastor to preache, pray, and minister the sacraments. The Bishop hath to procure (so much as lyeth in him) that all things be done in his Dioces, according to the lawes & orders of the Church. The Archbishop hath not only to see that the Bishops do their duties, but to helpe the in reforming that, which by themselves they cannot do. The office of preaching they exercise, where & when they see it most convenient. The whole charge of preaching & of gouerning resteth neyther vpon the Archbishop, neyther vpon the Bishop: but the one is a helpe vnto the other, & they together with the pastors teach the flocke of Christ faithfully & truly, and gouerne them according to the lawes prescribed. And therefore the whole gouernment of the prouince dothe not rest in the Archbishop, for the whiche cause he may with lesse difficultie execute that, that dothe apperteyne vnto him.

Whatsoever any other minister may do, the same may the Archbishop do also, but it doth not therefore follow, that he is bound to the same particular parish. The pastor may preach, so may the Archbishop, but the pastors charge is particular, the Archbishops more generall. And this is a very euill consequent, the Archbishop may minister the sacraments, and preache the worde, therefore he muste doe it in euery particular congregation.

## Chap. 6. the. 16. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 211. Sect. 1. 2.

Argumentes  
borrowed of  
the papists.

You borrowed these arguments from the very Papistes, who by the selfe same reasons goe about to proue the Popes supremacie, for thus they argue

Caluins.

Among the Israelites there was one highe Priest, which had authoritie ouer the rest, therefore there must be one high Priest (which is the Pope) ouer the whole Church of Christ. Master Caluine in his Institutions, chap. 8. dothe answere, this reason on this sort:

*Quod in vna natione fuit vtile, id in vniuersum vbi extendere nulla ratio cogit: imo gentis vnius & totius orbis longe diuersa erit ratio.* That which is profitable to one nation, can not by any reason be extended to the vvhole vworld, for there is great difference betwixt the vvhole vworld and one nation. And a little after: *Perinde enim est ac si quis contendat, totum mundum a prefecto vno debere regi, quia ager vnus non plures prefectos habeat:* It is euen as though a man should affirm, that the vvhole vworld may be gouerned of one King, because one fiede or tovvne hath but one ruler or master.

T. C. Page 101. Sect. 3. & Pag. 102. Sect. 1.

(a) It is not pie-  
ked, but offered

(b) Being truly  
alleged.

(c) In alleging  
them falsly.

(d) Vnto true, for  
he neuer vsed  
that for a reason.

After M. Doctor translateth out of M. Caluine the Papistes reasons for the supremacie of the Pope, and M. Caluines solutions. For what purpose he knoweth, I can not tell, unless he be to blotte paper, I know not what he should meane, and the quarell also whyche (a) he picketh, to translate thys place, is yet more strange. For he sayth, that the authours of the Admonition borrowed their arguments from the Papists, when the contrarie is true, that they vse the reasons whyche they of the Gospell vse agaynst the supremacie of the pope, to ouerthrowe the archebishop: And M. Doctor dothe vse reasons to defende the archebishop, (b) whyche the Papistes vse to mainteyne the pope (c). For M. Doctor should prouide that for because there is one king ouer a realme, therefore there may be one Bishop ouer a prouince, and the Papistes vse the same reason to proue the Pope to be a Bishop of the whole Church. Shew now one reason that the authours of the Admonition brought of the papistes, to proue that there should be no archebishop. But nowe I perceyue his meaning, and that is, that he thought to get some comfort for the archebishop in M. Caluines solutions made vnto the papists reasons for the supremacie. And therefore he hath haled and pulled in as it were by the shoulders, this disposition betwene the protestantes and the papistes touching the supremacie. And what is it, that M. Caluine sayth for the archebishop? It hath been before shewed, what his iudgement was touching hauing one minister ouer all the ministers of a prouince, & that he doth simply condemne it in his commentarie vpon the first chapter of the Whitts. Now let it be considered, whether in these sentences he hath sayd any thyng agaynst himselfe. The Papistes



Papistes object that for so muche as there was one high priest in Iury ouer all the Church, therefore there should be one Bishop ouer all. To whom M. Caluine answereth, that the reason followeth not: for sayth he, there is no reason to extend that to all the world, which was profitable in one nation. Whereupon M. Doctor would conclude, that M. Caluine alloweth one Archbishop ouer a whole prouince.

If one going about to proue that he may haue as many wiues as he list, would alleage Iacob for an example, which had two wiues, and M. Doctor should answer and say, that althoughe he might haue two wiues, yet it followeth not that he may haue as many as he list, would not M. Doctor thinke that he had great iusturie, if a man should conclude of these words, that his opinion is, that a man may haue two wiues: I thinke that he would suppose that he had great wotog, & yet thus would he conclude of M. Caluines words in this first sentence, where as in deede M. Caluine declareth a little after, a speciall reason why there was but one high Priest in the whole lande of Iesay, which is because he was a figure of Christ, and that thereby should be shadowed out his sole mediation betwene God and his Church. And therefore (e) sheweth that for so muche as there is none to represent or figure our saviour Christ, that his iudgement is, that as there should be no one ouer all the churches, so should there be no one ouer any nation.

(e) Falsification, for he sheweth no such thing.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The authoys of the Admonition say, that they may as safely by the warrant of Gods word subscribe to allow the dominion of the Pope, vniuersally to reigne ouer the Church of God, as of an Archbishop ouer an whole prouince, or a Lord bishop ouer a diocess, which containeth many shires & parishes. This I confute by M. Caluines answer to the arguments of the Papistes, wherein it appeareth evidently how far fro reason this & such like assertions are, that there may aswell be one pope ouer y whole Church, as one Bishop ouer one prouince or diocess.

Nowe therefore you may see if you list, that I haue translated these reasons and solutions out of M. Caluine to some purpose. And althoughe I might haue had the same solutions out of other learned writers, yet I thought it best to vse M. Caluine, as one of whome you haue conceyued a better opinion.

I may truly say, that the authoys of the Admonition, borrowed this of the Papistes, that there may be as well one Pope ouer y whole world, as one bishop ouer one prouince or diocess.

The reasons that I vse for the defense of the Archbishop, are the solutions of the arguments used from the Pope: & such solutions as are used by al learned men that write agaynst the Pope (as the solution of the places of Cyprian before mentioned, and now these that follow) to the strongest arguments of the Papistes. Wherefore I confesse that I vse some of the same arguments, but not to the same ende, nor in like manner. For they vse them vntruely, agaynst reason, & the true meaning of the Autho: I vse them truely, according to reason, and their proper sense. And my using of them to the purpose that I doe, is the direct answer & playne ouerthrow of all the arguments of the Papistes. It is not therefore good dealing, to make the simple beleue that the same arguments confirme the Pope, that confirme the Archbishop, when as the application of them to the one, is the quite overthrow of the other.

The reasons for the Archbishop are solutions agaynst the Pope.

M. Doctor neuer wet about to proue that because there is one king ouer a realme, therefore there may be one Bishop ouer a prouince: and in uttering these and suche like vntruthes willingly & wittingly as you do, you declare of what spirite you are. But M. Doctor hath reasoned cleane contrarie, that it is no good argument to saye, that because one king may well rule one kingdome, therefore he may also well rule the whole world, or because one Bishop may be ouer one prouince, therefore one Pope may be ouer all Christendome. These be papisticall reasons, these M. Doctor dissolueth & confuteth: neyther can you be ignorant of it, but malice is blinde. God forgive you: for your whole drift is to bring M. Doctor into hatred & contempt, by such lying meanes, but God that seeth the hearts of al, will one day detect your deepe dissembled hypocrisie, & reueale that lye of arrogancie & ambition, which is now cloaked with a counterfeit desire of reformation.

I haue tolde you for what purpose I haue used these solutions of M. Caluines, whose opinion also I haue shewed before concerning those names and offices.

In the place to the Philippians now agayne repeated (and yet this Replier can abide no repetitions in others, though he vse almost nothing else him selfe) M. Caluine ouerthroweth your equalitie, for thus he sayth: Truly I graunt, that (as the manner and conditiōs of men are) there can no order remaine amōg the ministers of the word,

Caluine alloweth one to rule ouer the rest of ministers.

excepte



What is meant  
by a body in  
Caluine.

except one do rule over the rest. And he addeth that he speaketh *de singulis corporibus, non de totis prouincijs, multò autem minùs de orbe vniuerso*: of seuerall bodies, not of whole prouinces, much lesse of the whole worlde, meaning, as I suppose, such prouinces as be vnder diuers gouernours: for one prouince in one particular Church, in one kingdome, vnder one Prince, is but one body, and therfore M. Caluin sayth nothing to the contrary, but that one may *præsse reliquis ministris*, rule ouer the rest of the ministers in such a prouince. Vndoubtedly he can not meane that in euery seuerall parishe or towne there should be one, *qui præsit reliquis*, bicause the most parisches & townes, haue but one minister, and he that ruleth must haue some to rule ouer. If you will say that M. Caluin meaneth of such ministers as be in cities where there be many, and not of the Countrey, where there is in euery seuerall towne but one: then I answer, that it were agaynst reason to bring the ministers of the citie vnder the gouernment of one, and to suffer the ministers of the countrey to liue as they list. The same causes that require a ruler or gouernour for the one, requireth the same also for y other, except you would haue vniformitie in the citie, and confusion in the countrey. Wherefore M. Caluines meaning is, as I haue sayde. But you haue subtilly kept in his wordes, bothe here and before, bicause you know that they made much more agaynst your equalitie, than they doe agaynst the Archbishop. It had bene vprihter dealing to haue set downe his wordes, but you wil neyther vse that playnesse your self, nor allow of it in other men.

Supra cap. 3.  
et. 15. diuis.

M. Caluine vseth two answeres to that obiection of the Papists, the first whereof is this, that I haue reported in my Answer. And surely he would neuer haue vset y solution, & caused it to be printed, if he had not allowed it, & thought well of it. And not he alone, but other of singular religiõ & zeale, haue vset the same, as Hyperius in the place before by me alleaged: so doth M. Powell agaynst Dozman in his first booke, fol. 60. whose wordes (bicause they be wholly to my purpose, & an euident declaration that such testimonies may lawfully be vset for the authoritie of the Bishops, that are vnlawfully abused for the authoritie of the Pope) I haue set downe before. Whereby also the Reader may vnderstand how we agre both amõg our selues, & to our selues, which are desirous to keepe the peace of the Church, and that these places now vset in the defense of the Archbishops and Bishops authoritie, are no otherwise applied by vs, than they were before any suche controuersie beganne.

M. Caluine maketh no doubt of the matter, but setteth it downe as an apt answer, and by him allowed. And therfore your obiection of Jacobs two swines maye serue for a test, but little to the purpose.

It followeth not that if a man make two answeres to one argument he disalloweth the one: for they may both be true. Touching M. Caluines second answer: I haue spoken before, and declared wherein that high Priest was a figure of Christ. M. Caluine in that place hath not these wordes, that his iudgement is, that as there should be no one ouer all Churches, so should there be no one ouer any nation, And therfore you keepe your accustomed maner of falsifying.

### Chap. 6. the. 17. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 211. Sect. 3.

Caluin. Inst.  
cap. 8.

Another of their reasons is this: Peter was the chiefe among the Apostles, therfore there ought to be one chiefe ouer the whole Church. The same M. Caluine in the booke and chapter before rehearsed, maketh his owne answer to that argument: *Vnus inter Apostolos summus fuit, nempe quia pauci erant numero. Si vnus duodecim hominibus præfuit, an propter sequetur, vnum debere centum millibus, hominum præfici?* There vvas one chiefe among the Apostles, bicause they vvere but fewe in number, but if one man rule ouer twelue, shall it therefore followe that one man maye rule ouer an hundreth thousande? And a little after: *Quod inter paucos valet, non protinus erabendum*



*trahendum est ad vniuersum terrarū orbem, ad quem regendum nemo vnus sufficit,* That which is of force among fewe, may not by and by be drawne to the whole world, the which no one man can gouern. Every beue of Bees hath one chief maister Bee, every companie of Cranes hath one principall guide, muste therbe therfore but one Bee, & one Crane to direct all the Bees & the Cranes that be in the world: You see therfore how weake this reason is. The rest of this reason I haue answered befoze.

T.C. Page. 102. Sect. 1.

To the Papists objecting for the supremacie & S. Peter was the prince & chief of the Apostles M. Caluine answereth, first by denying & Peter was so, & bringeth many places to proue & he was equal to & other Apostles, afterward he saith, although it be graunted, & Peter was chief, yet followeth it not because one may bear rule ouer twelue, being but a few in number, that therfore one may rule ouer an hundred thousand, & that it followeth not, that that which is good amongst a few, is forthwith good in all the worlde, Howe let all men iudge, with what conscience and truste, M. Doctor, entereth M. Caluine for to proue the office of the Archbishop.

### Io. Whitgiste.

M. Caluine in the same place hathe these wordes, It is not to be maruelled that the twelue had one amongst them, that might gouerne the rest. For this thing doth nature allow, & the disposition of man require, that in euery societie, though all be equal in power, yet som should be as it were moderator of the rest, vpon who the other might depend. Ther is no court without a Consull, no session of iudges without a Pretor or iustice, no Colledge without a gouernour, no societie without a maister: so should it not be any absurditie, if wee should confesse, that the Apostles gaue such preheminence vnto Peter. Howe let the Reader iudge whether it be Caluines meaning in good earnest or no, & there was one chief among the Apostles: which being true (as it is) M. Doctor may with good conscience vse this answer of M. Caluine both against the Papistes, and the authours of the Admonition also, reasoning not much vnylike vnto them.

Cal. inst. ca. 8.

### Chap. 6. the. 18. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 102. Sect. 1.

But I maruel & he could not also see that which M. Caluine writeth in & next sentence almost, where he saith, & Christ is only the head of the church, & that the church doth cleaue vnto another vnder his dominion, but by what meanes? According (saith he) to & order & forme of policie, which he hath prescribed, but he hath prescribed no such forme of policie, & one Bishop should be ouer all & ministers & Churches in a whole dioces, or one Archbishop ouer all the ministers and churches in a whole prouince, therfore this forme of policie which is by Archbishops & such Bishops as we haue is not & meanes to knit vs one to another in vntie vnder the dominion of Christ. Touching & titles & names of honor which are giuen to the Ecclesiastical persons with vs, & how that princes & ciuill Magistrates may and ought to haue the title which cannot be giuen to the ministers, I haue spoken befoze, & therfore of Archbishops, Archdeacons, and the Lord bishops thus farre.

### Io. Whitgiste.

M. Caluine in the nexte section after that he hath answered to other arguments of the Papists saith thus: But let it be as they would haue it, that it is good & profitable that the whole world should be contained in one monarchie, which notwithstanding is most absurd, but let it be so: yet I wil not therfore graunt, that it doth likewise hold in the gouernment of the church. For the church hath Christ her only head, vnder whose government we are knit together according to that order and forme of policie which he himself hath prescribed. VVherfore they do Christ notable iniurie, which vnder this pretence will haue one man to rule ouer the whole church, because she can not want a head, for Christ is the head, wherby the whole bodie being compacted and coupled by euery ioynt of government, dothe according to the operation in the measure of euery member, iuclease to a perfect bodie. Al which I agree vnto as mooste true, but nothing at all perpeyning to youre purpose. We sayth, that vnder the government of Christe we cleaue together among our selues, according to that order and that forme of policie, whiche he hath himselfe prescribed: And who denyeth this? But *Quorsum?* This he speaketh of the spiritual regiment and policie, not of the externall: and yet that externall regiment and policie is also prescribed

Ar.

by



by him, whiche is profitable for his Church according to tyme, place, and persons, though it be not particularly expressed in his word, as partly hath bin declared before, and shall be hereafter more at large upon particular occasion.

Thus haue you (after so many yeares trauel in this controuersie) vttered all your skill against the Archbishop, poured out al your malice, exercised your gibes and iests, whetted your slanderous tongue; and yet besides corrupt and false allegations of wryters: sonde and toyish distinctions of your owne, contrary to al practise and learning: vnchristian speeches and heathenish floutes and frumpes, you haue vttered nothing. And I protest vnto the whole Church before God, y your vnfaithfulnesse in handling the matter, your vaine and frivolous reasons, haue muche more animated me to the defense of those auncient, reuerend, profitable, and necessarie offices. I speake of the offices as they be vsed in this church. And I shal most heartily desire the Reader to weigh and consider the authorities and reasons on both parties indifferently, and to iudge therof according to the truth.

¶ A brieue collection of suche authorities, as are  
vsed in this defense of the authoritie of Archbishops and Bishops. Ca. 7.

Testimonies  
of the Apo-  
stles tymes, &  
thervnto ad-  
ioyning.

Timothie was Bishop of Ephesus, & Chrysostome saith in. 1. *Ti. 5. y gens fere tota Asiatia*, almost the whole countrey of Asia was committed to him. And vpon the. 2. to *Ti. mo. chap. 4.* he saith, that Paul had committed to Timothie *gubernacula ecclesie gentis totius* the government ouer the church of the whole nation, meaning Asia.

Titus was Bishop of Creta, not of one citie only, but of the whole Ile. So sayeth Chrysostome in his commentaries vpon the *epist* to Titus. And Lyra, Erasmus, Pellican and others write, that S. Paule made him Archbishop of Creta. And Illyricus calleth him and Timothie, *multarum Ecclesiarum Episcopos*, Bishops of many churches.

S. John (as Eusebius reporteth *lib. 3. cap. 23.*) after his returne from Pathmos, did gouerne the Churches in Asia, and ordeyned Ministers and Bishops.

James was made by the Apostles Bishop of Ierusalem, and the government of that church was committed to him. *Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 23.*

The. 33. or as some counte. 34. of the Canons attributed to the Apostles appointeth one head and chiefe Bishop to be in euery nation or countrey, to whom all other Bishops of the same nation must be subiecte.

Dionysius Areopagita was Archbishop of Athens, appoynted therunto by S. Paul as Volusianus a goodlie and learned writer testifieth.

Polycarpus was by S. John made Bishop of Smyrna. *Tertull. de prescript.*

In the Church of Alexandria from the time of S. Marke the ministers had alwayes a Bishop to gouerne them. *Hiero. ad Euagrium.*

Ignatius who liued in the Apostles tyme doth call a Bishop *principem Sacerdotum*, the prince of Priestes, in *epist. ad Smyrneses.*

Testimonies  
of the tymes  
nexte after the  
Apostles.  
Anno. 180.

In Eleutherius his tyme, whiche was Anno. 180. when this realme of England was fyrst conuerted to Christianitie, there was appoynted in the same three Archbishops. and. 28. Bishops. *Ap. Fore To. 1. pag. 146.*

Demetrius who liued Anno. 191. was Bishop of Alexandria, and of Egypt. *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 1.*

191.

235.

Cyprian who was Anno. 235. being Bishop of Carthage, had vnder him Numidia and Mauritania, as he him selfe sayeth, *Lib. 4. Epist. 8.* And Gregorie Nazianzene in an oration that he made of Cyprian sayth, that he ruled and gouerned not onely the churches of Carthage and Aphrike, but of Spayne also, and of the whole East church. And for this cause doth Illyricus call him a Metropolitane: the which name *E. C.* also doth giue vnto him in his Replie. *Pag. 95. sect. 2.*

250.

Dionysius called Alexandrinus, who liued Anno. 250. being Bishop of Alexandria hadde also vnder his iurisdiction all the Churches in Pentapolis, as Athanasius testifieth in a certaine *epist. Apol. 2.* and yet hadde these Churches their proper Bishop, as Eusebius dothe witnesse *lib. 7. cap. 26.* Wherefore the Bishoppe  
of



of Alexandria did gouerne them as Archebifhop.

Gregorie being Bifhop, did gouerne all the Churches thowtwe Pontus, *An. 270*  
*Enf. lib. 7. cap. 14.*

Epiphanius li. 2. to 2. heri. 68. maketh mention of one Peter, who liued *An. 304* whom  
he calleth Archbifhop of Alexandria, and declareth that Meletius then Bifhop in E-  
gypt was vnder him: where alfo he hath thefe wordes: *Hic enim mos obtinet ut Alexandria*  
*Epifcopus, totius Egypti, ac Thebaidis, Mariotæ, ac Lybia, Ammoniacæ, ac Mariotidis, ac Pentapo-*  
*lis ecclefiafticam habeat administrationem.* For this cufrome hath preuailed, that the Bifhop  
of Alexandria fhould haue the Ecclefiafticall gouernment of all Egypt, Thebais, Mariota,  
Lybia, Ammonica, Mariotis, and Pentapolis. And here. 69. he fayth, *Quotquot enim ecclefie in*  
*Alexandria catholice ecclefie funt, sub vno Archiepifcopo funt,* For all the Churches in Ale-  
xandria that be Catholike, are vnder one Archebifhop.

The fame Epiphanius in the fame place doth call Meletius, Archbifhop of Egypt,  
but yet he fayth that he was fubiet to the Archbifhop of Alexandria. And this Me-  
letius liued alfo *Anno. 304.*

The Councell of Nice *An. 330.* in the. 4. Canon fayth that the confirmation of Bi-  
fhops doth pertain to the Metropolitane of euery prouince: and in the. 6. mention is  
made of Metropolitanes to be in euery prouince, and that *secundum antiquum morem,*  
according to the olde cufrome. And it is further fayde, that the Bifhop of Alexandria  
hath the regiment of Libya and Pentapolis in Egypt.

In the. 6. & 37. Canons of the fecod Councell of Arelat. it is decreed that no Bifhop  
may be ordeined without the confent of the Metropolitane: nor any thing is be at-  
tempted againft the great Synode of the Metropolitane.

The Councell of Antioch in the. 9. Canon willetth y in euery prouince y Bifhops  
be fubiet to their Metropolitane bifhop which hath y care of the whole prouince. &c.  
And in that Canon is this claufe alfo. *Secundum antiquam a patribus nostris regulam consti-*  
*tutam,* according to the auncient rule appointed by our forefathers.

Achanafius was Archbifhop of Alexandria, and had iurifdiction ouer the reft of the  
clergie, to whom alfo Mariotes was fubiet. *Athanas. apo. 2.*

Amphilochius Metropolitane of Lycania gouerned y whole coutry. *Theod. lib. 4. ca. 11.*  
Zozomene li. 7. ca. 19. writeth that though there be many cities in Scythia, yet they  
haue but one Bifhop.

Aurelius bifhop of Carthage in the councell of Aphrica fayth, that he had the ouer-  
fight and care of many churches.

Ambrofe li. de dig. sacer. ca. 5. maketh mention of Archbifhops, & he himfelf was a Me-  
tropolitane, hauing charge and gouernment of many churches, as the authours of the  
Centuries teftifie in their fourth Centurie.

Simeon was Archbifhop of Seleucia *Zozo. lib. 2. cap. 8.* he liued about the tyme of the  
Nicine Councell. Bafile Metropolitane of Capadocia *Zozo. lib. 3. cap. 16.*

In the councell of Conftantinople, which is one of the. 4. general Councells in the. 4.  
and. 5. Canons this authoritie & regiment of Primates, Metropolitanes & Archbifhops  
is conteined. Which thing alfo Socrates doth note in the fame Councell *lib. 5. cap. 8.*

In the. 3. Councell of Carthage *Canon. 12. &c.* it is euident that in euery prouince  
there was a primate.

In the councell of Chalcedon, Flavianus is called Archbifhop of Conftantinople: Di-  
ofcorus Archbifhop of Alexandria; Leo Archbifhop of Rome, and the authorities of  
thefe offices and degrees there in diuers pointes fpecified.

In the firft Canon of the councell of Ephesus it may manifefly be gathered, y all  
other Bifhops of y fame prouince wer then fubiet to their Metropolitane Bifhop.

Hierome ad Ruficum Monachum fayth: *Singuli ecclefiarum Epifcopi, finguli Archiepifcopi, &c.*  
*finguli archidiaconi.* &c. 3 omit his other places ad Lucif. ad Titum. &c.

Ambrofe in 41 d Ephe. fayth that all orders be in a Bifhop, becaufe he is *primus sacra-*  
*dos, hoc est princeps sacerdotum,* the chief Priest, that is, Prince of priettes.

Auguftine in his queftions in veteris & nouum test. cap. 101. fayth, *Quid est Epifcopus, nifi*  
*primus presbyter, hoc est Summus sacerdos?*



Chrysostome being Archbishop of Constantinople did also govern the Churches in Thracia, Asia, and Pontus. *Theodo. lib. 5. cap. 28* The authors of the Centuries affirme the same, and call him Archbishop. *Cent. 5. cap. 10.*

Theodore being bishop of Cyprus had under his government. 800. Churches, as he himselfe testifieth in his Epistle to Leo.

*Ruffi. lib. 1.  
cap. 29.*

Gennadius Bishop of Constantinople writeth to the Bishop of Rome thus, *Cures sanctitas tua vniuersas tuas custodias, tibiq; subiectos Episcopos.*

Infinite testimonies and examples there are of this sorte, and no man that is of any reading can be ignorant but that these degrees of superiortie, and this kind of regiment hath bin in the Church continually, euen from the Apostles tyme.

M. Bucer vpon the fourth to the Ephes. sheweth that these degrees in the church Bishop, Archbishop, Metropolitans, Primate, Patriarche, be not onely moste auncient, but also necessarie.

M. Caluine in his *Instit. cap. 8. Sect. 52.* vpon the place of Hierome in the Epistle ad E-nagriu sayth, that in the old tyme there was to euery citie appointed a certain region, Province, or Diocess, *Que presbyteros inde sumeret, et velut corpori illius ecclesie accenseretur,* and that y<sup>e</sup> same also was vnder the Bishop of the citie. *Quod si amplior erat ager, qui sub eius episcopatu erat, quam ut sufficere omnibus episcopi munus vbiq; possit: per ipsum agrum designabantur certis locis presbyteri, qui in minoribus negotijs eius vices obirent, eos vocabant chorepiscopos, quod per ipsam provinciam episcopum representabant.*

M. Beza *lib. conf. cap. 7* calleth the names of Archbishops, Bishops, &c. Holie names: for thus he sayth, That Pastors in proces of tyme were distinct into Metropolitans, Bishops, and those whome they nowe call Curates (that is, such as be appointed to euery Parische) was not in the respect of the ministerie of the worde, but rather in respect of iurisdiction and discipline. Therefore concerning the office of preaching the word, and administering the Sacramentes, there is no difference betwixte Archebishops, Bishops, and Curates, for all are bounde to feede their flocke with the same breade, and therefore by one common name in the Scriptures they bee called Pastours and Bishops. But what impudencie is there in those men (meaning the Papistes) to vse those holie names, and therefore to glorie of the succession of the Apostles and true Bishops. In the same chapter, he maketh two kinds of degrees vied in the Papistical Church: the one unknowne to the Apostles, & to the primitive church, the other taken out of the word of God and from the primitive Church. In this second order he placeth Archebishops, Curates, Canons, Seniors or Ministers, Archdeacons, Deanes, Subdeacons, Clerkes.

But what should I stand longer in this matter? There is not one wyter of credit y<sup>e</sup> denieth this superiortie to haue bin alwayes among the clergie, and these degrees to come euen from the best tyme of the Church since the Apostles, and so be both moste auncient and generall. Wherefore I can not but compt suche as denie so manifest a truthe, eyther vnlearned and vnskilful persons, or else verie wzanglers, and men desirous of contention.

A briefe comparison betwixt the Bishops of our tyme, and the Bishops of the primitive Church. Chap. 8

I knowe that comparisons be odious, neither would I vse them at this tyme, but that I am therunto (as it wer) compelled by the vncharitable dealing of M. C. who by comparing the Bishops of our time with the Bishops in the olde Church, hath soughte by that meanes to disgrace them, if it were possible. I may peradventure in this point seeme to some to flatter, but the true iudgement therof I leave to him, that knoweth the secretes of the heart. In the meane tyme I will affirme nothing, which is not euident to all those that be learned diuiner, and not ouer ruled with affection. My comparison shal consist in these three points: Truthe of doctrine, Honestie of life, and right vse of externall things.

Touching the first, that is truthe of doctrine, I shall not need much to labour. For I think M. C. and his adherents wil not denie but that the doctrin taught & professed by our Bishops at this day, is much more perfect and sounder, than it commonly was in any



any age after the Apostles time. For the most part of the auncientest Bishops were deceyued with that grosse opinion of a thousande yeares after the resurrection, wherein the kingdome of Christe should here remaine vpon earth: The fautoz whercof were called *Millenarij*. Papias who liued in Polycarpus and Ignatius his tyme, being Bishop of Ierusalem, was the first autho: of this errour, and almost all the mozte auncient fathers were infected with the same. *Euse. lib. 3. cap. 39. & 35.*

Cyprian and the whole Councel of Carthage erred in rebaptisatio, & Cyprian himself also was greatly ouerseene in making it a matter so necessarie in the celebration of the Lords Supper, to haue water mingled with wyne, which was no doubt at y tyme comon to moe than to him: but the other opinion which he confuteth, of vsyng water only, is moze absurd, and yet it had at that tyme patrones among the Bishops. *To. con. 1. Lib. epi. 2. ep. 3.*

Howe greatly were almost all the Bishops & learned wyters of the greke church, yea and the Latines also for the most part, spotted with doctrines of freewill, of merites, of inuocation of Sainctes, & suche lyke? Surely you are not able to reckon in any age since the Apostles tyme, any companie of Bishops, that taught & helde so sound & perfect doctrine in all poynts, as the Bishops of England do at this tyme.

If you speake of Ceremonies, & of the syncere adiministration of the sacraments, you shall finde the like difference: for compare the ceremonies that Tertullian sayeth *lib. de coro. mil.* then to be vsed in the Church about the Sacraments, and other wise: or those that Basile reherseth *Lib. de Sancto spi.* or suche as we may reade to haue bin in S. Augustins tyme, with those that we now retein in this Church, and you can not but acknowledge, that therein we are come to a far greater perfection.

I meane not to stande in particulars, I thinke W. C. and his companions will not contende with me in this poynt, for if they doe, it is but to maynteyn contention. Seeing then that in the truth of doctrine, which is the chief and principall point, oure Bishops be not only comparable with the olde Bishops, but in many degrees to be ppreferred before them, we thinke there is too great iniurie done vnto them, and to this doctrine whiche they professe. When as they are so odiously compared, and so contemptuously intreated by W. C. and his Colleags.

2 Touching honestie of life, which is the second point, I wil not say much, I do not think but that therein they may be compared with the old Bishops also: and in some points ppreferred: euery age hath some imperfectiōs in it, and the best men are most subiect to the slanderous tong. Great contention ther was among the Bishops in the Councell of Nice, insomuch that euen in the presence of the Emperour they ceased not to libell one against an other. What bitterness and cursing was there betwixt Epiphanius and Chrysostome: what affectionate dealyng of Theophilus agaynst the same Chrysostome: what iarring betwixt Hierome and Augustine: But I wil not prosecute this. Men, be they neuer so godly, yet they be men, & the comon sorte of people, when they ware wearie of the worde of God truly preached, then doe they begin to depzaue the true and chiefe ministers of the same.

3 For the third poynt, that is, the vse of external things, if the Bishops now haue moze land & liuing than Bishops had then, it is the blessing of God vpon his church: and it is commodious for the state and time. If any man abuse himself therein, let him be reformed, let not his fault be made a pference to cloke a minte desirous to spoyle. I see not how those lands and livings can be imploied to moze benefite of y church, comoditie of the comon welth, & honoz of the Prince, than they be now in state and condition wherin they remain. Bishops shal not now need to liue by pilling & polling, as it seemed they did in Cyprians tyme, for he complaineth therof. *Ser. de lapsis.* For as some did in Ambrose or Augustins. They haue (God be thanked) liuing sufficient with out any such vnlawfull meanes, and I doubt not but if their expenses shal be compared with their predecessors, it shall appeare that they be according to the proportion that God hath limitted vnto them. But an eye dimmed with malice, or bent to the spoyle, can see nothing that may hinder the desired purpose. God rote out of the hartes of men such rauening affections and greedie desires. *Amb. de dig. sacer. August. lib. 3. aduer. Permenia.*



# The defense of the answere Of the Communion Booke. *Tract. 9.*

The generall faultes examined, vvhervvith the publike  
Service is charged by T.C.

## Chap. 1. the. 1. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 102. Sect. 2.

Before I come to speak of prayers, I will treat of the faultes that are committed almost throughout the whole Lyrurgie, and publike Service of the Church of Englande, whereof one is that, whiche is often objected by the authors of the Admonition, that the forme of it is taken from the Church of Antichriste, as the reading of the Epistles and Gospels so cutte and mangled, as the moste of the prayers, the manner of ministring the Sacramentes, of marriage, of burial, Confirmation, translated as it were worde for worde, sauing that the grosse errors and manifest impieties be taken away. For although the formes and ceremonies whiche they vsed were not vnlawfull, and that they conteyned nothing whiche is not agreable to the worde of God, (whiche I would they did not) yet notwithstanding neyther the worde of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest Churches, both Jewish and Christian doe permit vs, to vse the same formes and ceremonies, being neyther commaunded of God, neyther suche, as there maye not as good as they, and rather better be established.

## Io. Whitgiste.

*Tract. 7. cap. 5  
dini. 3. 4. &c.*

Reading of  
gospels and e-  
pistles verie  
auuncient.

Things abusi-  
fed maye be  
vsed, impie-  
ties being ta-  
ken awaye.

The church  
is reformed,  
not transfor-  
med.

In these wordes are contained two false principles, the one is that the forme and manner of prayer vsed in the Church of England, is taken from the church of Antichrist: the other, that it is not lawfull to vse the same formes (of prayer) and ceremonies, that the Papists did: this latter I haue already proued to be otherwise, in the beginning where I spake of Ceremonies, and intend hereafter to answere such arguments as shall be vsed to proue the contrarie: the first wil appeare to be most vnttrue, being manifest that such things as we now vse in the booke of Common prayer (though some of them haue ben vsed in the time of Papistrie) were appointed in the church by godlie and learned men, before the Pope was Antichrist, or the Church of Rome greatly corrupted: as the reading of the Epistle and gospel, whiche is of verie long continuance in the Church, euen whilst the church of Rome was as yet, in the principall points of doctrine pure, being also chosen places of scriptures apt for the time, and moste to edifying, which no honest heart and godly disposed person, can discommende.

If in the administration of the sacraments, celebration of marriage, burying of the dead, confirmation, those thyngs that are good and profitable be reteyned, and the grosse errors and manifest impieties taken away, as you say they be, why do you then on this sort trouble the church, for vsing that which is good, & refusing that which is euill? Is Papistrie so able to infect the word of God, godlie prayers, and profitable Ceremonies, that they may not be vsed in the Church reformed, the errors and impieties being taken away? Why doe we call our churches, reformed Churches, rather than newly builded, or as it were wholly transformed, but that we reteyne whatsoeuer we send to be good, refuse or reforme that which is euill. But of these matters, more is to be spoken, as occasion is offered. Whitherto you vse but wordes, whiche haue no weyght without good and sounde reasons.

## Chap. 1. the. 2. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 102. Sect. 3.

For the worde of God I haue shewed before, both by the example of the Apostles confirming the Gentiles vnto the Jewes in their ceremonies, & not contrariwise the Jewes to the Gentiles, and by that the wisdome of God hath thought it a good way to kepe his people from the infection of idolatrie and superstition to seuer them from idolaters by outward ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to doe things which are in themselves verie lawfull to be done.

## Io. Whitgiste.

What you haue spoken in any place of your booke concerning this matter, is there  
answe,



answered, wher it is spoke: but you haue not as yet to my remembrance any wher sheweth God euer hath forbidden his people to do things in themselves very lawfull to be done, because the same were used by Idolaters. I haue before proued the contrary, both by the manifest words of the scripture, and by the testimonie of Saint Augustine, and diuers other learned writers.

Tract. 7. cap. 5

### Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 102. Sect. 4.

Now I will adde this further, that when as the Lord was carefull to seuer them by ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not so carefull to seuer them from any, as from the Egyptians amongst whome they liued, and from those nations which were next neighbours vnto them, because from them was the greatest feare of infection. Therefore by this constant and perpetuall friendship which God vsed to kepe his people from idolatrie, it followeth that the religion of God should not only in matter and substance, but also as farre as may be in forme and fashion differ from that of the idolaters, and especially the Papists which are round about vs, & amongst vs. (\*) For in deepe it were more safe for vs to conforme our indifferent ceremonies to the Turkes which are farre off, than to the papists which are so neare.

(\*) An vnadvised assertion.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The Egyptians and Idolatrous gentiles neither worshipped, nor pretended to worship the God of Israell, and therefore no maruell though in rites, and ceremonies they were vtterly seuered from them: but the Papists eether worship or pretend to worship the same God which we do, and therefore there is no suche cause in all pointes of rites and ceremonies to differ from them. And it is most untrue that God so seuered his people from the Egyptians or other nations neere adioyning, that they had nothing common with them; or no ceremonies like vnto theirs: for they were like in many things touching the externall forme. The Gentiles had sacrifices and so had they: The Gentiles in worshipping their Gods used externall pompe of garments, of golden and siluer vessels and such like, and so did they, yea diuers learned men be of this iudgement, that God did prescribe vnto the Israelites that solempne manner and forme of worshipping him by externall rites and ceremonies, shortly after their returne out of Egypt, that they being therewith not onely occupied, but also delighted, should haue no desire to retourne into Egypt, or to worship their Gods whome they had seene with great solempnitie of ceremonies and externall rites adored. And therefore you ground your talke by so false principles, which you haue not proued, but imagined.

The Gentiles and Papists not like in all respects.

The Jewes and the Gentiles in some respect agreed in ceremonies

Now if we may haue ceremonies common with them, or like vnto them, from whome we wholly differ in matter and substance of religion, as we do from the Gentiles, and from the Turkes, muche more may we haue Ceremonies common with them, or like vnto them, from whome we do not wholly differ in matter and substance, but in certaine materiall and substantiall points. As for this your saying, That it were better for vs to conforme our indifferent Ceremonies to the Turkes which are farre off, than to the Papists which are so neare. I take it to be but spoken in a heate, and that you will other wise thinke when you haue better considered the matter: the one being a professed enimie vnto Christ, and the name of Christ, the other pretending the contrary. But to put you out of doubt, we do not in any kinde of ceremonies, conforme our selues to the Papists, but vsing Christian libertie in externall thinges, & knowing that al things be cleane to those that be cleane, such things as we find instituted by learned and godly men, and profitable to the Church as pertaining to edifying, or comelinesse and order (though abused of the Papists) we retaine in our Churches, and restore to the right vse: as our forefathers did the Temples of Idols, turning them to Christian Churches, and reuenues consecrated to Idols, transposing them to fund the ministers of the Church, and such like, as I haue declared in another place.

We conforme not our selues to the Papists in ceremonies.

Tit. 1.

Tract. 7. cap. 5. diuif. 3. 4. &amp;c.



## Chap. 1. the. 4. Division.

T. C. Pag. 103. Sect. 1.

Common reason also doth teach, that contraries are cured by their contraries: now Christianitie and Antichristianitie, the Gospel & poperie, be contraries, therefore Antichristianitie must be cured not by it selfe, but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary vnto it. Therefore a mingled and mingled estate of the order of the Gospel, and the ceremonies of poperie, is not the best way to banish poperie, and therefore as to abolish the infection of false doctrine of the Papists, it is necessary to establish a diuers doctrine, and to abolish the tyrannie of the popish gouernment, necessary to plant the discipline of Christ: so to heale the infection that hath crept into mens minds by reason of the popish order of seruice, it is meete that the other order were put in place thereof.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

How contraries must be cured by contraries.

Contraries must be cured by contraries in all things wherein they be contrary. Christianitie and Antichristianitie: the Gospel and poperie be not in all things contrary, touching outward profession: and therefore no necessity of abandoning all things from Christianitie that was used in Antichristianitie. So much of the papistical doctrine as is contrary to the Gospel: that kind of gouernment in the Popes Church, that is repugnant to the word of God: all such order of seruice or kind of prayer, as is vngodly and superstitious, is to be remoued and cured with the contrary, but as they haue some truth in doctrine, so haue they some lawfull kind of gouernment, and good and godly prayers, all which being restored to their owne puritie, are to be reteyned: for no abuse can so defile any thing that is good, that the same thing may not be used, the abuse being taken away.

The order of popish seruice cleane altered in this church

And yet, if you would speake the truth, you cannot say, but that the order of the popish seruice is cleane altered in this Church: for what similitude hath the vulgar song with a song vnknewen? What likelihoode is there betwixt the multitude of ceremonies used by the Papists, and the fewnes of such as are now reteyned? How much doth the simplicitie used in our seruice, differ from the pompe and gorgeousnesse used in theirs? How contrary is our communion to their Masse? What diuersitie is there in the celebration of our sacraments and theirs? To be short, the difference is as much as epyther the worde of God, or the state and condition of the Church requireth: the which you might see if you were dislosed: but as I haue sayd before, *Cæca malitia non uidet apertissima*. Blind malice seeth not those things that are most manifest.

## Chap. 1. the. 5. Division.

T. C. Pag. 103. Sect. 1.

Philosophie which is nothing else but reason, teacheth, that if a man will draw one from vice which is an extreame, vnto vertue which is the meane, that it is the best way to bring him as farre from that vice as may be, and that it is safer and lesse harme for him to be led somewhat to farre, than he should be suffered to remaine within the borders and confines of that vice wherewith he is infected. As if a man would bring a drunken man to sobrietie, the best and nearest way is to carry him as farre from his excesse in drinke as may be, and if a man coulde not keepe a meane, it were better to faule in prescribing lesse than he should drinke, than to faule in giuing him more than he ought, as we see to bring a sicke, which is (\*) crooked, to be streight, we do not only bow it so farre vntill it come to be streight, but we bend it so farre vntill we make it so crooked of the other side, as it was before of the first side, to this end that at the last it may stand streight: and as it were in the mid way betwene both the crookes: which I do not therefore speake, as though we ought to abolish one euill and hurtfull ceremonie for another, but that I would shew, how it is more dangerous for vs that haue bin plunged in the mire of Poperie, to vse the ceremonies of it, than of any other idolatrous and superstitious seruice of God.

(\*) A crooked rule.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

The Reformer prescribed a heathenish rule of reformation. Rom. 3.

Philosophie also teacheth, that both the extreames be vices, and therefore your rule dothe teache that a man must go from one vice to another, if he will come to vertue, which is a meane: but Saint Paul teacheth the contrary, saying, *Non est faciendum malum, vt inde veniat bonum*, We must not do euill that good may come thereof. Therefore



Therefore as your rule is heathenish and naughty, so do you as naughtily followe it. Is there no way for the prodigall man to come to liberalitie but by civillnesse? no way for the glutton to come to temperance, but by pyning himselfe? no way for the presumptuous person to come to the true feare and love of God, but by desperation? no way to come from poperie to the Gospel, but by confusion, and overthrow of all good order and government? Is this divinitie? In dede such divinitie it is that Aristotle a prophane Philosopher doth teach in his Ethikes, but not that Christ and his Apostles do teach in the Gospel.

The ordinarie meanes whereby a Christian man must come from vice to vertue, from an extreme to a meane, is the diligent reading and hearing of the word of God, joynd with earnest and heartie prayers. The best way therefore to bring a drunken man to sobriety is, not to perswade him to a superstitious kind of abstinence or fasting, but to lay before him out of the word of God the horribleness of that sinne, and the punishment due vnto the same. The similitude of a crooked sticke is apt to set forth so crooked a precept, but not so apt to make manifest the way vnto vertue. But I may not blame you for vsing and allowing those prophane rules, whiche you so aptly follow, and so commonly practise in all your doings.

The ordinarie meanes to draw men from vice.

### Chap. 1. the. 6. Division.

T. C. Pag. 103. Sect. 1. 2.

This folowedome of not conforming it selfe vnto the ceremonies of the Idolaters in things different, hath the Church followed in times passed.

Lib. de Idolatria.

Tertullian sayth, I sayth he, better is the religion of the heathen, for they vse no solemnities of the Christians, neyther the Lords day, neyther the Pentecost, and if they knew them, they woulde have nothing to do with them, for they woulde be afraid, least they shoulde seeme Christians, but we are not afraid to be called heathen.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

Tertullian in that place speaketh against such Christians, as celebrated the feasts of the Gentiles together with them remayning in their wicked abuse, as it appeareth in the words that go before, which are as followeth. *Nobis quibus sabbata extranea sunt & neomenia, & feria aliquando a Deo dilecta, Saturnalia & Ianuarie & Brumae & Matritia, vales frequentantur, munera commendant, strene consonant, lusus, conuiuia constrepunt. O melior fides nationum in suam sectam. &c.* The feasts of Saturne, of Ianus, of Bacchus, and of Iuno are frequented of vs, vnto whome the sabbats, new mones, and holydays sometimes beloued of God, are straunge, gifts and presents are very rife, sportes and banquets keepe a sturre. O better is the faith of the Gentiles in their sect &c. Therefore this saying of Tertullian may aptly be alledged against those, that frequent the popish solemnities together with them, come to their Churches, communicate with them in worshipping their idols, and yet professe the knowledge of the Gospel, but it can by no meanes be drawen vnto such, as withdrawing themselves from suche kind of communicating with them, do in their senerall Churches vse those good things well, which the Papists haue abused: as the scripture, the sacraments, prayers and suche like. Therefore you do not well to alledge Tertullians words, omitting the circumstances which declare his meaning.

Lib. de Idolatria.

A man being present at Idolatrous service must needs give great suspicion that he is an Idolater, and therefore no man ought to be present at it, which in heart condemneth it. But as there is no honest and godly man, which can call our service Idolatrous or Papisticall, so is ther none that can suspect vs to be Idolaters or Papists. The whole world knowing that both our practise and profession is to the contrary.

### Chap. 1. the. 7. Division.

T. C. Pag. 103. Sect. 3.

Constantine the Emperoure speaking of the keeping of the feast of Easter, sayth that it is an unworthy

Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 17.



unworthy thing to have any thing common with that most spitefull companie of the Jewes. And a little after he saith, that it is most absurd and against reason, that the Jewes should be vaunt and glorie, that the Christians could not keepe those things without their doctrine. And in another place it is sayd after this sort: It is convenient so to order the matter, that we have nothing common with that nation.

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 9.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Constantine speaketh of the feast of Easter, which he would not have observed according to the manner of the Jewes, and yet you know that the Churches in Asia, following the examples of Philip and Iohn the Apostles, and of Polycarpus, and many other godly men, did celebrate that feast together with the Jewes, as it is to be seen in the fifth booke of Eusebius ecclesiastical history. Wherefore the matter was not of so great importance, before it was for quietnesse sake determined by the Church: neither doth Constantine in either of the places meane, that we should have nothing common with the Jewes, but only that we should have no such things common with them, as are repugnant to Christian libertie, or to the truth of the Gospell, or such as may confirme them in their obstinacie and error. For if his meaning had bin generally and simply, then might he have utterly abrogated the feast of Easter, being no commaundement for it in the new testament. As therefore Constantine thought that the Church had not the feast of Easter common with the Jewes, not because the thing it selfe was abrogated, but the day altered: Even so the Church of Englande cannot be said to have any thing common with the Papisticall Church, though it retaineth something bled in the same, because the manner is changed, and certayne circumstances altered: for whereas before it was in a straunge tongue, now it is in a tongue knowne: and whereas it was before abused and mixt with superstition, now it is rightly used and purged from all corruption. And therefore, although the thing remaine, yet because the circumstances be altered, it is not the same, no more than our Sabbath is the Jewes Sabbath, and our Easter the Jewes Easter.

Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23, 24. & 25, 26.

### Chap. 1. the 8. Division.

T. C. Pag. 103. Sect. 4. §. 6.

The Councils although they did not observe themselves always in making of decrees this rule, yet have kept this consideration continually in making their lawes, that they would have the Christians differ from others in their ceremonies.

The Council of Laodicea, which was afterward confirmed by the first generall Council, decreed, that the Christians should not take unleavened bread of the Jewes, or communicate with their impietie.

Tom. 1. con. Lao. can. 38

Also it was decreed in another Council, that they should not decke their houses with bay leaves, and greene boughes, because the Paganes did use so, and that they should not rest from their labours those days that the Paganes did, that they should not keepe the first day of every moneth as they did.

2. To. Brac. car. can. 74

### Io. Whitgiste.

What is all this to your purpose? who saith that either we must use all things that the Jewes and gentiles did, or that the Church hath not authoritie to take order therein as shall be thought most convenient? the Church at this time, did perceive inconveniences in these customes and ceremonies, and therefore did by ordinarie authoritie abrogate them. In like manner and upon like considerations hath this Church of Englande abandoned great numbers of Papisticall rites and ceremonies, but because it refuseth some, may it therefore retaine none? or because it reiecteth those which be wicked and unprofitable, may it not therefore keepe still such as be godly and pertaine to order and decencies?

Canon. 38.

The Canon of the Council of Laodicea is this. *Non oportere a Iudeis azyma accipere, aut communicare impietatibus eorum.* That we ought not to take unleavened bread of the Jewes, or communicate with their impietie. And surely, I marvel what you can conclude of it;



of it: for no man (as I suppose) doth thinke that we may vse ceremonies proper to the Jewes, and abrogated by Christ, or that it is lawfull to communicate with theyr impietie.

That Canon which you call. 73. of the Councell of Bazar: is not to be found in any such Councell, for there are not so many Canons in any Councell so called: but the Canon that you meane (as I thinke) is among the Canons collected out of the Graeke Synods by S. Martin, and in number. 74. The words be these. Let it not be lawfull to vse wicked obseruations of the calends, and to keepe the gentiles holy days, nor to decke houses with bays or greene boughes, for all this is an heathenish obseruation.

To what purpose do you alleadge this canon: what doth it proue? Christians are inhibited from obseruing days and times and other frivolous superstitions, after the maner of the Gentiles: But what is this to godly prayers, grounded vpon the word of God, or comely and decent orders and ceremonies?

### Chap. 1. the. 9. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 103. Sect. vlt.

Afric. conc. 2. 17. Another Councell decreed that the Christians should not celebrate (\*) feasts on the birth days of the martyrs, because it was the manner of the heathen: whereby it appeareth that both of singular men, and of Councells in making or abolishing of ceremonies, heede hath bin take that the Christians should not be like vnto the idolaters, no not in those things which of themselves are most indifferent to be vsed or not vsed. (\*) A manifest vnto truth.

### 10. Whitgifte.

It is marvellous to behold your dealing, and to consider how vnder the pretence of auoiding (I know not what) in reciting the words of such Autho:rs as you alleadge, you delude the Reader with an vntrue sense: as it euidently appeareth in this canon of the Councell of Afrike, the words whereof be these. This is also to be desired (of the Emperours) that such feasts as contrary to the commaundements of God are kept in many places, which haue bin drawn from the error of the Gētiles (so that now Christians are compelled by the paganes to celebrate them, whereby another persecution in the tyme of Christian Emperours seemeth couertly to be rayfed) might be by their commaundement forbidden, and the payne layd vpon cities and possessions prohibited: especially seing they are not afrayd to comit such things in some cities euen vpon the birth days of blessed martyrs, and in the holy places. Vpon which days also (whiche is a shame to tell) they vse most wicked dauncings throughout the streates, so that the honour of matrones, and the chaste shamefastnesse of many women which come deuoutly vnto that holyday, is by their lasciuious iniuries inuaded, in so much that those religious meetings are almost shunned. In these words the heathenish feasts of the gentiles which are against the commaundement of God, being full of impietie and vncleanesse, are forbidden to be vsed of Christians in the birth days of martyrs, or at any other time. Now this can be applyed to your purpose, I know not, except that you count all that for ill that comes to nette.

Now let the Reader consider, what weightie reasons you haue hitherto vsed, against our order of prayer: may rather how vnaptly you haue alleaged both your reasons and authorities. And whereas you seeme to insinuate that the things you haue spoken of be most indifferent, that is nothing so, for the most of those things prohibited by these canons, be things least indifferent, as it may appeare by that which is already spoken of them, and euen in the very canons themselves.

### Chap. 1. the. 10. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 104. Lin. 1.

Lib. de ani-  
ma, It were not hard to shew the same considerations in the severall things which are mentioned of in this Admonition, as for example in the ceremonies of prayer, whiche is here to be handled, we reade that Tertullian woulde not haue the Christians sitte after they had prayed, because the Idolaters dyd so: but hauing shewed thys in generall to bee the policie of



of God firste, and of his people afterward, to put as much difference as can be commodiously betwene the people of God and others which are not, I shall not neede to shew the same in the particulars.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

*Tertullian.*

If it wer not too hard, I doubt not but that you woulde saye something moze in the matter, than you haue done. I know not to what purpose you haue alleadged Tertullian for not sitting after prayer, sc. except your meaning be, that we shall not kneele in praying, because the Papists did vse that gesture. Howbeit there is no such thing to be found in that booke of Tertullian. Wherefoze you are to carelesse in alleadging your Authoꝝ, and giue to much credite (as it should seeme) to other mens collections. In his booke *de oratione*, he reproveth certaine that vsed to sit after prayer, alleadging for their Authoꝝ Hermas to whome the booke called Pastor is ascribed, he sheweth that no such thing can be gathered of Hermas his wordes, and further addeth, that this gesture is to be reprovued, not onely because idolaters did vse it in worshipping their idols, but also because it is an irreuerent gesture. His wordes be these. *Ed apponitur & irreuerentie crimen. &c.* Herevnto is added the fault of vnreuerence, that might be vnderstoode euen of the gentiles themselves, if they were wise: for it is an vnreuerente thing to sit in the sight, and against the face of him, whome thou wouldest especially reuerence and worship, how much more is this deepe most prophane in the sight of the living God, his Angell being as yet present at this prayer. Truly your generall reasons hitherto vsed, are neyther of sufficient pollicie nor mighte to deface a booke, with so greate wisdom, learning and zeale collected and approued. If your particular reasons be no better, a small confutation will serue.

*Chap. I. the. 11. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 104. Sect. 1.

Furthermoze as the wisdom of God hath thought it the best way, to keepe his people from infection of idolatrie, to make them most vnlike the idolaters: so hath the same wisdom of God thought good that to keepe his people in the vnitie of the truth, there is no better way, than that they should be most like one to another, and that as much as possibly may be, they should haue all the same ceremonies. And therefore Sainct Paule to establish this order in the Church of Cor. 1, Cor. 16. 1, that they should make their gatherings for the poore vpon the firste day of the Sabbath (which is our Sunday) alleadgeth this for a reason, that he had so ordeyned in other Churches, so that as children of one father, and seruantes of one family he wold haue all the Churches, not onely haue one dyet, in that they haue one word, but also weare (as it were) one liuerie in vsing the same ceremonies.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

You take vpon you to tell what the wisdom of God is, withoute any warrante of gods word, which is presumptio. I told you before, that in outward shew and forme the Israelites had many things like vnto the Gentiles, which cannot be denyed. Vnitie of Ceremonies is to be wished in all Churches, though it be not so necessary: for from the beginning there hath bin therein great varietie: but seeing it is a thing so greatly to be desired, why are you an occasion of the contrary? why do you not submit your selfe to the Church, that vnitie in all things may be obserued.

*Chap. I. the. 12. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 104. Sect. 2.

This rule did the great Councell of Nice follow, when it ordeyned that where certaine at the feast of Pentecost, did pray kneeling, that they should pray standing, the reason whereof is added, which is, that one custome ought to be kept through out al the Churches. It is true that the diuersitie of ceremonies ought not to cause the Churches to dissent one with another, but yet it maketh much to the auoiding of dissention, that there be amongst them an vnitie, not only in doctrine, but also so in ceremonies.

Con. Nic.  
can. 10.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

This is to be wished throughout the whole Church of Christ, if it were possible: but



To frame  
all Churches.  
after  
one, is dan-  
gerous.

but as if neuer was hitherto, so will it not be as long as this too, so lasteth: and least it should be in this particular Church of Englande, Satan hath stirred up instruments to procure the contrarie, wherefore in these wordes (as I thinke) you condemne your selfe and all other disturbers of the Church, for external rites and ceremonies.

### Chap. 1. the. 13. Division.

T.C. Pag. 104. Sect. 2.

Howe we see playnly, that as the forme of our service and Lpturgy cometh to neare that of the Apostles, so is farre different from that of other Churches reformed, and therefore in bothe these respects to be amended.

### To Whitgife.

From what reformed Church doth it so far differ: or to which reformed Church would you haue it framed: or why should not other reformed Churches as well frame them selues vnto vs: for we are as well assured of our doctrine, and haue as good grounds and reasons for our doing as they haue: except you will bring in a newe Rome, appoint vnto vs an other head Church, and create a newe Pope, by whom we must be in all things directed, and according to whose vsage we must frame our selues.

You knowe what M. Caluine sayth in the argument vpon the Epistle to the Galatians, speaking of those that came from Jerusalem to other Churches: Many were puffed vp (sayth he) with vaine glory because they were familiar with the Apostles, or at the least were instructed in their scholl: Therefore nothing pleased them, but that which they had seene at Jerusalem: all other rites that were not there vsed, they did not only refuse, but boldly condemne. Such a kinde of frowardnesse is a most pestilent mischief: vvhether as vve vwill haue the maner of one Church to be in place of an vni-

Calu. in argu.  
in Epi. ad Gal.

A pestilent  
mischief.

uersall lawe. But this ariseth of a preposterous zeale, whereby we are so affected towards one master, or place, that without iudgement or consideration we would binde all men, and places vnto the opinion of one man, and vnto the orders of one place, as vnto a common rule. Albeit there is alwayes mixed ambition, yea rather alwayes too muche frowardnesse is ambitious. The like saying he hath vpon the 15. of the Actes: Luke dothe not expresse by what affection these varlets were moued, yet is it very like that a preposterous zeale was the cause that they set themselves agaynst Paule and Barnabas: for there are frowarde wittes, whome nothing but their owne, can please. They had seene at Jerusalem circumcision and other rites of the lawe to be obserued: and whether soeuer they come they can abide no newe thing or diuers: As if the example of one Church dyd binde all other Churches, as vwith a certayne lawe. But although such men are led with a preposterous zeale to more tumults, yet inwardly their ambition moueth them, and a certayne kinde of contumacie pricketh them forward. In the meane time, Satan hath that which he desireth, that the mindes of the godly being darkened with the smoke and mist that he casteth, can scant discern blacke from white. Therefore this mischief is first to be auoyded, that none prescribe vnto other a lawe of their custome: least the example of one Church be prejudiciall to the comon rule. Then another caution must be added, least the estimation of mens persons, do eyther hinder or obscure the searche and inquirie of the matter and cause. For if Satan do transforme himselfe into an Angell of light, and if he oftentimes vsurpe with wicked audacie the holy name of God: what maruel is it, if through the same wickednesse he delude with the names of godly men.

A preposterous  
zeale.

Ambitious  
frowardnesse.  
Idem. 15. Act.

Frowarde  
wittes.

Ambition.

A necessary  
caution.

M. Gualter also vpon these wordes. 1. Cor. 14. *An a vobis sermo Dei profectus est: vnde* Gualter in thus: VWho can thinke their insolencie to be tollerable, that vsurpe authoritie ouer all Churches, and wil haue them scruiely to be subiect vnto them: Therefore that which Paule here presently sayth to the Corinthians, the selfesame may at this day with better right be spoken to the Romish Cleargie, which will haue all men subiect to their lawes, and say that it is necessary vnto saluation, that all soules should be subiect to the Bishop of Rome. These things may also be applyed agaynst those, whiche compell euery man to swear vnto the

Gualter in  
1. Cor. 14.



To frame  
all Chur-  
ches after  
one, is dan-  
gerous.

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## The defense of the answer

Tract. 2

opinion of their master, as though it were some neuer so litte to disagree from those things which he hath once vttered. And their ambition also is no lesse heere reprov'd, which goe about to bring all Churches vnto the forme of their order and discipline: and crye out that there is no discipline where all things are not correspondent to their orders and statutes: but these men receyue a iust rewarde of their arrogancie, when as they which come from them to other countreys, do goe beyonde all other in sausy malapartnesse, neyther bring they any thing with them from home, but a vayne and vtrollerable contempt of all good men, neyther can they abide that they shoulde be corrected by anye admonition of others. &c.

Be ware of ambitious morositie, and take heede of a newe Popedom. I thinke no Church is so bounde to the example of an other, but that in externall rites and ceremonies there is free libertie giuen vnto it, to appoynt what shall be for the presente state and tyme mosse conuenient. You may not binde vs to followe any particular Church, neyther ought you to consent to anye such newe seruitude.

### Chap. 1. the. 14. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 104. Sect. 3.

Argu. 3. non  
causa.

In other faulte there is in the whole seruise of Lyturgie of Englands, for that it maynteyneth an vnpreaching ministerie. And so consequently an vnlawfull ministerie, I say it maynteyneth, not somuche in that it appoynteth a number of psalmes and other prayers and chapters to be read, which may occupie the tyme which is to be spent in preaching, wherein notwithstanding it ought to haue bene more swarp, considering that the Duell vnder this colour of long prayer, dyd thus in the kingdome of Antichrist banishe preaching. (\*) I say not so muche in that poynt, as for that it requireth necessarily nothing to be done by the minister, which a childe of tenne yeare olde can not doe, as well and as lawfully as that man wherewith the booke contenteth it selfe.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

This is a strange collection, that the booke of Common prayer maynteyneth an vnpreaching ministerie, bicause it appoynteth a number of psalmes and other prayers and chapters to be read, which may occupie the tyme that is to be spent in preaching. Would you haue preaching onely, and neyther reading nor praying in the publike congregation: or doe you thinke that the chapters and prayers that are read occupie so long tyme: or are you perswaded that there commeth no profite by rearing and praying: If you meane the first, you haue the examples of the Churches in all places, and at all tymes agaynst you: if you meane the seconde, the tyme is not so long that is spent in praying and reading, but that there may be preaching also: the longest tyme (if there be no Communion) is not more than an houre, and can you spende that houre better than in praying and hearing the scriptures read: If you meane the thirde, I shall haue occasion to speake more of it hereafter.

T. C. seeketh  
to deface the  
booke with-  
out reason.

But you say it dothe not so muche maynteyne an vnpreaching ministerie in that poynt, as for that it requireth nothing necessarily to be done by the minister, which a childe of ten yeres olde can not doe as well, and as lawfully, as that man wherewith the booke contenteth it selfe. It requireth of him (besides playne and distincte reading) the administration of the Sacramentes: and maye a childe of ten yeres olde doe that also: Who saith not, that you are of purpose set to deface the booke, though it be with chyldlike reasons: Bicause a chyld may reade the booke, dothe it therefore maynteyne an vnpreaching ministerie: you mighte as well saye, that bicause a chyld of ten yeres olde can reade the Wyble translated into Englishe, therefore the Wyble translated into Englishe maynteyneth an vnpreaching ministerie. This argument is a non causa.

Chap.



## Chap. 1. the. 15. Division.

T. C. Page. 104. Sect. 3.

Neyther can it be shifted in saying this is done for want of able men to be ministers, for it may be easily answered, that first the want of sufficient ministers ought to be no cause for men to breake the vncchaungeable lawes of God, whypch be, that none may be made minister of the Church, whypch can not teache, that none minister the sacraments, whypch doe not preache, for although it might be graunted (whypch thing I would not venter, no not when there are inough sufficient ministers) that they may appoynt some godly grane man, which can doe nothing else but reade, to be a reader in the Church, yet that may not be graunted that they may make of one that can do nothing but reade, a minister of the Gospel, or one which may haue power to minister the sacraments.

## Io. Whitgife.

There is that vncchaungeable lawe of God, that none may minister the sacraments which doe not preache: what Scripture or authoritie haue you for it? Chrysostome Hom. 3. 1. Cor. 1. vpon these words: *Non enim misit me Christus ut baptizarem.* &c. saythe thus: He sayth not, I was forbidden, but I am not sent to doe this, but to doe that which was more necessarie. *Euangelizare enim per paucorum est, baptizare autem cuiuslibet, modo fungatur sacerdotia:* for few can preach the Gospel, but euery man may baptize that is a priest.

Some may  
minister the  
sacraments  
which do not  
preache.  
Chrysost.

And Ambrose vpon the same words and chapter, sayth thus: *Non omnis qui baptizat idoneus est euangelizare, verba enim solennia sunt quae dicuntur in Baptismo.* &c. Euery one which baptizeth, is not apte to preache the Gospel, for the words that are spoken in baptisme are vsuall: to conclude, the Apostle Peter commaunded other to baptize Cornelius, neyther dyd he vouchsafe to doe it himselfe, other ministers beeing present, &c.

Ambrose.

Peter Martyr writing vpon the same words of the Apostle, sayth likewise: Therefore the office of baptizing was committed to euery one in the Church, but not the office of preaching. Neyther is it to be doubted but the Apostles themselues would haue baptized, if there had lacked other ministers. But seeing there was many who they might winne to the Gospel by preaching, they committed them to other to be baptized.

Peter Martyr.

So sayth M. Caluine also vpon the same words: Fewe there were to whome the office of preaching was committed, but to baptize was committed to many, &c.

Caluine.

Zuinglius in his booke de Baptismo, of this matter speaketh thus: The disciples administered the externall baptisme once, with doctrine and the spirite, for Christ taught, and they did baptize, as it appeareth Ioh. 4. And Paule sayde, Christ sente me not to baptize, but to preache: therefore some taught, and other some baptized.

Zuinglius.

Musculus also in his common places declareth, that In some Churches some were admitted to minister the Sacraments, that were not admitted to preache. And he dothe not disallowe that maner, but alloweth it.

Musculus in  
loc. com. de coe-  
na domini.

And M. Beza lib. conf. cap. 5. sayth: That it was the office of Pastors and Doctors generally to dispense the worde, and to pray, vnder the which also we comprehend the administration of sacraments, and the celebration of mariage, according to the continuall custome of the Church: although deacons in these things oftentimes supplied the office of pastors. And to proue this he quoteth. 1. Cor. 1. verse. 14. 15. &c. and Ioh. 4. verse. 2.

Beza.

So doe other learned men in like maner: who also bring for their purpose, that which is written. 1. Tim. 5. *Qui bene praesunt presbyteri.* &c. So that you may vnderstande that learned men be of this iudgement, that some may be admitted to administer the sacraments, which are not admitted to preache.

I knowe it to be true, that there may be some appoynted to reade in the Church, which be not admitted, eyther to preache, or to administer the Sacramentes. For so it was in the primitive Church, as it is to be seene in auncient stories and writers: But because you would haue nothing vsed in the Church, especially no office appoynted withoute a commaundement in the worde of GOD, I praye you tell where you haue eyther commaundemente or example for suche kinde of Readers: I doe but demaunde this that the Reader maye vnderstande what

libertie



libertie you chalenge vnto your selfe of allowing and disallowing what you list, and when you list, without that warrant of Gods worde, to the whiche you so straightly binde all other.

### Chap. 1. the. 16. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 104. Sect. 4.

Besides that, how can they say that it is for want of sufficient ministers, when as there be put out of the ministerie men that be able to serue God in that calling, and those put in their roomes, which are not able, when there are numbers also which are fit to serue, and neuer sought for, nor once required to take any ministerie vpon them? If therefore it were lawfull to pleade want of able ministers, for this home ministerie, which is altogether vnlawfull, yet would this plea neuer be good, vntill suche tyme as bothe those were restored whiche are put out, and all other soughte forth, and called vpon which are fitte for that purpose.

### Io. Whitgifte.

*Confes. Helu.* You know what was before alleaged out of the confession of the Churches of Helvetia, that the harmlesse simplicitie of some shepheards in the olde Church, did sometimes more profite the Church, than the great, exquisite, or fine, or delicate, but a little too proude learning of some others. A great sorte thinke too well of themselves, & be of nature vnquiet: suche of necessitie (if by no meanes they can be kept in order) must be remoued: for the Church may not for their sake be rent & torne in peces: neyther muste you that so wel allow of discipline, burden other men with it, & cast it off your selues. There is none in this Church of Englande remoued from his ministerie but vpon iust causes, and ministers must be subiect to lawes and orders.

*The ministerie hindered, & by whome.*

Those that be willing to come into the ministerie lacke no prouoking nor mouing therunto, if they be knowne: but it is you & your company which labour by all meanes possible to debaite men from the ministerie, perswading them that the calling is not ordinary and lawfull. And surely your meaning is to make this Church destitute of ministers, that it may of necessitie be driuen to admit your platforme and government. But you shall neuer be able to bring it to passe: the more you labour the more you are detected. And those wise men that seeke the truthe in sinceritie of conscience, will espie your purposes dayly more and more, and be moued to a iuste mistaking of them.

The restitution of those that be put out of the ministerie, I thinke is some obteyned, if they will submit themselves to the order of the Church, which they ought of dutie to doe, bothe the lawes of God, and man requiring the same.

### Chap. 1. the. 17. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 104. Sect. vlt.

Agayne it can not be sayd iustly, that they haue taken these reading ministers, vntill such tyme as better may be gotten, for if the Church could procure able ministers, & shoulde desire that they myght be ordeyned ouer them, they can not obteyne that, considering that these reading ministers haue a free holde, and an estate for terme of their lyues in those Churches, of the whiche they are suche ministers: so that by this meanes the sheepe are not onely committed to an Idoll shepheard, I might say a wolfe, and speake no otherwyse than Augustine speaketh, in that a not preaching minister hath entrance into the Church, but the doore also is shut vpon hym, and barred agaynst any able minister that might happily be founde out.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

And would you so gladly intrude your selues into some of their roomes: surely I beleue it, & it is not vnknewe but that some of you haue labored to do it: Well, I haue before tolde you the iudgement of the reformed Churches touching such ministers as be not able to preach, being other wise vertuous and godly. I haue also set downe the opinion of diuers learned and godly men, concerning ministers admitted to minister the



the sacramente, whiche notwithstanding can not preache. If any man vse him selfe in his ministerie leauidly, or otherwise than besemeth him, his estate for terme of lyfe is not so sure, but that he maye be dispossessed of the same. Otherwyle if he vse him selfe honestly, and as it becommeth him, though he haue not the gifte of preaching, (whiche notwithstanding is to be wysshed) God forbid that eyther you or any man else, shoulde seeke to displace him, that you might enioy the rōme your selues. And surely if the minister were but tenant at will, or of Courtesie (as you would seme to haue him) his state shoulde be mooste slauiſhe and miserable, and he and his family ready to goe a begging, when soeuer he displeaseth his parische.

If you had tolde me where Augustine speaketh that, I shoulde haue quickly let you vnderstand his meaning, but his bookes be many & large, the sentence you alleage shorte, and therefore it were to muche for me to searche it out. Moreover it importeth nothing nowe in question. But with what face can you floute and iest at me, for once or twice not quoting the chapter or lease: your selfe so often offending in quoting neyther chapter, lease, booke, nor some?

### Chap. 1. the. 18. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 105. Sect. 1.

There is a third fault which likewise appeareth almost in y<sup>e</sup> whole body of this seruice & Lyturgie of England, & that is, that the profite which might haue come by it vnto the people is not reaped, wherof the cause is, for that he whiche readeth is not in some place hearde, and in the mooste places not vnderstanded of the people, though the distance of place betweene the people and the minister, so that a great parte of the people can not of knowledge tell, whether he hath cursed them or blessed them, whether he hath read in Latine or in Englishe, all the whiche ysseth vpon the wordes of the booke of seruice, which are that the minister should stande in the accustomed place, for thereupon the minister in saying Morning and Euening prayer, spitteth in the Chauncel with his backe to the people, as though he had some secret talke with God whych the people might not heare. And hereupon it is likewise, that after Morning prayer, for saying another number of prayers he clymeth by to the further end of the Chauncel, & runneth as farre from the people as the wall wyl let hym, as though there were some variance betweene the people & the minister, or as though he were afrayde of some infection of plague, & in deede it renueth y<sup>e</sup> memoire of the Leuitical priest-hood, which dyd withdrawe him selfe from the people into the place called the holpest place, where he talked w<sup>th</sup> God, and offered for the sinns of the people.

### Io. Whitgiste.

This nothing toucheth the order or substance of the booke, and therefore no sufficient reason agaynst it, if it were true. But you herein deale as you haue done in other matters, that is, corruptly and vntruely. For you do not repute the wordes of the booke concerning this matter, as they be in deede: and it is wonderfull, and argueth great impudencie, that you are not ashamed, to repute vntruely in so publike a cause. The wordes of the booke be these: The Morning and Euening prayer shall be vsed in the accustomed place of the Church, Chappell or Chauncell, excepte it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinarie of the place. And you leauing out all the rest, say, that the wordes of the booke of seruice are, that the minister should stande in the accustomed place: as though it bounde him of necessitie to the Chauncell, which is nothing so. But you must be borne with, your errors and disorders can not otherwise be maynteyned, but by falsifying. I thinke there are but fewe Churches in Englande where the Bishopps haue not taken a very good order for the place of prayer, if any Bishop haue neglected it, the fault is in the Bishop, not in the booke.

But still I must desire the Reader to note the weightinesse of the reasons, where by you goe about to deface the booke of common prayer.

### Chap. 1. the. 19. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 105. Sect. 2.

Likewyse for marriage he commeth backe agayne into the body of the Church, and for baptism vnto the Church doore, what comelynesse, what decencie, what edifying is thys? Decencie



cie (I saye) in running and trudging from place to place: edifying, in standing in that place, and after that sorte, where he can worst be heard and understood. S. Luke sheweth that in the primitive Church bothe the prayers and preachings, and the whole exercise of religion was done otherwyse. For he sheweth howe S. Peter sitting amongst the rest, to the ende he myghte be the better heard, rose, and not that onely, but that he stode in the myddest of the people, that hys voyce myghte as muche as myghte be, come indifferently to all theyr eares, and so standing bothe prayed and preached. Nowe if it be sayde for the Chapters and Letanie, there is commaundement given that they should be read in the body of the Church, in dedde it is true, and thereof is easily perceived thys disorder which is in saying the rest of the prayers, partly in the hither end, & partly in the further end of the Chauncel: for seeing that those are read in the body of the Church, that the people may both heare & understand what is read, what should be the cause why the rest should be read further of. Unless it be, that eyther those thyngs are not to be heard of them, or at the least not so necessarie for them to be heard, as the other whych are recited in the body or myddest of the Church. And if it be further sayde, that the booke leaueth that to the discretion of the Ordinarie, and that he may reforme it, if there be any thyng amysse, then it is easily answered agayne, that besides that it is agaynst reason, that the commoditie and edifying of the Church should depende vpon the pleasure of one man, so that vpon hys eyther good or euill aduysse & discretion, it should be well or euill with the Church: Besydes thys (I saye) we see by experience of the disorders which are in many Churches and Dioceses in thys behalfe, howe that if it were lawfull to commit such authoritie vnto one man, yet that it is not safe so to doe, considering that they haue so euill quarten them selues in their charges, and that in a matter the unconuenience whereof is so easily scene, and so easily reformed, there is notwithstanding so great and so generall an abuse.

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

weighty reasons agaynst the booke.

These be passing weyghtie arguments to ouerthrowe the booke, and come from a deepe and profounde iudgemente: If I shoulde vse the lyke, you woulde wyppen them away with scoffing. The booke appoynteth, that the persons to be married shall come into the body of the Church with their friendes and neighbours there to be married: and what faulte can you finde in this? Is not the myddest of the Church the moste meete place for suche a matter? The booke speaketh neyther of the coming backe of the minister, nor his going forwarde, these be but your iesses: and yet muste he goe both backward and forward, if he wil eyther come into the Church, or go out of it. For baptism, the booke appoynteth no place, but bicause there is no iust cause knowne why the fonte should be remoued, therefore the minister dothe stande where that is placed, whiche is some where in one place, some where in another, for I know diuers places where it is in the myddest of the Church, some place where it is in the northernmost parte, I knowe no place where it standeth at the Church doore. And therefore in saying that for baptism the minister goeth to the Church doore, you doe but counterfeyte.

No man denieth but that bothe praying and preaching, &c. ought to be in that place where it may be best heard of all: and therefore the booke dothe prudently leane it to the discretion of the Bishop. But the myddest is not the fittest place for that purpose: He that standeth in the myddest of the Church hath some behynde him, some before him, and some of eche syde of him, those whiche be behynde, or on the sides, can not so well heare, as those that be before, as experience teacheth in Sermons at the Spittle, at the Crosse in Paules, and other places. Wherefore in my opinion that place in the Church is moste fittest, bothe for praying and preaching, where the minister may haue the people before him, except the Church be so great, and the people so many, that he cannot be heard of them, then there ought to be some regarde thereof.

S. Luke telleth what S. Peter dyd in the congregation, he dothe not prescribe any general rule: Every circumstance that is tolde in the scriptures, is not streight way to be made an inuolable rule of all men to be followed. The place is not material, so that it be suche as the people may well heare and understande that whiche is read and preached.

Concerning the lessons whiche are to be read, the booke prescribeth no place, only it willeth the minister to stande and to turne him so, as he may best be heard of all suche as be present. And are you offended at that? neyther doth the booke appoynt any certein place for the Letanie to be sayde in, and therefore you do but dally and trifle.

The



The Ordinarie is the meetest man to whose discretion those things should be left: both for his learning & wisdome, and also that there may be one unifoꝛme order in his diocesse: if any Ordinarie be carelesse in such matters, if you wil complaine of him, I am sure you shal be heard. But your delight & pleasure is to be gyꝛding at Bishops, though the cause be forged.

### Chap. 1. the. 20. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 105. Sect. 3.

And the ende of the order in the booke is to be obserued, which (\*) is to keepe the prayers in the accustomed place of the church, chappell, or chauncell, which howe maketh it to edification: And thus for the generall fautes committed either in the whole lyturgie, or in the most part of it, both that I may haue no neede to repeate the same in the particulars, and that I be not compelled alwayes to enter a new disputation, so oft as M. Doctor saith, very vnfaillfully & vnlike a diuine, (\*) whence so euer this or that come, so it be not euill, it may be well established in the Church of Christ.

(\*) Vntreue.

(\*) These be not my words.

### To Whitgiste.

What is the ende of the booke in that matter? why do you not expresse it? But you say it is to keepe the prayers in the accustomed places, &c. if this be the ende: why doth the booke admitte alteration? do you not see your selfe manifestly conuincid by the booke: I beleue, and I am well assured, that the ende is edification, whatsoeuer you imagine to the contrarie. And vndoubtedly you haue founde out maruellous weightie and wittie reasons agaynst the whole Lyturgie, or the moste parte of it: And the faults you haue noted be very many and exceeding great. But haue you no conscience in calling good euill: or are you not afrayde vpon so light quarels to make suche a schisme in the Church, and to bying so woꝛthy a booke into so great contempt? Well, you will one daye be better aduised, I doubt not: whiche truely I wishe for, and hope for, howe vncourtously so euer you haue vled me.

That which M. Doctor saith, so vnfaillfully and vnlike a diuine, he hath learned of better and moze skilfull diuines, than eyther of vs bothe be: that is, of Ambrose and of Caluine: for the one saith: *Omne verum a quocunq; dicitur a spiritu sancto est*: All truthe of whom soeuer it is spoken, is of the holy Ghost: the other, *Purus est multarū rerū vsus, quarū vitiosa est origo*. The vse of many thinges is pure, whole beginning is vicious and vnpure. But M. Doctors bare affirmation (if he had so vled it) is of as good credite, as your bare negation: But when he hath learned me of his opinion and Iudgement: for you thus to shift it of, is but to bewray your vnablenesse to disproue it, either by authoritie or reason. You should at the least haue made true repozte of my words, which you haue not done, but delt therein according to your accustomed manner, for my wordes be these. Fol. 82. It maketh no matter of whome it was inuented, in what booke it is conteyned, so that it be good and profitable, and consonant to Gods woꝛde: and you repozte them thus: whence soeuer this or that come, so it be not euill, it may be well established in the church of Christ. If you haue the truthe, why doe you thus goe about to maynteyne it with lyes? In so doing you hurt not me, but your selfe, and your cause.

Caluinus in q.  
Mat. vers. 37.

Pag. 82. sect. 3

¶ An examination of the particular fautes, eyther in matter or forme, wherwith the booke of common prayer is charged.

### Chap. 2. the. 1. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 105. Sect. 3.

Nowe I come to the forme of prayer whiche is prescribed, wherein the Authoꝛs of the Admonition declare that their meaning is not to disallowe of prescript seruike of prayer, but of thys fourme that we haue, (\*) for they expownde them selues in the additions vnto the first parte of the Admonition.

(\*) A proper excuse.

St. iiii.

To Whit.



*Jo. Whitgifte.*

In dede they haue retracted it in some poynt, which argueth they wiste their booke at the first with small aduise, and lesse discretion. It is no exposition but a retraction or recantation, for the places of Scripture which they quoted, and their very wordes declare that they ment the contrary, and so doth their practise in secrete conuenticles. But now you come to my Answere, wherein you take what you list, and leaue what you list as you haue hitherto done.

*Chap. 2. the 2. Diuision.**Admonition.*

The foureteenth. Then ministers were not so tied to any forme of prayers inuented by mā, but as the spirit (g) moued them, so they poured forth hartie supplications to the Lord. Now they are bound of necessitie to a(h) prescript order of seruice, and booke of common prayer.

Ansvereto the Admonition. Pag. 77. Sect. 3.

To proue that ministers were not so tied to any forme of prayer, inuented by man, but that as the spirite moued them, &c. you quote Rom. 8. & the 1. Timo. 1. In the eight to the Romaines the wordes be these: Likevvise also the spirite helpeth our infirmities, for vve knowe not vvhat to pray, as vve ought, but the spirite it self maketh request for vs, vvith fighes which cannot be expressed. This place speaketh nothing against any prescript forme of prayer, for then it should disallow the Lordes prayer, but it teacheth vs that it is the spirite of God that sturreth vs vp to pray, and maketh vs earnestly poure out our supplications vnto God. And thus the spirit worketh as well by prescript prayers as by prayers sodenly inuented. The wordes to Timothie Epist. 1. ca. 1. vers. 2. are far fetched, & nothing to the purpose: the wordes be these. Vnto Timothie my natural sonne in the fayth, grace mercie and peace from God our father, and from Christ Iesu our Lorde: what maketh these wordes against any prescript forme of prayers: peraduenture you would haue alleaged the 1. to Timo. 2. I exhort therefore that first of all, supplications, &c. which maketh directly agaynst you.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

Nothing answered to this.

*Chap. 2. the 3. Diuision.*

Ansvereto the Admonition. Pag. 78. Sect. 1.

If you meane by prayers inuented by man, such prayers as man inuenteth against the worde of God, as prayer for the dead, prayer vnto saincts, & such like, then it is true that you say. But if you mean such prayers as by godly men be framed according to the holy scriptures, whether they be for matters perteyning to the life to come, or to this life, then you shew your ignorance, for it is manifest, that there hath bene alwayes in the Church of Christ, a prescript forme of publike prayer, as it appeareth in Iustinus Martyr. Apol. 2. Pro Christianis, & other auncient fathers: neyther did euer any learned or godly man, or reformed Church finde faulte herevvith, or not greatly comende the same, except onely the secte of Anabaptistes.

Iustinus  
Martyr.

T. C. Pag. 105. Sect. vlt. & Pag. 106. Sect. 1.

It is not to any purpose, that M. Doctor setteth himself to proue that there may be a prescript order

g  
Rom. 8. 26  
1. Tim. 1. 2  
h  
Damasus  
the first in-  
uentor of  
this stuffe,  
vvell fur-  
thered by  
Gregory  
the seventh.



order of prayer by Iustine Martyres testimonie, which notwithstanding hath not one worde of prescript forme of prayers, only he sayth there were prayers, he sayth in dedde the auncient fathers say that there hath bene alwayes such kinde of prayers in the Churches, and although they do say so, yet all men may vnderstand easily, that M. Doctor speaketh this rather by coniecture, or that he hath hearde other men say so: for so much as that Doctor which he hath cholen out to speake for all the rest, hath no such thing as he fathereth on him. He sayeth that after they haue baptized, they pray for themselves, and for him that is baptized, and for all men that they may be meete to learne the truth, and so expresse it in their honest conuersation, and that they be founde to keepe the commandementes, that they may attayne to eternall life, but is this to say that there was a prescript forme of prayer, when he sheweth nothing els, but the chiefe poynts, vpon the which they conceiued their prayers: If you had alleaged this to moue what were the matters or principall poynts that the Primitive Church vsed to pray for, you had alleaged this to purpose, but to alleage it for a prooffe of a prescript forme of prayer, when there is not there mentioned so much as the essentiall forme of prayer (which is the asking of our petitions in the name and thorough the intercession of our Saviour Christ) without the which there is not, nor cannot be any prayer, argueth that epyther you little know what the forme of prayer is, or that you thought (as you charge the authoys of the Admonition so often) that this geare of yours should neuer haue come to the examination.

But for as much as we agree of a prescript forme of prayer to be vsed in the Church, let that go: this that I haue sayde is to shew that when M. Doctor happeneth of a good cause, which is very seldome in this booke, yet then he marreth it in the handling.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

I haue the lesse laboured in this point, bicause it is a thing so generally allowed of in all Churches, in all times, and so vnlearnedly impugned by the authoys of the Admonition.

Iustinus Martyr maketh much for my purpose, for in that he doth rehearse those chiefe poyntes of theyr prayers then vsed, it is manifest that they had a prescript order and forme of prayer, the which no man can denie that readeth the place. I graunt that these wordes prescript forme of prayer, are not there to be founde: Yet is there a prescript order and forme by him generally described: whereby it is more than probable, that at that tyme, there was vsed a prescript forme of prayer. In the 3. Councell of Carthage we finde this Canon: Let no man vse the formes of prayer which he hath framed to himselfe, without conference with brethren, that are better learned. Whereby it may evidently be gathered, that at that time there was a prescript forme of prayer vsed, and that it was not lawfull to vse any new forme of priuate prayers, except the same were allowed by the brethren. But for as much as in this poynt you consent with me, and graunt that there may be a prescript forme of prayer: I will omitt whatsoeuer I had purposed to haue sayde more in that matter: and so I will do also your taunts, respecting the matter, rather than Lucians Rhetorick.

Conc. Carth. 3.  
Can. 23.

*Chap. 2. the. 4. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 78. Sect. 2.3.

Damasus was a good Bishop & therfore no good thing by him appointed to be disallowed: but he did not first ordeyne a prescript forme of publike prayers, he onely added something therevnto. As Gloria patri, &c. to the end of euery psalme: And decreed that psalmes should be song aswell in the night time, as in the day time in euery Church, but they were song in the Church before, and as I haue sayde, there was a prescript forme of prayer in Iustinus Martyrs time, who was long before Damasus.

Damasus  
added Gloria  
Patri, &c.

Gregorie added the Letanie onely. I muse what you meane to write so manifest vntruthes.

Gregory  
made the Let  
anie.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Nothing answered to this.

Chap.



## Chap. 2. the. 5. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 79. Sect. 1.

Augustine.

You note not here (neither are you able) any prayer in the whole Communion booke, wherein there is any thing not agreeable to Gods worde, we may say as **S. Augustine** sayth in his 121. Epistle written *Ad Probam viduam. Etsi per omnia precationum sanctarum verba discurras quantum existimo nihil inuenies, quod non ista Dominica contineat & concludat oratio. Vnde liberum est alijs atq. alijs verbis, eadem tamen in orando dicere: sed non debet esse liberum alia dicere.* And if thou runnest thorough all the vvordes of the holy prayers. I suppose thou shalt finde nothing vvwhich the Lordes prayer doth not conteyne and comprehend: therefore vve may in other vvordes speake the same thinges in our prayers, but vve may not speake contrarie thinges.

T. C. Pag. 106. Sect. 1. 2.

After he affirmeth, that there can be nothing shewed in the whole booke which is not agreeable to the worde of God.

I am very loth to enter into this fielde, albeit **M. Doctor** doth thus prouoke me, both because the Papistes will lightly take occasion of euill speaking, when they vnderstande that we do not agree amongst our selues in euery poynt, as for that some fewe professours of the Gospel being priuate men, boldened vpon such treatises, take such wayes sometimes, and breake forth into such speeches, as are not meete, nor conuenient.

## Io. Whitgifte.

A sparing restraint.

In so saying I do fullie agree with such as haue learnedly and truly written agaynst the common aduersaries of this Booke: among whom there is one that wrote a Booke Entituled: A sparing restraint of many lauish vnttruthes, which **M. Doctor Harding** doth challenge in the first Article of my Lorde of Sarisburies Replye. The Autho: of that booke writeth thus. O **M. Harding** turne agayne your writings, examine your authorities, consider your Councils, applie your examples, looke if any line be blameable in our seruice, and take holde of your aduantage. I thinke **M. Iewell** will accept it for an Article. And a little after: Our seruice is good and godly, euery title grounded on holy Scriptures, and with what face do you call it darkenesse? This was his opinion then of our seruice. And it both was then, and is now my full perswasion: and I will (God willing) performe that against you, which he offered in **M. Iewell** his name agaynst **Harding**.

The Replier his wordes contrary to his deedes.

Your lothnesse to enter into this fielde, is but dissembled: your continuall barking agaynst the state and forme of this Church of England, doth conuince you of the contrarie. Neyther haue you any respect or regarde for giuing occasion of euill speech to the Papistes, much lesse of prouoking your adherentes to vnduetifull speeches (as you pretend) your booke tending wholly to the contrary.

## Chap. 2. the. 6. Division.

T. C. Pag. 106. Sect. 3.

Notwithstanding my dutie of defending the truth, & lone which I haue first towards God, and then towards my countrie, constraineth me being thus prouoked to speake a few wordes more particularly of the forme of prayer, that when the blemishes thereof do appeare, it may please the **Queenes maiestie** & hir honorable counsell, with those of the Parliament, whom the **Lorde** hath vsed as singular instrumentes to deliuer this realme from the hote fornaice and pson poke of the popish & gypse, to procure also, that the corruptions which we haue brought from them (as those with which we being so deeply died and stayned, haue not so easly shaken of) may be remoued from amongst vs, to the ende that we being neerer both ioyned vnto the sinceritie of the gospel, and the policie of other reformed Churches, may thereby be ioyned nearer with the **Lorde**, and may be sette so farre from Rome, that both we may comfort our selues in the hope, that we shall neuer retorne thither againe, and our aduersaries which desire it, and by this to much agreement with them, and so little with the reformed Churches, hope for it, may not onely be deceyued of their expectation, but also being out of all hope, of that which they desire, may the sooner yeelde themselves vnto the truth, whereunto they are now disobedient.

Io. Whitgifte.



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

What dotie can there be in defacing a knowne and receaued truth: what loue, in flandering your countrie vniustly, and renting it in pieces with sedes and schismes, and prouoking the subiectes to haue mislikyng of their Magistrates, and such as be placed in authoritie ouer them: these be but clokes to couer an euill and vngodly purpose. If you shall be able to shewe any suche blemishes in the booke of Common prayers, they shall not be couered for me: but if not, than are you not a man to be credited.

I haue tolde you M. Caluines, and M. Guakers opinion, touching the ambitious *Supra Cap. 7. the 13. Diuision.* moztie of such, as would haue all Churches framed, after the example of some one: and nowe I tell you agayne, that there is no cause why this Church of Englande, eyther for truth of doctrine, sinceritie of publike diuine seruice, and other pollicie should giue place to any church in Christendome: and sure I am, that we are as nere ioyned with the Lorde our God, as the members are to the bodie, and the bodie to the head.

Our aduerfaries haue no such hope vpon any suche occasion as you pretende: if *The aduerfaries hope is in contention.* their hope be any, it is especially in your contentions.

Wherein do we agree with the Papistes, or wherein do we dissent from the reformed Churches: with these we haue all poynts of doctrine and substance common: from the other we dissent, in the most parte both of doctrine and ceremonies. From what spirite come these bolde and vnttrue speeches:

*Chap. 2. the. 7. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 106. Sect. 4.

And as for the Papistes triumphe in this case, I shall not greatly neede to feare it, considering that their discordes and contentions are greater, and that our stryfe is because we woulde be farther from them. For the other that professe the Gospell, I will desire in the name of God, that they abuse not my labour to other ende, than I bestowe it, and that they keepe themselves in their callinges, committe the matter by prayer vnto the Lorde, leauing to the ministers of the worde of God, and to the magistrates that which apperteyneth vnto them.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

It is true of the Papistes: but they deale in their controuersies more circumspectly and warely, though they dissent in matters of farre greater importtaunce, and in the chiefe poyntes of their owne Religion.

To the professours of the Gospell you giue better Councell than you haue taken your selfe: and you shewe an example contrary to your wordes: and therefore hold shall they beleue you. But now to the matter: for hitherto you haue vttered nothing but wordes.

*Chap. 2. the. 8. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 106. Sect. vlt.

To come therfore to touche this matter. I answere that there is fault in the matter, and fault in the forme. In the matter, for that there are things there, that ought not to be, and things there are wanting in the order that should be. Of the firste sorte is, that we may euermore be defended from all aduersitie.

The collect of Trinitie Sunday.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The first fault that you finde in the matter of prayer, is a portion of the Collect of Trinitie Sunday, wherein we pray, That we may euermore be defended from all aduersitie: And is this the matter you mislike: let vs then consider your reason.

*Chap. 2. the. 9. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 107. Sect. 1.

Nowe for as much, as there is no promise in the scripture, that we should be free from all aduersitie, and that euermore, it seemeth that this prayer might haue bene better conceived, being no prayer



prayer of faith, of the which we can assure our selves that we shall obteyne it. For if it be sayd, that by the worde (aduersitie) is meante all euill, we knowe that it hath no such signification neyther in this tongue of oures, neyther in other tongues which vse the same worde in common with vs, but that it signifieth trouble, vexation, and calamitie, from all the which we may not desire alwayes to be deliuered. And whatsoeuer can be alleaged for the defense of it, yet every one that is not contentious, may see that it needeth some caution or exception.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I thinke no man will contende with you for the signification of this worde aduersitie: for it properly signifieth all affliction or trouble that pertaineth eyther to the body, or to the minde. And it is *species mali*, a kinde of euill, for *Malum* both conteyne not onely vice and sinne, but aduersitie also and affliction.

The argu-  
ment refuted.

But to come to your reason: you say, there is no promise in Scripture that we should be free from all aduersitie: and therefore we may not pray to be free from all aduersitie. If this be a good argument then will I also reason thus: there is no promise in Scripture that we should be free from all sinne: therefore we may not pray that we should be free from all sinne. There is no promise in Scripture, that we should be free from persecution but the contrarie rather, and therefore we may not pray agaynst persecution. Like wise there is no promise that we shall be alwayes deliuered from poertie, and from diuers other particular euils. To be shorte, if this rule and reason be good, then muste we pray for nothing, except first we searche in the Scriptures, whether there be any promise for the same or no.

Our prayers  
and sayth are  
grounded vpon  
promises.

Iohn. 14.

Iohn. 16.

A condition  
annexed to pe-  
titions for ex-  
ternal things.

But you and all Christians ought to vnderstand, that our prayers and faith annexed to them, are grounded vpon these promises. VVhatsoeuer you aske in my name, that will I do. And agayne: If you aske any thing in my name, I will do it. Iohn. 14. And in the 16. chap. Verily verily, I say vnto you, whatsoeuer you shall aske my father in my name, he will give it you. Vpon these promises is both our sayth and prayers grounded. But for because in asking of external things, we be incertayne whether they be profitable for vs or no, therefore we aske them with a condition (which although it be not expessed, yet it is alwayes vnderstande) if it be Gods will: being certaynely perswaded, that if those things we aske be profitable for vs, we shall obteyne them for his promise sake. And for as much as all good things come of God, whether they pertaine to the body, or to the soule, and at all times to be deliuered from aduersitie is one of his singular benefites, we may no doubt begge the same at his handes, referring not withstanding the graunting of it to him, who knoweth what is better for vs than we do our selves. If you will spoyle vs of this libertie in praying, you shall not onely bring prayer into a narrowe roome, but depprue vs of one of the greatest and most singular consolations, that a Christian man can haue in this worlde. We cannot assure our selves that we shall obteyne any external benefites by prayer at Gods handes: because we know not whether that which we aske be profitable for vs or no: and yet God forbidde, that we should cease from praying euen for such things. Dauid being put out of his kingdome by his Sonne Absolon, was not assured that he should be restored agayne, and yet he prayd for it, with this condition, if it pleased God. Christe himselfe prayed to haue the cuppe of his passion remoued from him, which undoubtedly he knew before would not be graunted vnto him. Many examples there be in the Psalmes, of prayers made for external things, of the obteynning whereof the Prophete could not assure himselfe. Well sayth S. Augustine, VVhen thou dost aske of God health of the body, if he knowe it be profitable for thee, he will give it vnto thee: if he give it not, then it is not profitable for thee to haue it. Therefore we may lawfully aske any external benefite at Gods hande, because he hath willed vs so to do: and the same petition or prayer, is a prayer of sayth, because it hath a promise in the Scripture to grounde vpon, which is, VVhatsoeuer you shall aske my father in my name, &c. and such like. But the successe of our prayer we must committe to him of whom we aske, as Dauid did.

2. Samuel. 15.

Matth. 26.

Augustine.

Iohn. 16.

And why should this manner of speaking seeme so strange vnto you, do we not  
reade



reade in the. 91. Psalm, that a promise is made to those that loue God in this manner. There shall no euil come vnto thee, neyther shall any plague come nigh vnto thy dwelling. Is not this as much as though he should haue sayd, thou shalt euer be defended from all aduersitie: for as learned interpreters saie, *dictione mali omnis generis afflictiones, miseriae, & arummas complectitur*, The Psalmist in that place by this word euil, doth comprehend all kinde of afflictions, miseries and calamities: so that you haue here the very wordes expessed, that you finde faulte with in the prayer used on Trinitie Sunday. Wherefore they may still remayne without any caution or exception. And I woulde to God, you were as farre from contention as those be that thinke so.

I might here adde and saye, that we are deliuered from all aduersitie after two sortes, that is, bodily and spiritually: Bodily, when we are not temporally and externally afflicted with them. Spiritually, when we are not overcome by them, or caused to decline from God, or to mistruste in his mercies. What we may praye to be deliuered from all aduersitie, in the first signification, I haue proued: that we ought so to do in the latter signification, there is no Christian man that doubteth.

Psalm. 91.

Deliverance from aduersitie of two sortes.

## Chap. 2. the. 10. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 107. Sect. 2.

In the collect vpon the twelfth Sunday after Trinitie Sunday, and likewise in one of those which are to be sayde after the offertorie (as it is termed) is done, request is made, that God would giue those things, which we for our vnworthynesse dare not aske: for it carrieth with it still the note of the popples seruile feare, and sauoureth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie, that the chyldren of God haue through Christ, with the heavenly father, for as we dare not without our sauour Christe aske so much as a crumme of bread, so there is nothyng which in his name we dare not aske, being needfull for vs, and if it be not needfull why should we aske it?

## Io. Whitgiste.

I praye you whether doth the prayer of the Pharisee, that so extolled himselfe, or of the Publicane that so humbled himselfe like you better: bylike you preferre the Pharisees prayer, else would you neuer fynde faulte with vs, for acknowledging our owne vnworthynesse, which is the roote and ground of humilitie, one of the principal ornaments of prayer. We are not worthy of the least benefite that God bestoweth vpon vs: And therefore dutie requireth that we should not for desert desyre any thing at his handes: and humilitie sayeth, that in desiring we ought to acknowledge our owne vnworthynesse. If a man be desyrous to obteyne any thing at his father or frendes hande, of whome he hath receyued many things, and not recompenced the least, is not this a meete kynde of speache for him to vse: there is something necessary for me to haue, but I dare not aske it at your handes for my vnworthynesse, who haue receyued so much already without any kynde of recompence: surely this is both the next waye for hym to obteyne that which he desyreth, and a good token not of seruile feare, but of true humilitie, and of that due reuerence that a good childe oweth to a moste naturall and louing father. The Publicane durst not come nigh, nor lifte vp his eyes: so did he acknowledge his vnworthynesse, such was his humilitie. And yet you knowe what Christe did pronounce of hym, and what generall rule he groundeth vpon that example, *every one that exalteth himselfe shall be brought lowe.* &c. You knowe also what the prodigall sonne sayde to his owne father after his father hadde embraced hym, and receyued hym into mercy. *Neque posthac sum dignus qui vocer filius tuus.* And I am no more worthy to be called thy sonne.

Humilitie in prayer. Luc. 18.

Luc. 18.

Luc. 19.

God forbids that we should so presume of our selues, that we should shut humilitie, and the acknowledging of our owne vnworthynesse, from saythfull and heartye prayer. In that therefore we saye (for our owne vnworthynesse we dare not aske it) we both aske it, and yet with all humilitie acknowledge our owne vnworthynesse: which

¶

¶



if it be spoken unfainedlye, cannot be but greatly accepted of God. And surely this kinde of begging is moſte effectuall and it is vſed towardeſe thoſe to whom we thinke our ſelues moſt bounde, and whome (for their benefites beſtowed vpon vs) we loue moſt derely. Neither doth this kinde of prayer ſauioure of miſtruſte, but rather of greate confidence, in the mercy of God, at whoſe handes we craue thoſe things, which we are of our ſelues vntwoorthy to aſke, or receiue.

### Chap. 2. the .11. Diuiſion.

#### Admonition.

They praye that they may be deliuered from thundring and tempeſt when no daunger is nigh: that they ſing, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis and Magnificat, we knowe not to what purpoſe, except ſome of them were ready to die, or except they would celebrate the memorie of the Virgin, & Iohn Baptiſt, &c. Thus they prophane the holy ſcripture.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 202. Sect. 4.

Prayer to be  
deliuered from  
thunder, good.

Magnificat &  
Nunc dimittis  
&c.

You miſlike alſo that we ſhould praye to be deliuered from thundring and tempeſt, when there is no daunger nigh. You brooch many ſtraunge opinions, may not we praye to be deliuered from perilles and daungers, except they be preſent, and knowne to be at hande? where finde you that Chriſt teacheth vs to ſaye in our daily prayer *libera nos a malo*, deliuer vs from euil: VVhat knowe we when there is any daunger of thundring and lightning: haue we not examples of diuers that haue ſodainly periſhed vvith the ſame? Is it not therefore neceſſary to praye for deliuerance from thunder and lightning, as wel as from other daungers, though they be not preſent? well, men may ſee whereto this geare tendeth, if they be not blinde. *Benedictus* alſo, *Nunc dimittis* and *Magnificat*, be great moſes in your eyes, but you ſhewe no reaſon woorthy to be answered: only in deriſion you ſaye, except ſome of them were ready to die, or would celebrate the memorie of the Virgine, or Iohn Baptiſt. Als though theſe Hymnes or Pſalmes were not profitable for all men, as the reſte of the holy ſcripture is, but theſe eſpecially, becauſe they containe the miſterie of our ſaluation, and the praiſe of God for the ſame. By this your reaſon we may not vſe any of the Pſalmes, vntill we be in lyke caſe as Dauid was, or other, when they were firſt made. But I thinke now the time is come, when thoſe ſhall correcte *Magnificat*, *Qui neſciunt quid ſignificat*. Truly this your doing is a mere prophanation of holy ſcriptures.

T. C. Pag. 107. Sect. 2.

And if all the prayers were gathered together, and referred to theſe two heades of Goddes glorie, and of the thyngs which pertaine to this preſent lyfe, I can make no Geometrical and exacte meaſure, but verily I beleue, there ſhal be founde more than a thyrde parte of the prayers which are not Pſalmes and textes of ſcripture, ſpent in praying for, and praying againſt the incommo- dities of this lyfe, which is contrarie to all the argumentes or contentes of the prayers of the church which are ſet downe in the ſcripture, and eſpecially of our ſauour Chriſtes prayers, by the which ours ought to be directed, which of ſeuen petitions beſtoweth one onely that wayes: And that theſe ſorowful prayers doe not onely in generall wordes, but by deductyng the commodities and in- commodities of this lyfe into theyr particular kyndes, & that we praye for the auoyding of thoſe daungers which are nothing neare vs, as from lightning and thundring in the myddes of ſumpter, from ſtorme & tempeſt, when the weather is moſt faire, and the ſea moſt calme, &c. It is true that vpon ſome bygent calamities prayer may and ought to be framed, which may begge eſther the com- moditie,



modities, for want whereof the church is in distresse, or the turning away of that mischief, whicher epyther approacheth, or which is already upon it, but to make those prayers which are for the present tyme and daunger, ordinary and daily prayers, I cannot hitherto see any either scripture or example of the primitive church. And here for the synples sake, I will set downe after what sort this abuse crept into the church.

### To Whitgife.

I thinke you doe confesse and acknowledge that it is lawefull to praye for things whiche pertaine to this present lyfe: if you should denie it, I coulde confute you by the prayer that Iacob made to be deliuered from the handes of his brother Esau, Ge. 32. and by sundrye of the Psalmes, and diuers examples in the Gospell, of such as craued the like thinges at Christes handes, and obtained their desyre: howe many such prayers be in the booke of common prayer, it skilleth not, so long as you cannot proue them to be other than godly and necessarie.

If in euery prayer we make some petition for temporall thinges, we doe but imitate and followe that prayer which Christe hath prescribed vnto vs, both as a moste necessarie prayer, and as a rule also to frame and forme all our prayers by. You might as well proue that we ought not so often to aske remission and forgiveness of our synnes, because of seuen petitions, there is but one onely bestowed that waye. Howe farre therefore this reason is from godlynesse and reason, the godly and reasonable Reader may iudge.

All thinges we praye for tende to the glorie of God, who is the author and giuer of all thinges, both eternall and temporall. Things that are to be prayed for, are of two sortes, the one temporall, the other eternall: but they both pertaine to the glorie of God though not equally and in lyke manner.

The wyse man sayeth, in the dayes of prosperitie thinke of aduersitie. ec. Christe Math. 24. forewarning his disciples of the external afflictions and euils, which should happen aswell before the destruction of Ierusalem, as the ende of the worlde, willeth them to praye before the daunger be present, saying: Praye that your flight bee not in wynter, nor vpon the sabbath, and will you not haue vs to praye for deliuerances from such perilles and dangers whereunto we be subiect, except they be present: Shall we not praye to be deliuered from thundering & lightening, storme and tempest, plague and pestilence and such like, except we be in manifest perill and daunger, these thinges being in Gods handes to punish vs with, euen in a moment, and when we thinke it moste vnlike: haue we not sundrye examples of such as haue suddenly perished with thundering and lightening, and some sithence the publishing of your booke: what scripture haue you or authoritie of any learned man to the contrarie: wylt you be credited by your bare worde against so many graue, learned, wyse and godly men, that had the penning and alloweing of that booke: surely that were against all order and reason: and it is to great presumption for you with so light and slender reasons to go aboute the overthrowe of that, which so many godly and learned men haue both liked and allowed, except they had allowed that which the scriptures do disallowe.

### Chap. 2. the 12. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 107. Sect. 3.

There was one Mamereus bishop of Vienna, which in the tyme of great earthquakes which were in Fraunce, instituted certayne supplications, which the Grecians and we of them, call the Letany, whiche concerned that matter, there is no doubt but as other discommodities rose in other countries, they lykwys had prayers accordingly. Howe pope Gregorie either made hymselfe, or gathered the supplications that were made against the calamities of euery countrey, and made of them a great Letany or supplication, as Platina calleth it, & gaue it to be vsed in all churches, which thynge albeit all churches might do for the tyme, in respect of the case of the calamitie which the churches suffered, yet there is no cause why it should be perpetuall, that was ordeyned but for a tyme, and why all landes should praye to be deliuered from the incommodities that some lande hath bin troubled with.

It. ij.

Is. v.

All things to be prayed for tende to the glorie of God.

Prayers be for daunger. Eccl. 11.

Math. 24.

The presumption of the Replier.



*To Whitgiste.*

As though we were not at all times subject to these perilles and dangers: and as though we ought not by the calamitie of other nations, to be moued earnestly to pray against the like, which might also happen to vs.

It is not to be doubted, but that the prayer of the iuste is acceptable to God, and that of his mercy he beyng thereby moued, both stay from plaguing vs with earthquakes, thundring and lightenyng and such like calamities, wherewith he would otherwise punish vs.

The reason  
bled agaynst  
the Letanie is  
of the same  
force agaynst  
the psalmes.

Truly your reasons be maruelous prophane, and they might as well be alleaged, agaynst any of the psalmes, which all were made at the first vpon some speciall occasion, and yet are profitable for ever, in all states of the Church to be used. Whatsoeuer god and godly prayer, in the time of any common miserie and calamitie hath bene inuented, the same is at other times profitable to be used in the Church, bycause the like punishments and plagues, are in Gods handes, at all times to execute vpon sinners, and therefore continually to be prayed agaynst.

*Chap. 2. the. 13. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 107. Sect. 4.

A weak  
reason.

The lyke may be sayde of the Gloria patri, and the Athanasius Creede, it was first brought into the Church, to the ende that men thereby should make an open profession in the Church of the diuinitie of the Sonne of God, agaynst the detestable opinion of Arius and his Disciples, who at that tyme maruelously swarmed almost the whole Christendome. (\*) now that it hath pleased the Lorde, to quench that fyre, there is no such cause why these thynges shoulde be in the Church, at the least why that Gloria patri, shoulde be so often repeated.

*To Whitgiste.*

The manife-  
station and  
maintenance  
of truth as  
necessary as  
the suppressio  
of errors.  
Gloria patri.

Athanasius  
Creede.

Even as conuenient now as it was then: for it is as necessarie to mainteyne truth, and make it knowne, as it is to suppress errors: and yet it is not vnknowne, that even in our dayes, and in this Church there haue bene Arians, and I pray God there be none still. I much suspect the matter, not well vnderstanding wherunto those glances of yours at Gloria patri, and Athanasius Creede do tende. Gloria patri, besides that it conteyneth a brieue confession of the Trinitie, and of the Diuinitie of Jesus Christe, it is a magnifying and glorifying of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, three persons and one God: and Athanasius creede, is not onely an excellent confutation of Arius heresie, but a playne declaration of the mysterie of the Trinitie, such as is necessary for all Christian men to learne and know: and therefore he that is offended with the ofte repetition or saying of eyther of them, I cannot tell what I should iudge of him. But vndoubtedly there is greate cause why I should suspect him at the leaste of singularitie and vnguietnesse. Shall we not oftentimes rehearse the Articles of our beleefe in God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoste, bycause all menne be now perswaded therein, and none knowne that maketh any doubte: the reason is all one, and preuaileth as well agaynst the repeating of this, as of the other. I thinke your meaning is, that we know to muche, and therefore now we must learne to forget.

Tell your authoritie is little, and your reasons much lesse, and therefore they are lyke to stande in *Statu quo*: and this is mosse sure, that harme they do none, but much good, bycause a good thing cannot be so ofte sayde or hearde.

*Chap. 2. the. 14. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 107. Sect. vlr.

Whereouer to make Benedicite, Magnificat, and Nunc dimittis, ordinarie and dayly prayers, secretly



seemeth to be a thing not so convenient, considering that they do no more concerne vs, than all other scriptures do, and than doth the Ave Maria, as they called it. For although they were prayers of thankes giuing in Simeon, Zacharie, and the blessed virgin Mary, yet can they not be so in vs, which haue not receiued like benefites, they may be added to the number of Psalmes, and so sung as they be, but to make dayly and ordinary prayers of them, is not without some inconuenience & disorder.

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

Here is no reason shewed, nor any thing answered to that I haue alleadged to proue the contrarie. Your obiection of the Ave Maria is bayne, for it pertaineth to the virgin onely, and is spoken to her person. But if it were not so: what kinde of reasoning call you this? The Church doth not vse daylie in publike prayer to saye Ave Maria, Ergo it may not saye Benedictus, Magnificat or Nunc dimittis, these three are moste meetest for vs, for they containe (as I haue sayde in my Answer) the misterie of our saluation and the praise of God for the same, and therefore cannot be to often either sayde or song.

### *Chap. 2. the. 15. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 108. Sect. 2.

And so haue I (\*) answered vnto those thinges, whiche are conteyned in the. 102. 103. pages, sauing that I must admonithe the reader, that whereas you will proue that we oughte to haue an ordinary prayer, to be deliuered from daunger of Thunder, Lightninges, &c. because there are examples of certayne that haue bene kylled thereby, you might as well bring in a prayer, that men maye not haue failes from their horses, maye not fall into the handes of robbers, maye not fall into waters, and a number such more sodayne deathes, wherewith a greater number are taken awaye, than by thundering or lightninges, and such lyke, and so there should be neuer any ende of begging these earthly commodities, which is contrary to the forme of prayer, appoynted by our Saviour Christe.

(\*) Very slender lye: and if you had sayd lesse of them, you had said nothing at all.

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

The punishment of God by thundering and lightening, is more notorious and terrible, not by any helpe of man to be repelled: where as the other thinges that you speake of, come oftentymes and moste commonly through negligence, wylfulnes, unrulines, to much boldnes, indiscretenes of the parties themselves: besydes this there are ordinary meanes to auoyde them, and yet I thinke it moste convenient, that we should praye against those euilles, and so doth the Church daylie in the laste collect, vled in the morning prayer: which thing also is most consonant to the Lordes prayer, petitions to the lyke ende and purpose, being there expressed.

### *Chap. 2. the. 16. Diuision.*

T. C. Page 108. Sect. 2.

And whereas you alledge the petition of the Lordes prayer (deliuer vs from euill) to proue this prayer against thunder, &c. besydes that, all the commodities and discommodities of this lyfe are prayed for, and prayed against in that petition, whereby we desyre our dayly bread, it is very strange to apply that to the thunder, that is vnderstanded of the Deuill, as the article & πδ τς πονηρας doth declare, and it is a marueylous conclusion that for so much, as we ought daylie and ordinarily, and publicly desyre to be deliuered from the Deuill, Ergo we ought dayly, & ordinarily, & publicly desyre to be deliuered from thunder: it is one thing to correct Magnificat, and an other thing to shewe the abuse of it. And therefore I see no cause why you should vse this allusion betwene Magnificat and significat, vnles it be for that you putposing to set out all your learning in this booke, would not so much as forget an olde rotten prouerbe, which trotted amongst the monkes in their cloysters, of whome I may iustly saye which Tully sayd in an other thing, Nec quicquam ingenium potest monasterium: that is, the cloyster coulde neuer bring forth any wittie thing, for here although there bee Rhythmus, yet it is sine ratione.

Time without reason.

### *Io. V Whitgift.*

All men may see that you hunt for contention and strife, and not for the truth, otherwise you would be more vpright and sincere in your dealing. The effect of my Answer to the Admonition is, that for asmuch as this worde *malum* in the last petition of the Lordes prayer, doth conteyne all kinde of euill, whether it pertaine to

The interpretation of the last petition.

Act. 11.

the



the body or to the minde, therefore all such prayers as are for our deliuerance, from externall perilles and daungers, being grounded vpon that petition, are lawfull, whether they be daylie vsed or otherwise, in whiche sorte and kinde those prayers are, wherein we desire to be deliuered from thundring and lightning, the daungers thereof being so frequente, and so terrible.

Cyprian.

And whereas you say, that the worde *Euill*, doth there signifie the *Diuell*, & therefore not aduersitie, & externall euill that happeneth to the bodie, you shall vnderstand your error, by the expositions both of the olde and new wynters. Cyprian in his exposition vpon the *Lordes prayer* interpreting these wordes sayeth thus. In the last place we put. But deliuer vs from euill: comprehending all kinde of aduersities, vvhich the enemie vvorketh agaynst vs in this vvorlde. And a litle after: But when we say, deliuer vs from euill, there remayneth nothing which ought further to be desired, seying we pray at once for the protection of God agaynst euill, which being obeyned, we stande secure and safe, against all thinges which the worlde and Deuill worketh.

Augustinus.

Augustine likewise in his *Epistle ad Probam viduam* in number. 121. and *Cap. 11. ex* poundeth the same wordes in like sorte. VVhen we say deliuer vs from euill: we admonish to consider that we are not as yet in that good (estate) where we shall suffer no euill: and this which is last placed in the *Lordes prayer*, is extended so farre, and so playnely, that a Christian man moued with any kinde of tribulation, may in this petition sigh, in this shedde his teares, beginne herein, continue herein, and end his prayer herein.

Bucer.

M. Bucer expounding the same wordes in his *Commentaries vpo the 6. of Spawthetw*, sayth, Satan is therefore called a tempter, because he doth tempte and exercise vs: especially labouring for this, that he may withdrawe vs from a right sayth in God: but if he cannot bring that to passe (such is his hatred) then he doth reioyce in afflicting and molesting vs, with externall euils, as we reade that he hath done against Iob and other holy men. And a litle after: VVherefore for asmuch as Satan is (as it were our tormenter, by whose ministerie God doth also outwardly exercise vs) in this respect, the prayer, to be deliuered from bodily euils, is included in this last petition. In like manner doth Musculus expounde the same: and do you thinke that these men did not vnderstand their *Pater noster*? You see therefore that although the worde signifie the *Diuell*, yet it nothing hindzeth my interpretation, but maketh much for it, because the *Diuell* is the Author of all euill, that cometh either to the body or to the soule, and therefore being deliuered from him, there is no cause why we should be any longer carefull.

There is no abuse of *Magnificat* as yet shewed, but there is a very vnlearned reason in the *Admonition* put, why it should not be vsed, to the *Answer* whereof you haue not replied, and therefore I may iustly say of their correcting of *Magnificat*, that which I haue sayde: and the *Proverbe* is meete for such vnskillfull persons: but your childish or rather prophane iestes and scoffes be not seeming for a *Diuine*, and him that would be counted so greatly learned and mortified.

### Chap. 2. the 17. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 108. Sect. 3.

Great faulces in little matters.

As these are diuers things more than ought to be conveniently, so want there some things in the prayers: there are prayers set forth to be sayd in the common calamities, & vniuersall scourges of the realme, as plague, famine, &c. And in dedde so it ought to be, by the worde of God, ioynd with a publike faste commaunded, not only when we are in any calamitie, but also when any the churches rounde about vs, or in any countrie receiue any generall plague, or grieuous chastisement at the *Lordes hand*. But as such prayers are needfull whereby we begge releafe from our distresses, so there ought to be as necessarily prayers of thanks giuing, when we haue receyued those things, at the *Lordes hande*, which wee asked in our prayers. And thus much touching the matter of the prayers, epther not altogether sounde, or else to much or to little.

### Io. Whitgifte.

If any thing lacke in the booke, that derogateth nothing from that which is good & godly in the same: neyther is it any cause why any man should depaue it or make such a stirre and schisme in the Church for it.

It is



It is meete that we should as well giue thanks for the benefites receyued, as to pray for the receyuing of them: neyther is the booke voyde of any suche kinde of prayers. These be but verie small quarels agaynst the booke, and slender faultes (if they were faults) to make so great a schisme for. But as I sayde with S. Augustine, *August. Epist. 124.* agaynst the Authours of the Admonition, so say I vnto you. If thou runnest through all the wordes of the holy prayers, I suppose thou shalt finde nothing which the Lordes prayer doth not conteyne: therefore we may in other wordes speake the same things in our prayers, but we may not speake contrarie things. You haue not as yet, neyther will you euer be able to shewe one lyne in any prayer conteyned in that booke, to be contrarie to the worde of God, or not consonant or agreeable vnto the same. And this dealing of yours agaynst it vpon so weake reasons (or rather none at all) argueth that you seeke only contention, and that your chiefe quarell is at the mainteyners of the booke, and not at the matter.

## Chap. 2. the. 18. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 108. Sect. 4.

Concerning the forme, there is also to be misliked: a great cause whereof is the following of the forme vled in Poperie, agaynst which I haue before spoken. For whylest that seruice was set in many poynts as a patterne of this, it cometh to passe, that in steade of such prayers as the primitive Churches haue vled, and those that be reformed nowe vse, we haue diuerse (a) short cuttes & shreddings, which may be better called wishes than prayers. And that no man think that this is some ydle fanisie, and that it is no matter of weight what forme of prayer we vse, so that the prayers be good, it must be vnderstanded, that as it is not sufficient to preach the same doctrine which our Saviour Christ and his Apostles haue preached, (b) vntlesse the same forme of doctrine, and of teaching be likewise kept: so is it not ynough that the matter of our prayer be such as is in the word of God, vntlesse that the forme also be agreeable vnto the formes of prayers in the scripture. Howe we haue no such formes in the scripture as that we shoulde pray in two or (c) three lynes, and then after hauing read a while some other thing come and pray as much more, and so to the .xx. and .xxx. time, with pawses betweene.

(a) These are vn-  
seemely termes  
for Godly pray-  
ers, be they ne-  
uer so short.  
(b) Where learn  
you that?  
(c) The Lordes  
prayer is not  
much more: the  
prayers of the  
publican, of Ste-  
uen, & of Christ  
on the Crosse,  
are much lesse.

## Jo. Whitgife.

You haue verie aptly answered your selfe, though you woulde seeme to make it an obiection, and to wipe it away: for vndoubtedly when you thought that other men woulde count this deuise of yours an ydle fanisie, you thought truely, and your owne thought therein condemneth you. But I adde that it is not onely an ydle fanisie, but an vnttrue surmise: for first, which be those prayers that the primitive Church vled, in steade whereof we haue but short cuttes and shreddings? Why doe you not name them? Will you still speake without prowe? Will you rayse bp a generall slander, and shew no particulars?

Touching your charging vs with following of the forme vled in Poperie, I haue answered before, where you haue in like maner obiected it, and onely obiected it.

Howe proue you that it is not sufficient, to preach the same doctrine that our Saviour Christ and his Apostles haue preached, vntlesse the same forme of teaching be likewise kept? For I take that to be an ydle fanisie, and vtterly vnttrue. I am perswaded that if the same doctrine be preached, the maner and forme of preaching is left for euerie one to vse, according to the gift that God hath giuen vnto him, as he shall thinke it to be most expedient to edifying: but this is an olde fanisie of yours, partly grounde vpon an arrogant opinion of your selfe, whose maner and forme of preaching you woulde binde all men: vnto partly of emulation and enuie, because you haue perceyued other mens maner and kinde of preaching, to haue bene much better lyked than yours. But to let this passe, Christ and his Apostles did not vsually pray before nor after their Sermons, or at the least it is not expessed in Scripture that they did: they when they preached did not vsually take any one certaine place or portion of Scripture to intreat of: and it is manifest that they vled not any vniforme maner of preaching, but they spake as God gaue them utterance: neyther did they labour or studie for their Ser-

The fanisie of  
the Replier  
concerning the  
forme of prea-  
ching.



mons, but preached as present occasion serued : and therefore for my part, vntill I heare verie good reasons of this newe denise, I must needs accompt it a verie sonde imagination.

Shewe me wherein the forme of our prayers doth differ from the maner and forme of praying conteyned in the Scripture : And shewe me in the Scripture, any prescript forme of publike and dayly prayers commaunded, the Lordes prayer onely excepted. And let me vnderstande what scripture you can alledge why in the publike congregation, we may not sometime pray, and sometimes reade the scriptures: & what do we else in the whole order of our service : will you still more and more utter your contempt agaynst God, against his Church against a most pure and goodly kynde of publike prayer and service, and that with such vnreuerend speeches : But I omit the, it is inough to haue noted the in the margent, for they are cofutation to theselues.

### Chap. 2. the. 19. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 108. Sect. vii.

If a man should come to a Prince and keepe such order in making his petitions vnto him, that hauing very many things to demaunde, after he had demaunded one thing he woulde stay a long tyme, and then demaunde another, and so the thirde, the Prince might well thinke, that eyther he came to aske, before he knew what he had neede of, or that he had forgotten some piece of his sute, or that he were distracted in his vnderstanding, or some other such like cause of the disorder of his supplication. And therefore how much more conuenient were it, that according to the maner of the reformed Churches: first the minister with an humble and generall confession of faults, should desire the assistance of the Lord, for the frutefull handling and receyuing of the worde of God, and then after that we haue heard the Lord speake vnto vs in his worde, by his minister, the Church should likewise speake vnto the Lord, and present all those petitions and sutes at once, both for the whole Church, and for the Prince, and all other estates which shall be thought needfull.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

The dissimilitude of the requesters similitude.

As much difference as there is betwixt man and God : so farre is your similitude from prouing your purpose: except you will admit the like similitude vled by the Papists, to proue praying to Saints : for the one hath as much strength to proue any thing as the other, and yet neither of them both worth a rush. And here you doe iniurie to God, to compare him to an earthly Prince, especially in this behalfe. For what Prince would not thinke himselfe abused, if a man should dayly and hourly sue vnto him : But it is not so with God : for we haue a commaundement to pray continually. Luke. 18. 1. Thes. 5. and he doth not respect the forme of wordes, but the affection of the heart. And in verie dede it is most conuenient that reading of the scriptures and praying should be intermingled.

All the scripture that you haue to alledge is the reformed Churches, let other men thinke what they will, I verily beleue that in our maner and kinde of worshipping God, in our publike and common prayers, there is no cause why we shoulde thinke our selues one whit inferiour vnto them: they also or the most part of them, haue allowed the same order of ours, at what time the like contention was about the same booke, among our English men which were in M. Maries time banished for the gospel.

### Chap. 2. the. 20. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 109. Sect. i.

And if any will say that there are short prayers found in the Acts, it may be answered that S. Luke doth not expresse the whole prayers at large, but only set downe the summes of them & their chiefe pointes. And further it may be answered, that alwayes those prayers were continued together, and not cut off, and shred into diuerse small pieces.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Howe knowe you that S. Luke doth not expresse the whole prayers at large, but onely set downe the summes of them & their chiefe pointes : What scripture haue you that teacheth you so to thinke : & if this be a sufficient answer to say, the scripture hath not expresse the whole, &c.

Why



Why is it not also a sufficient answer for me to that which followeth, that the scripture hath not expressed any certaine, or determinate forme of publike prayer to be used in all Churches (as in dede it hath not) but onely in the Lordes prayer given certaine generall poynts, according to the whiche all our prayers must be framed? Surely your fantasie is strong, but your arguments be exceeding weake. For tell me I pray you, where haue you in the whole newe testament (the Lordes prayer onely excepted) any forme of publike prayer used in the Church described? If you cannot shewe this, why do you so childishly dallye?

The scripture hath not prescribed any forme of publike prayer.

## Chap. 2. the. 21. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 109. Sect. 2.

Another fault is that all the people are appointed in diuerse places, to say after the Minister, whereby not onely the tyme is vnprofitably wasted, and a confused voyce of the people, one speaking after another caused, but an opinion bred in their heades, that those onely be they prayers which they say and pronounce with their owne mouthes. Which causeth them to giue the lesse heede to the rest of the prayers which they rehearse not after the Minister, which notwithstanding are as well their prayers, as those which they pronounce after the Minister, otherwise than the order which is left vnto the Church, of God doth beare. For God hath ordeyned the Minister to this ende, that as in publike meetings, he onely is the mouth of the Lorde from him to the people, euen so he ought to be onely the mouth of the people from them vnto the Lorde, and that all the people should attende to that which is sayde by the Minister, and in the ende both declare their consent to that which is sayde, and their hope that it shall so be and come to passe whiche is prayed, by the word Amen. As St. Pauls declareth in the Epistle to the Corinthians. And Iustins Martyr sheweth to haue bene the custome of the Churches in his time.

(Vtriusq.

1. Cor. 14.  
2. Apol. pro  
Christianis.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

God be thanked, that the booke is so perfit, that you are constrained for sauing your credite with your Disciples, thus triflingly to deale with it: you vnchristianly say, that the tyme is vnprofitably wasted, which is spent in prayer: you imagine that of the people, that neuer entered into their thoughts: you call it a confused voyce, that is a most acceptable sounde vnto the Lorde: and if to surmise or to imagine be sufficient, then may we imagine your doctrine to tende to the contempt of prayer, and the ouerthrowing of all god and godly order. But you must knowe that there is more speciall cause, why the people should rather rehearse after the Minister those things that the booke appoynteth them so to do, than the other prayers, because they contayne a generall confession of sinnes, which all Christians together as well in voyce, as in heart, ought to confesse: neyther doth the booke prescribe the people to say any thing after the Minister (the Lordes prayer after the Communion onely excepted) but these generall and publike confessions: and yet if it did, I see not howe you can iustly therefore reprove it. Musculus expounding these wordes, *Et cum hymnum ceciniissent &c.* thinketh it not vnlikely *ipsum ita preloquantu esse, vt verba ipsius ab illis sint excepta & dicissim reddita.* That Christ did in that order speake before his Disciples, that they repeated his wordes after him. Whereby it appeareth that he was so farre from thinking this order to be an vnprofitable wasting of tyme, that he doubteth not to ascribe it to our Sauour Christ and his Apostles. But if it be such an vnprofitable wasting of tyme, to rehearse prayer after the Minister, how happeneth it, that you and all other your partners that be preachers, vse to cause the people to pray after you in your Sermons? Is it lawfull for you so to do in the Pulpit, and is it not lawfull for the Minister to do the same in the Church? Wellike nothing is well done that you do not your selues, or are not the Authours of.

Muscul. in 26.  
Math.

But here I cannot omit that which you so boldly affirme, of the Minister, whom you say God hath ordeyned to be the onely mouth of the people from them vnto the Lorde in publike meetings: are you of that opinion, that the people may ioyne with the minister in pronouncing publike prayers, at no time? Or that they should onely attende to that

The minister not the onely mouth of the people.

which



Act. 4.

Plinius  
Epist. lib. 10.Chrysost. hom.  
18. in 2. Cor.Basil. Hexam.  
4.  
Apol. 2.The replier  
contrarie to  
himselfe.  
Pag. 163, in  
the midst.

which is sayde by the Minister, and in the ende give their consent by this worde Amen: Hath God ordeyned this? I pray you where finde you this ordinance? Surely I am that the place by you allegeded doth not proue it. For although it be true that the Minister is the mouth of the people to God, yet doth it not followe, that he is the onely mouth of the people unto the Lorde. And although we reade that the people used to give their consent unto the prayer pronounced of the Minister, by this worde Amen: yet if you will heretofore conclude that they ought onely to say Amen: and at no time ioyne aswell in voyce as in heart, with the Minister (which you seeme to affirme in saying he is the onely mouth) then besides the weaknesse of your conclusion, the practise of the Church of God will sufficiently confute you. We reade that when Peter and John were let go, after their examination before the Priests and Elders, for healing the man that was lame from his mothers wombe, they came to the rest of his Disciples, and declared to them what had happened, and when they heard that, they lift vp their voyces to God with one accorde, and sayde, Lorde thou art God, &c. So that the Minister here was not the onely mouth of the people, but the whole companie that was assembled ioyned together in this prayer, lifted by their voyces and spake with one accorde. And surely it is not unlike, that they used herein that order which you before accounted an unprofitable wasting of time: for seeing that this prayer was framed according to the present occasion, I am perswaded that the rest did rather repeat the wordes after him that conceived the prayer, than that they all miraculously ioyned upon the lodeyne in one and the same forme of wordes. Plinie in an Epistle to Traiane the Emperour concerning the Christians, wryteth that their custome was *stato die ante lucem convenire carmen; Christo quasi Deo dicere, secum invicem, &c.* to meete together early at an appoynted day, and to sing together a song vnto Christ as vnto God. Chrysostome goyng about to proue that in some respect there is no difference betwixt the Priest and people, useth this for an example, that in publike prayer they somtyme ioyne together. His wordes be these, *Quin & precibus, &c.* A man may also see the people to offer many prayers together for those that are possessed & penitenciaries (as they term them) for common supplications are made both of the Priest, and of them, and they all say one prayer, &c. And again, *quid miraris si cum sacerdote populus loquitur?* vvhych dost thou marvell if the people speake together vwith the priest, &c. You can not be ignorant (I am sure) that Basil likeneth the sounde of men, women, and children praying in the Church, to the roling of the waues agaynste the Sea banks. This might you have seene also euen in that place of Iustine Martyr whiche you quote: for there describing the liturgie, he sayth, that after the exhortation or Sermon, *Omnes surgimus & comprecamur*, we do all rise and pray together, &c. This you skipped ouer, and toke that which followed, because it made more for your purpose: for indeede Iustine doth describe both, that is both the prayer of the whole Church together, and of the Bishop alone the people giving their consent by this worde Amen. I neede not to use mo testimonies, these may suffice to declare by the practise of the Church, that the Minister is not the onely mouth of the people in publike meetings, which you haue only set downe without any proufe, for what purpose, you knowe best your selfe, surely I cannot conjecture, except it be that the people should wholly depende vpon the Ministers wordes, and as it were hang vpon his lippes, which wherevnto it woulde in tyme grow, wise men can consider.

But what neede I to stande so long vpon this poynt, seeing you your selfe afterwarde affirme as muche? For finding fault with the order of singing Psalmes syde by syde, you haue these wordes. From whence soener it came, it cannot be good, considering that when it is graunted that all the people may prayse God (as it is in singing of Psalmes) there this ought not to be restrayned vnto a fewe, and where it is lawfull both with heart and voyce, to sing the whole Psalm, there it is not meete that they shoulde sing but the one halfe with their heart and voyce, and the other with their heart onely. For where they may both with heart and voyce sing, there the heart is not enough. Than the which, what can be more contrarie to this, that the Minister ought to be the onely mouth of the people to the Lorde? For here you affirme that all the people may prayse God, and sing Psalmes, not



not with heart onely, but with voyce, and so to be their owne mouth vnto the Lorde. Howe you can reconcile this geere I see not: sure I am that truth is not contrarie to it selfe.

*Chap. 2. the. 22. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 109. Sect. 3.

Although these blotches in the common prayer be such, as may easily enough appeare vnto any, which is not wedded to a preiudicate opinion, and that there is no great difficultie in this matter, yet I knowe that this treatise of prayer will be subject to many reprehensions, and that there will not be wanting some probable colours also wherby these things may be defended, if men will set themselves to strue and to contende: yet for the desyre that I haue that these things should be amended) and for the instruction of the simple, which are studious of the truth, I haue beene bolde to vtter that whiche I thinke, not doubting also but that the light of the truth shall be able to scatter all those mystes of reasons, which shall go about to darken the clearnesse thereof.

(\*) Conscientia mille testis.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Surely if the blotches be so manifest as you would seeme to make them, it is not wisely done of you so slenderly to passe them ouer.

You do well to thinke that this treatise of yours touching prayer will be subject to many reprehensions: and why should it not? What is there in it worthe of commendation? What learning? What reason? What truth? What godlinesse? except vaine wordes be learning: fancies reason: lyes truth: contempt of good lawes and orders, with vnseemely iestes, be godlinesse: for what is there else in this treatise? Truly if you had not settled your selfe to strue and to contende, and had not beene desyrous to peruert the simple, rather than to instruct them, you would neuer vpon so weake a ground & with so feeble reasons, or rather vaine fantasies haue gone about to depzaue so worthe a Booke: In the whiche as I haue sayde before, you are not able to shewe any thing, especially touching the order, maner, and matter of prayer, that is not consonant to the worde of God. Neyther haue you for all that is spoken against the forme of prayer, alledged one text of Scripture, or one sentence of any auncient or late wytyer: and doe you thinke that men will beleue you vpon your bare wordes, agaynst so many Partys and learned men, as haue allowed and doe allowe that booke? Your credite is not so greate as you thinke it is: and that which you haue, when you are accordingly detected, will vtterly vanishe and fade away.

The pith of the replie concerning prayer.

*Of Baptisme by women, wherewith the Communion booke is falsely charged.*

*Chap. 3. the. 1. Diuision.*

Admonition.

In which a great number of things contrarie to Gods worde are conteyned, as baptisme

(1) by women.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 79. Sect. 2. 3. 4. 5.

But you say, a number of things contrarie vnto Gods worde are conteyned in this booke, as baptisme by women. &c.

All prayers good in the Communion booke.

Here

(1)  
Mat. 28. 19  
1 Co. 14. 35  
The fyrst  
appoynter  
hereof vvas  
Victor. 1.  
Anno. 158.



Here is not one prayer in all the Communion booke founde faule with, and yet your quarell is agaynst a prescript forme of prayers inuented by man.

You marueylously forget your selfe, and confusedly go from matter to matter, without any consideration.

Digressing therefore from prayers conteyned in the Communion booke, you come to other matters in the same, agaynst Gods worde (as you say) and first you alledge baptising by women.

I denie baptising by women to be expressed in that booke, and when you haue proued it to be necessarily gathered out of the same, then shall you heare my iudgement thereof.

T.C. Pag. 109. Sect. 4.

Baptist Doctor requireth that it shoulde be proued vnto him, that by private Baptisme is ment, Baptisme by women. First it is ment that it shoulde be done by some other than the Minister, for that the Minister is bidde to give them warning, that they shoulde not baptise the childe at home in their house, without great cause and necessitie: secondarily, I woulde gladly aske him who they be that are present, when the childe is so shortly after it is borne, in great danger of death, and last of all Baptist Doctor doth not see, howe he accuseth all the Magistrates of this Realme of the neglect of theyr duetie, in that they allowe of the daily practising by women in baptising children, if so be that the booke did not so appoynt it, or permit it. If he meant plainly herein there needed not so much a doe.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

There is nothing sayd, whiche the Authours of the Admonition haue not alledged before, either in theyr booke or in theyr Additions, and therefore the same answer that was made vnto them, will serue for you. I tolde you there that the booke of Common prayer doth call it private Baptisme, in respect of the place, which is a private house, and not in respect of the Minister: whiche evidently appeareth in these wordes, whiche you your selfe alledge in this place, that is, that the Minister is bidde to give them warning, that they shoulde not baptise the childe at home in their house. &c. but you cannot thereof conclude the meaning of the Worke to be, that women shoulde baptise: for euen in that necessitie, the Curate may be sent for, or some other Minister that may sooner be come by.

Your question is some answered, for no man doubteth of the persons that bee present at suche a tyme: but I haue tolde you, that when suche necessitie requyrez, the Curate, or the next Minister is some sent for, as often tymes he is in as great extremities as that: and what a reason call you this, women bee present when the childe that is borne is in great danger of death, therefore the Minister cannot be sent for to baptise the childe?

To your objection (of the Magistrates allowing the practise of Baptising by women) I answer first, that your generall proposition is vntrue (as I thinke) for all the Magistrates of this Realme, doe not so. Secondly, that if they did, yet it followeth not that they doe it by the authoritie of the Worke: for many things bee permitted as tollerable, whiche are not established by any lawe: and therefore if you had done well, you shoulde rather haue reprobated the custome that doth vse it, than the booke that speaketh neuer a worde of it.

I deale

Why baptism  
is called pri-  
uate,



I deale as playnly as I can, for I keepe me to the Booke. But your bayne conjectures and frivolous reasons against that booke, may not be yelded vnto, but opened, that they may appeare in their colours.

### Chap. 3. the. 2. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 79. Sect. vlt.

Your places of Scripture alleadged against it, are not of sufficient force to proue your purpose. Christ in the. 28. of Mathew, sayde to his disciples, Go and teache all nations, baptizing them in the name of the father. &c. ergo women may not baptise. I saye this argumente followeth not, no more than this doth: Ergo pastors may not baptise, for it is manifest that an Apostle is distincte from a Pastor.

Feeble arguments.

T. C. Pag. 109. Sect. 5.

The place of the. 28. of Saint Mathew is as strong agaynst womens baptizing as it is agaynst the preaching. For (a) the ministerie of the worde and Sacramentes can not be pulled in sunder, which the Lord hath ioyned together from time to time. For (b) Noah which was a preacher vnto the olde worlde of the will of God, was ordeyned also of God to make the Arke, which was a Sacramente and seale of his preaching, touching the destruction of the worlde. And (b) Abraham whom the Lord would haue to be the Doctour of his church, which was then in his familie, was also commaunded to minister the Sacrament of circumcision vnto his familie. The (b) Priests and Leuites which were appoynted to teache the people, were also appoynted to sacrifice and to minister other sacramentes in the Church. Lykewise the same Prophets which God stirred vp to preach, he also ordeyned to confirme the same by signes & Sacraments. The (b) same may be also drawne throughout the new Testament, as vnto euery of the twelve, and afterwards to the seuentie, power was giuen bothe to preache the Gospel, and also to confirme with signes and miracles, which were seales of their Doctrine. And (b) Saint Paule by the commaundement that our Saviour Christe gaue hym to preache, vnderooke also to baptise, although there were no expresse wordes that licenced him thereto, for he knewe right well that it was the perpetuall ordinance of God, that the same shoulde bee the ministers of the worde and Sacramentes. Whereby it followeth, that forasmuche as women maye not preache the Gospel, no not by the lawes of the realme, that they ought not to minister Baptisme.

(a) Vnto which, as hath bin proued  
(b) These examples proue not the purpose.

### 10. Whitgifte.

My reason alleadged in my Answer to the Admonition, why this place doth not make any necessarie conclusion agaynst the baptizing by Women, is not answered: but there is a newe collection made of the same place, whyche is of as great force as the other: for you myght as well conclude thus: Ergo, Pastors maye not preache, because Pastors be not Apostles. I speake of the Argumente, not of the thyng. For I woulde not haue the Scriptures abused to confirme, no not a truthe, least it make men the bolder to weare them at their pleasure, and for the confirming of error. M. Zuinglius in his booke *De Baptismo* sayth, that Christe did not in this place of Mathewe, institute baptisme nor prescribe cyther tyme, place, or any other circumstance, perteyning to the same.

Zuinglius.

I haue proued before, that the administration of the Sacraments, may bee committed to some, to whome the publike preaching of the worde is not committed, and youre examples here alleadged doe not proue the contrarie, excepte you wyl haue vs to grounde poyntes of doctrine, vpon bare examples: whych if we should doe, many inconueniences woulde followe, yea euen baptizing by women, which you so greatly mislike. *A facto ad ius*, or *a non facto ad non ius*, bee the vsuall reasons of the Anabaptistes, but of no force.

Tract. 9. ca. 1.  
sect. 15.

The example of Noah helpeth you not, except you will either allegorie, or proue the minister of the worde may make Sacraments, because Noah made the Arke, The Arke can not be properly termed a sacrament in the signification of ours be, for it had no promise of eternal life annexed vnto it, neither was it any seale of gods promise:

Aaa.

but



but a meanes to saue Noah and his family from perishing by the waters : and a tipe and figure of the Church of Christ, as you have before confessed.

Pag. 63. Sect. 1.

T. C. omitting the purpose, proueth that which is not denied.

Your examples which follow (although some of them be very vnapt, for miracles be no sacraments, neyther yet euery kind of signes and wonders) may as examples shewe, that the administration of the sacramentes, was committed to suche as were preachers of the word. But they cannot proue that it was onely committed vnto them, and to no other. It is not required of you to proue whither he that maye preach, may also administer the sacraments, but whither it be of necessitie, that none shoulde be admitted to minister the sacraments except the same also be admitted to preach: the contrary whereof I haue shewed before.

### Chap. 3. the. 3. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 80. Sect. 1.

The second place you do alleadge is. 1. Cor. 14. where Paule sayth it is a shame for Women to speake in the congregation : Paule saith not, it is a shame for women to speake at home in priuate houses, for women may instruct their families, yea and they may speake also in the Congregation, in tyme of necessitie, if there be none else there, that can or wyll preache Chryste, and hereof we haue examples.

T. C. Pag. 110. Lin. 13. & Sect. 1.

But M. Doctor riseth vp, and saith that a woman in tyme of necessitie, and where there is none other that eether can or will preache, maye preache the Gospell in the Church.

This is strange doctrine, and such as strengtheneth the Anabaptists hands, and saoureth stronger than swags, than any one thing, in all the Admonition, which is so often condemned of Anabaptisme. His first reason to proue it, is that there are examples thereof. When we alleadge the examples (a) of all the churches of the Apostles times, to proue the election of the minister by the Church, and in other cases which are generall examples, approued and executed by the Apostles, contrary to no commaundement nor institution of God, yea, and as hath bin proued according to the commaundement of God, M. Do. or gyueth vs our answer in a worde, that examples proue not: now that the question is to make good womens preaching in the Church, examples, I will not say of all churches, but of no one Church, only of a few singular persons, not according to the commaundement of the word of God, but cleane contrary to the prescript word of God: I say now examples, and such singular examples are good proofes and strong arguments.

1. Cor. 14.  
1. Tim. 2.

(a) How wayne this bragge is, hath bin shewed Tract. 3.

### Io. Whitgiste.

In what poynt doth he strengthen the Anabaptists? If you coulde haue told I trust it should not haue bin kept in silence. I haue charged the Authoꝝ of the Admonition with nothing, but I haue shewed my authoꝝ for it, deale you with me in like manner and spare not: other wise your wordes do but saoure choler. Examples withoute preceptes make no generall or necessary rule: but they sometimes declare what was done, and what may be done extraordinarily, vpon like occasion, and the same circumstances, if they be commendable examples.

What force is in examples.

Mat. 23.

Io. 20.

Io. 4.

Women were the first that preached Christes resurrection: A woman was the first that preached Christ in Samaria. Io. 4. and yet vnboutedly none of these vnto contrary to the prescript word of God. Women may not speake ordinarily in the congregation, nor challenge any suche function vnto themselves, but vpon occasion they may speake as I haue said in my Answer.

### Chap. 3. the. 4. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 110. Sect. 2.

A. caill.

Nowe, if the speache be a true messenger of the hearte, I perceiue master Doctor is of this



this intnd, that he would haue women preach in the Church of England at this time: for he cannot denie, and he also confesseth it sometimes that this is the time of necessitie: and indeede it must be needes an extreme necessitie, that driueth to make one man Pastor of two churches, especially so farre distant, that driueth to make men, whiche are not able to teach, ministers, and diuers more things, which are contrary to the word of God: Therefore this being a time of necessitie, by M. Doctors iudgement we ought to haue women to preach. Besides this he sayth if neyther none o-ther can or will preach, that then women may preach, but in the most churches of this realme, there is none that eyther can or will preach, therefore there, and in those churches, women (at the leaste if they be able) may preach the Gospel, and consequently minister the sacraments.

### *Jo. Whitgiste.*

You wander from the matter and do but seeke occasion to quarel: there is no such necessitie in this Church (God be thanked) as M. Doctor speaketh of: for there is none in anye place or corner thereof, that be ignorant of Christ, or do not professe the name of Christ: In all places they haue the scriptures red vnto them, whiche containe matter sufficient to saluation, and therefore there is no cause why women should take vpon them to preach in the congregation: neyther doth M. Doctor meane any such thing, as you know very well, but that it is your pleasure to dallie. He meaneth such places where all be infidells, where they haue neither heard of Christ, nor haue his word, neither yet any other meanes to come by the knowledge of the same, which is no where in this Church.

In what  
time a woman  
may preach  
Christ.

### *Chap. 3. the 5. Diuision.*

#### *Admonition.*

<sup>h</sup> Women that may (h) not speake in a congregation, may yet in time of necessitie minister the Sa-  
1. Co. 14. 34 crament of Baptisme, and that in a priuate house.  
1. Tim. 2. 11

Answer to the Admonition. Pag 136. Sect. vlt.

You say, women that may not speake in a congregation, may yet in time of necessitie, minister the sacrament of baptisme, and that in a priuate house. And to proue that women may not speake in a congregation, you quote. 1. Co. 14. 1. Ti. 2. whereas you should rather haue proued, that women may not in time of necessitie, minister baptisme, for that is the question, and not the other. Women may speake in the congregation, if necessary occa- sion do require, as M. Caluin teacheth in his institutions. Chap. 13. Sect. 32.

T. C. Pag. no. Sect. 3.

In the 187. Page, he citeth M. Caluin in the 13. Chap. Section. 32. to proue that women may teach: wherem (\*) I maruell, what he meaneth, so to alleadge M. Caluin continually: he al- leadgeth the 13. Chap. and no booke, as though he had written but one booke, and indeede there is no such thing, in no such chapter of any booke of his institutions, or in any other place throughout his whole works, as I am perswaded. If this fault had bin but twise or thise, I woulde haue thought it had bin the Printers, but now that it is continuall, and so oftentimes, surely he giveth great suspicion that eyther some body hath mocked him with these places, or else he would abuse o-thers, and especially him that should answer his booke, setting hun to seeke that he shoulde neuer finde.

(\*) An argumens  
of your igno-  
rance.

### *Jo. Whitgiste.*

You pleade ignorance, of such an edition of M. Caluines institutions, but it is by: cause you cannot answer the place (for other places which I haue in like manner al- leaged, for the which you might haue any colour of answering, you haue found out at the first: yea and this selfe same place now in question) but when there is no thiffe to auoyd that which is alleaged, then you quarell with the booke, and suspect, that ey- ther some body hath mocked him, or that he would abuse others. &c. No, no, M. C. I thanke god I vse no such dealing, I do alleadge nothing which I haue not red in the Authors them-  
Ab. ij.

Pag. 19. Sect. 2



themselves. I study not to encounter the Answer, for eyther I set downe the whole place, or else quote it so, that it may easily be found. Touching this booke of institutions of M. Caluines, which I now follow, I haue spoken befoze, and declared why I do vse it rather than any other: I haue laboured it, noted it, I am acquainted with it, and belike, I red it, befoze you knew whether there was any such booke or no: and if there be no suche booke of M. Caluines institutions, only deuised into chapters and sections, and not into bookes, I will giue you all M. Caluines works, bycause you so complayne of lacke of bookes.

But to come to the thing it selfe, M. Caluine in that place speaking of such lawes and orders in the Church, as are not perpetuall but alterable, as occasion serueth, vseth this commaundement of S. Pauls touching the silence of women in the Church, for one example to make the matter moze manifest: his wordes be these. Or is the commaundement touching his silence such, as it may not be broken without wickednesse. And a little after. *Et est, ubi loqui non minus opportunum illi sit, quam alibi tacere*, And there is a time and place, when and where it is as fit for hir to speake, as else where to holde hir peace. These wordes be plaine, and do sufficiently answer all, that you can object to the contrary.

Chap. 13.  
Sect. 32.

### Chap. 3. the. 6. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 110. Sect. 4.

As for M. Caluines iudgement what it is of womens preaching, it may appeare by that he will not by no meanes, no not in time of necessitie (as they tearme it) suffer eyther woman, or any lay man to baptise, or minister any sacrament, and therefore not to preach.

4. Li. institut. cap. 15. Sect. 10.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

I doubt not of M. Caluines iudgement in that poynt, and yet I knowe other learned and notable men that thinke other wise, and namely Zuinglius in his booke *de baptismo*, neyther do I go about to teach that women may preach. I tell you onely what extream necessitie maye extraordinaryly permitte, withoute iust cause of reprehension.

### Chap. 3. the. 7. Diuision.

T. G. Pag. 110. Sect. vii.

And as for the examples of Mary the sister of Moyses, of Miriam, of Anna, and the daughters of Philip the Euangelist, whiche are all called prophetesses (for I thinke M. Doctor meaneth these examples) as for them I say, it will be hard for to shew that they euer prophesied or taught openly in any publike meeting or congregation. But the surer answer is, that although the Lord do sometimes, not being vnder any law, change the order which he hath set, in raising by certayne women, partly to the shame of men and to humble them, partly to let them vnderstand that he can if he would, want their ministerie: yet it is not lawfull for vs to draw that into example and to follow it: or that for as much as he breaketh the law which is not subiect vnto it, and which he made not for himselfe, that therefore we may breake the law wherevnto we be subiect and to whome it is giuen. But we must go in the broad high way of the commaundement, and of the ordinarie vsage of God, in gouerning his Church, and not in the byepath of certayne singular examples, which haue bin in diuers ages. And as often as God hath vled this extraordinary meanes of the ministerie of women, so often also hath he confirmed their calling eyther by miracle, or some wonderfull issue, or with some other singular note and marke, whereby he hath made their calling otherwise strange and monstrous, most certayne and vndoubted to all men.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

There be other examples also besides these, yet these be sufficient to proue any thing that I haue spoken touching this matter: he that wel considereth what is written of Mary the sister of Moyses. Num. 12. or of Miriam. 2. Reg. 22. will not doubt whether they spake openly in the congregation or no: but you will not sticke vpon this poynte. And in your seconde answer I agree with you in this, that



that we must make no generall rule of these particular examples: and that women may not presume to preach in the congregation, except they be extraordinarily called thereunto, and haue certaine and sure signes of their calling. And surely I muse what you meane to spend so much labour about this matter, wherein there is no controuersie. I might say vnto you, as it hath pleased you to say vnto me, that you haue some old rusty notes which you would gladly vtter, and you know not how otherwise to make marchandise of them, than by picking suche a quarell to vtter them.

### Chap. 3. the. 8. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. III. Sect. I.

1. Cor. 11.

There is a greater difficultie than M. Doctor mentioneth in the words of S. Paule, where he sayth, a woman praying or prophesying ought to be bayled, and haue hir head couered, in whiche words it seemeth that the Apostolic licenceth a woman to prophesie, so that she do it, with hir head couered, but to him that shall diligently consider the place, it shall appeare that the women of Corinth, did passe the boundes of modestie and of shamefastnesse, two ways, whereof one was that they came into the congregation contrary to the custome of those countries with their heads and faces vncouered: another was, that they also tooke vpon them to speake in the congregation, bothe which faults S. Paule condemned, but in their seuerall and proper places. Although therfore speaking against the abuse of vncouering their head, he doth not condemne their boldnesse in teaching, yet he did not therfore approue it, the confutation whereof he reserued to a more commodious place.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

To what ende bring you in this saying of S. Paule? I do not remember that I haue at any time vled it, for any purpose: and yet you haue objected more than you can well answer: Howbeit, because it pertaineth not to improue any thing that I asseme, I will not examine your answer (and yet not yours but M. Caluins) nor trouble the Reader with frivolumous and bayne digressions.

### Chap. 3. the. 9. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 80. Sect. 2. 3.

**If women do baptise, they baptise in priuate houses not in the congregation.**

**Surely you are able to marre a good matter for lacke of skilfull handling.**

T. C. Pag. III. Sect. I 2.

But sayth he if women do baptise it is in priuate houses. I haue shewed before that they may not baptise at all, therefore not in priuate houses: besides that that I haue in the Reply vnto the section in the one and twenty page shewed, how it is not lawfull, neyther to preach the word, nor to minister the sacraments in priuate corners.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I answer to their argumente, and go not aboute to confirme the baptising by women. I saye thys argumente followeth not. Saincte Paule forbiddeth them to speake in the congregation. Ergo they may not baptise, for they baptise in priuate houses, not in publike places, and Saincte Paule dothe bid them to speake in priuate places. Whatsoener you haue replied vnto, I haue there answered where you haue replied: and it is manifest that both the word may be preached, and the sacraments ministered in priuate places, vpon iust occasion.



## Chap. 3. the. 10. Division.

T. C. Pag. III. Sect. 2. 3. 4.

For the which matter of not ministering the sacraments in private houses, to the Authours of the Admonition, citing the cleventh Chapter of the first epistle unto the Corinthians. M. Doctor answereth, that he reproveth the profanation of the supper, by banquetting, and contempt of their brethren, and exhorteth to carrie one for another.

The places be interpreted to shew how farre out of square they be alledged in the Admonition.

But what is this to the purpose? We aske not M. Doctor the interpretation of this place, as we do not of all the rest which he interpreteth, where there is no occasion in the world to interpret them, being of themselves very cleare, and the interpretation which is brought neuer almost making any thing for the solution of that which is objected: which I desire the Reader to marke throughout his whole booke. For what if S. Paule reprove the profanation of the supper of the Lords, doth it follow therefore that he doth not giue to vnderstand, that the sacrament shoulde be administered in a common assemblie? What if he exhort to carrie one for another, therefore doth he not dehort from celebrating of the sacrament in a private house?

And surely methinke you cannot be so ignorant as you make your selfe, that you shoulde not vnderstand their argumente, and therefore I thinke you do rather dissemble it, as you do in others other places: for al men may easily perceiue, that as Saint Paule opposeth the supper of the Lords, to the common supper: his banquet to the common banquet: so he opposeth there manifestly, the Church and congregation vnto the private house: and declareth that as the common supper or banquet, ought to be kept at their houses, so the Lords supper, & his banquet, ought to be celebrated in the congregation.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

I thinke indeede that M. Doctors interpretations, trouble you shrewdly: for they detect much of your vanitie, and make manifest the lacke of discretion and learning in the authours of the Admonition. I say lacke of discretion and learning, for otherwise so evidently and so oft to abuse the scriptures were great dishonestie or rather impletie. If I haue misse in interpreting, or wrongfully accused them, why do not you make it knowne as occasion is offered. It stands you vpon, for it is much to your dishonestie, and a great discredite to your whole cause.

Touching this place of S. Paule, 1. Co. 11. I say as I said before: and I adde, that he only reproveth such abuses as were vsed among them in their publike assemblies, he speaketh not of celebrating the communion in private places.

Cal. in. 1. Co. 11

S. Paule maketh no such opposition in that place as you speake of, neyther doth he speake any thing sounding that way, only he reproveth the abuse which was the crept into the supper of the Lords, among the Corinthians, *Quod sacro & spirituali epulo profana symposia permiscerent, id est cum pauperum contumelia*, In that they mingled prophane banquetts with that holy and spirituall feast, and that with the contumely of the poore, as M. Caluine sayth. Wherefore it appeareth that either you are disposed to make good whatsoeuer they haue writtten be it neuer so absurd, or else you wittingly dissemble the true sense and meaning of this place.

## Chap. 3. the. 11. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 80. Sect. 4.

Victor a good Bishop and martyr.

You say in your margent, that Victor Anno. 198. did first appoynt that women might baptise. By this you adde more credite to the cause, than you are aware of, for Victor was a godly Bishop, and a martyr, and the Church at that time was in great puritie, not being long after the Apostles time. But truly I can find no such thing in all his decrees, onely this he sayth, that suche as be converted of the Gentiles, to the faythe of Chryste in tyme of necessitie, or at the poynte of deathe may be baptised, at any tyme in any place, whether it be in the sea, or in a river, or in a pond, or in a well, so that they make a confession of their fayth: he maketh no mention at all, of any



any baptizing by women: and therefore you haue doone youre cause greate iniurie.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Nothing answered hereunto.

¶ Of ministring the Sacramentes in  
priuate places. Chap. 4. the first Diuision.

Admonition.

Then they were ministred in publike assemblies, nowe in priuate houses.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 92. Sect. 2.

The places of Scripture whereby you proue that Sacraments were then ministred in publike assemblies, be taken out of the first of S. Marke, and I. Cor. II. which places of scripture proue, that John did baptize openly, and that the Lordes Supper was ministred in the publike congregation, but neyther of them bothe conclude, that these Sacramentes may not also be ministred vpon any occasion in priuate houses: for what sequele is there in this reason, al the countrey of Judea, and they of Jerusalem, went out vnto him and were baptized of him in the riuer of Iordan, confessing their synnes: Ergo baptism may not be ministred vpon any occasion in priuate houses: you may as well conclude, that none ought to be baptized but in the riuer of Iordan, and none but such as be able to confesse their synnes, and so you shoulde seclude childzen from Baptisme, as the Anabaptists doe.

Baptisme ministred in priuate places.

Arg non sequitur.

T. C. Page. III. Sect. vlt.

To the admonition objecting in the nintie and two page, that John baptized openly, amongst the congregation, he answereth and sayth, that it may be as well concluded, that we should baptize only in the riuer of Iordane, and none but those that be of age, by whiche saying he giueth to vnderstand (a) that to baptize in the Church, hath no greater necessitie, than baptizing in Iordan, nor it skilleth no more, whether baptism be ministred in the publike assemblee, than it is necessarie or skilleth, whether we be baptized in the riuer of Iordan, and that the baptism of yong infants hath no better groundes than priuate baptism hath. The latter wherof, (both beyng absurde) is too too iniurious vnto the baptism of yong infants. For as of our Sautour Christes preaching in publike places, and refusyng priuate places, we doe gather that the preachyng of the woorde, ought to be publike. Euen so of S. Iohns preaching and baptizing in open meetings, we conclude that both preaching and baptizing, ought to be in publike assemblies.

(a) Nay I giue you to vnderstand the fondnesse of the argument.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

I referre it to the learned Reader to iudge whether this be a good argumente or no: John baptized openly in the Riuer Iordan, Ergo baptism may at no time vpon any occasion be ministred in a priuate house. And if any will iudge it to be good, the will I demaunde of them, why this should not be as good: John did baptize in Iordane: Ergo, none ought to be baptized but in the riuer Iordane. Or this: John baptized suche as confessed their synnes, Ergo none muste be baptized, but suche as are able to make a confession of their synnes. This is that vnskillful kinde of reasoning, that Zuinglius so ofte reprooueth the Anabaptistes for, and he calleth it an argumente *a facto ad ius*. I doe not in any respects speake agaynst baptizing in the Church, but doe greatly commende it, as a thyng mosse conueniente: but I doe not so tie the Sacramente to the place, or publike congregation, that I make it of the necessitie of the Sacramente, so that it maye not vpon any occasion be ministred in a priuate house. I compare not baptizing in the Church, and in the riuer Iordane together: neyther doe I saye that baptizing of yong infants hath no better

Ab. 19.

grounds



groundes than private baptisme hath : but I disallowe this kinde of profe, which the Armonition vseth : and I see not why it is not of lyke force in all other the circumstances of that place, and those examples that I haue alleadged.

Chyriste preached both privately and publikely : in the temple, and in private families : in great assemblies, and senerally to his owne disciples, and at all tymes as occasion serued : and therefore you can not conclude by the example of Chyriste, that the preaching of the Gospel, ought only to be publique in the open congregation, and at no tyme private vpon any occasion.

### Chap. 4. the. 2. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 112. Sect. 1.

(a) It is sayd, but not proued.

(b) A digression from the matter to the person.

And although to some one action there concur diuers things, which partly are not to be followed at all, partly are indifferent to be followed or not followed, yet neyther the unlawfulness of the one to be followed, nor the indifference of the other can hinder, but there are some other things in the same action necessarie to be followed, whiche may be considered bothe of the place of the Actes, touchyng the election, where I haue (a) proued some thyngs there mentioned to be necessarie to be doone in elections, although other some be not conuenient nor fit for vs to followe. And I haue shewed it also by M. Caluine, whiche M. Doctor alleadgeth for himselfe, and by Cyprian (b) whose authoritie he woulde be loth to reiecte I am sure, least he shoulde lose the opinion of his studiousnesse of the olde writers, which he hunteth so diligently after in this booke, & wherof he maketh the authoys of the Admonition so great contemners. And it is not hard to shew the same in twentie places more, as in the tenth of S. Math. and S. Luke, where as there are diuers things not to be followed of the ministers now, other things indifferent to be followed, so are there also other things that be as well commaunded to all the ministers that now are, as they were then cyther to the. 12. or. 70. disciples.

### Io. Whitgiste.

And of those circumstances wherof there is no commaundement, howe proue you whiche be indifferent, whych be unlawful or not conuenient to be followed, which necessary? why is it not as necessarie by this example of John, that they shoulde be baptized in Iordane, or that they shoulde confesse their synnes, befoze they be baptized, as it is that they shoulde be publikely baptized? If you take vpon you to interpret without authoritie and grounde of scripture, it is meete that you should shew verie good and substanciall reason. I demaunde the lyke touching the places alleadged out of the Actes, where you reteyn what you list, refuse what you list, alter as you list, as though you were lord ouer the Scripture, and had *omnia iura tam diuina quam humana in scrinio pectoris*, all lawes as-wel diuine as humane in the coffer of your breast, lyke to the Pope. But to these places of the Actes I haue answered in their due place. Your scottes make not your cause one whit the better.

Necessary circumstances are commaunded.

What examples doe proue without commaundement.

Of twentie places you recite not one : And of diuers things some indifferent, some not to be followed, other some commaunded to all ministers spoken to the twelue or seuentie disciples in the. 10. of Matthew and Luke you name none : speaking without ground or reason is but prattling. I knowe that in one action there be diuers circumstances, of diuers conditions and natures, but if any of them be necessarie at all tymes to be obserued, the same is conteyned in some commaundement in the Scriptures, and therfoze well sayth Zuinglius that an argument *a facto ad ius*, is then strong, when as we are able to shewe, that that whiche is done, is done according to some rule or commaundement. Now if you can shew me either rule or commaundement in scripture, that vpon no occasion we may preache or baptise in private families, I yelde vnto you. But if you can not this doe, your examples proue what was then done, and what in the lyke cause may be done now, but they make not any generall and perpetuall rule.

Zuinglius.

Now touching these and suche lyke circumstances in my opinion, M. Zuinglius in his booke *de baptismo*, maketh a full resolution, which may satisfie any reasonable man. His wordes be these : There is here three errors about circumstances, that is, the elementes of the worlde. The first is of the tyme, for they thoughte that baptisme was not rightly administred, except it were in the fyrst day : for the tyme is of no greate weight, so that



that we take diligent heed of this, that none rashly or negligently differre it, longer than is conuenient, for by this occasion, it may come to passe, that the baptisme of children might be taken away. An other error is touching the circumstance of the person: for they thought that baptisme could not be administred of no other than of a priest: when as notwithstanding euery man may minister it, euen a woman, if necessitie require: the thirde error is in the circumstance of the place, because it is not necessarie that the infant shoulde only be baptized in the Church.

### Chap. 4. the. 3. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 92. Sect. 3. 4.

Baptisme was ministred in Cornelius house, Actes. 10. The place is not of the substance of the sacramentes.

To the. 1. Cor. 11. it is answered before. Surely this church of Englande dothe not permit the sacramentes to be ministred in priuate places, except there be a congregation, and then not vsually, but only in certaine cases.

Baptisme in an house.

T. C. Pag. 112. Sect. 1.

An other reason he addeth there, that S. Peter baptized in Cornelius house. But M. Doctor maketh not the best choyse of his arguments. For S. Paules baptizing in the house of the Iaylor, had bene moze fit for him, for vnto his place it may be easily answered, that Cornelius hauing so greate a familie, as it is lyke he had, and besydes that dyuers souldiours vnderneath him, and further his frendes and his acquaintance whiche he had called, had a competente number, and as many as would make a congregation, and as could commodiously be preached vnto in one place. But the answer to bothe these examples, and other such lyke, as that S. Paule baptized in the house of Stephana is easy. For there being persecutions at that tyme, so that it was not safe neyther for the minister nor for the people to be seene, it was meete that they shoulde doe it in houses, whiche otherwyle they would haue done in open places: and then those houses whiche receiue the congregation, are not as I haue shewed for the tyme to be counted priuate houses: and further in places where the gospell hath not bene receiued, nor no church gathered, but one onely house: holde, embracing the Gospell, I say in suche a case, and especially in the tyme of persecution, where shoulde the Ministers preache, or minister the Sacramentes, moze conueniently than in that house where those professours of the gospell be: nowe to drawe this into our churches, which may safely come into open places, and where the church and congregation standeth of diuers householdes, is a token of greate want of iudgement, in shuffelyng those things together, whiche for the great diuersitie of their natures will not be mingled.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

The example of Peters baptizing in Cornelius house, is sufficient to proue that then it was lawfull to baptize in priuate families: the example of Paul baptizing the Iaylor and his familie, proueth the same: But it ministreth a moze readie answer to a quareller, because Paul then being prisoner, had not such libertie to make choise of his place, as Peter had. But they are both verie fit examples for my purpose, the bignesse of Cornelius familie or the smalnesse, is not materiall to this question, for we speake of the place, not of the persons. And whereas you say, that in Cornelius house, there was a competent number, and as many as would make a congregation. I answer that so it is with vs when baptisme is ministred in priuate families: for wheresoever *Math. 18.* two or three be gathered together in the name of Christ, there is a congregation.

To your seconde answer of the difference of tyme, because that was in tyme of persecution. &c. I say that as persecution was then a cause why baptisme was vsually ministred in priuate houses, so necessitie is now y<sup>e</sup> cause, why the same is ministred some tymes in priuate families. Neither doe I mayntein or allow the administring of the sacraments in priuate families, to be vsual or without bygent cause, but only vpon extreme necessitie of sicknesse, peril of death & such like. In which cases as neuer any lerned man misliked ministring of the sacraments in such places, so are not you able to shew, either scripture, doctor or reason to y<sup>e</sup> contrary, & whatsoever you say of y<sup>e</sup> tyme of persecutiō touching y<sup>e</sup> matter, y<sup>e</sup> same may be said of the tyme of necessitie also. But here I would haue the Reader to note, y<sup>e</sup> you are now dyuen to confesse a difference in the



in the Church betwixt the tyme of persecution, and the tyme of prosperitie, and that to be convenient in the one, which is not convenient for the other: whiche distinction and diuersitie of tymes, you would not before acknowledge to make any difference in the election of ministers, and government of the Church, and yet the case is all one.

### Chap. 4. the. 4. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

They should first proue that priuate Communion. &c. are agreeable to the written word of god

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 152. Sect. 2.

Of the communion ministered in priuate places.

If you meane by priuate Communion, the Communion ministered to one alone, there is no such allowed in the booke of Common prayers, but if you call it priuate, because it is ministered sometimes in priuate houses to sicke persons: Then haue we the example of Christe, who ministered the Supper in a priuate house, and inner parlour Mark. 14. Luke. 22. Math. 26. we haue also the example of the Apostles themselves, who did minister the supper in priuate houses, especially yf that place be vnderstanded of the supper, whiche is in the seconde of the Acts, and before alleadged of you to proue that common and vsuall bread ought to be in the Supper. Likewise of the primitive church, as appeareth in the seconde apologie of Iustinus Martyr, Tertull. de Corona militis, and others.

T.C. Page. 112. Sect. 2.

And in the page. 152. he bringeth other reasons to proue that the Sacramentes may be ministered in a priuate house, whereof the first is, that our Saviour Christe celebrated his Supper in a priuate house, and in an inner parlour, the reason whereof is easily to be knowne, for the lawe of God ordeyned, that euery householder in his house shoulde eate the passouer with his owne familie. If it were so great, as that they myght well eate by a whole lambe.

#### Io. Whitgifte.

That is a reason why Christe did eate the passouer in a priuate house: but it is no reason why he did celebrate his Supper there in lyke maner. Wherefore my reason holdeth as yet.

### Chap. 4. the. 5. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 112. Sect. 3.

Our Saviour Christ therfore with his householde, obserueth this law, and for because he woulde declare, that the passouer had his ende, and that his holy Sacrament shoulde come in place thereof, he doth forthwith celebrate his supper in the same place, which if he had not done, neither could he haue done it at al, the houre of his apprehension then approaching, neyther shoulde it so truly haue appeared, that eyther the passouer was abolished, or that the Supper came in place of it, being celebrated both at an other tyme, and in an other place.

#### Io. Whitgifte.

Our Saviour Christes example of instituting and ministering his supper in a priuate familie, giuing afterwarde no commaundement to the contrarie, is a manifest proufe that the place is not of the substance of the sacramente, and that vpon occasion it may be ministered in a priuate house. You shewe a reason why Christe at that tyme, and in that place did minister his Supper, but you shewe no reason why we may not in lyke maner vpon necessarie occasion, celebrate the Communion in the lyke place.

Unnecesary  
prooffe.

Chap. 4. the. 6. diuision.

T.C. pag. 112. sect. vii.

Chap.



For the celebrating of the Supper in houses in the Apostles times, and in Iustinus and Tertullians times, which were times of persecution, I have spoken before, where also I declared, that such houses for the time are not private but publicke.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

This answer is as fitte for me, as it is for you, for admit that the Sacraments may be administred in private families in the case of necessitie, and I aske no more. For if persecution be a necessarie cause, why is not sicknesse and perill of death so in lyke maner? agayne, if a private house be no private but a publicke place, when for the feare of persecution the Sacramentes be ministred in it, why is it not so lyke wise, when they be there ministred for extremitie of sicknesse and feare of death? the reason is all one, and the case of necessitie like: and therfore you haue not sayde any thing agaynst me, but with me.

*Chap. 4. the. 7. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 113. Sect. 1.

And these are his reasons, wherewith he would proue, that the sacraments, and therfore also the sacrament of Baptisme may be ministred in a private house.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

And these reasons haue you confirmed rather than confuted, but to the contrarie Circumcision you haue shewed no reason at all, and therfore these stand in full force, to the which I might adde, that circumcision was celebrated in private families, as M. Caluine truly gathereth, vpon the. 8. verse of the first chapter of Luke, which is a better argument to proue that the Sacramentes may be ministred in private places, than you haue shewed any to the contrarie.

**¶ The Sacramentes ministred by other than**

Ministers. Chap. 5. The fyrst Diuision.

Admonition.

Then by ministers (w) only, nowe by Widowes, and Deacons equally.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 93. Sect. 2.

That then the Sacraments wer ministred only by ministers, you alledge the. 28. of Math. which place is answered before. Likewise. 1. Cor. 4. Let a man so think of vs as of the ministers of Christ, & disposers of the mysteries of God. Here is not one word for your purpose, except you take mysteries for sacramentes, which if you doe, you are much decriued: for by the word mysteries here, he vnderstandeth the word of God, and gospell of Christ, as all learned writers do interprete it.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Nothing answered to the vnapt allegation of the. 1. Cor. 4.

*Chap. 5. the. 2. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 93. Sect. 2.

We reade in the eight of the Actes, that Philip a Deacon did baptize: wee reade also, that Sopses wife did circumcise. But where doth this Churche of Englande allowe any woman to baptize, or deacon to celebrate the Lordes Supper? And if it did, the dignitie of the Sacramentes do not depende vpon the man, be he minister or not minister, be he good or euill. Lette every one take heede, that they

Whether any may minister the sacramentes besides the minister.  
What mysteries be.  
Philip deacon baptised.  
Sopses wife did circumcise

v  
Mat. 28. 19  
1. Cor. 4. 1



they doe not vsurpe that authoritie wherewith they be not called.

T.C.P ag. 113. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

(\*) Vntoth, for I  
vse no reasons to  
that end.

He hath certayne other (\*) to proue that women may baptize, whereof the first is in the 93. page, and that is that *Stephena* Moses wife, circumcised hir child, whereunto I haue answered partly before, that particular examples especially contrary to generall rules, are not to be followed, and will further answer if I first admonish the Reader, whereupon this baptisme of midwives, and in priuate houses rose, that when we know of how rotten a stocke it came, the frute it selfe may be more lothsome vnto vs. It first therefore rose by a false interpretation of the place of *S. John*. Vnto a man be borne againe of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen. Where certayne do interpret the word water, for the materiall and elementall water, where- with men are washed, when as our sauoure *Christ* taketh water there, by a translation or borrow- ed speech, for the spirit of God, the effect whereof it shadoweth out. For euen as in another place by the fire and spirit, he meaneth nothing but the spirit of God, which purgeth and purifyeth as the fire doth: so in this place, by the water and the spirit, he meaneth nothing else but the spirit of God, which cleaseth the filth of sinne, and cooleth the broyling heate of an vnquiet conscience, as water washteth the thing which is foule, and quengeth the heate of the fire. Secondly, this erreure came by a false and vnnecessary conclusion drawn of that place. For although the scripture should say, that none can be saved, but those which haue the spirit of God, and are baptised with materiall and elementall water, yet ought it to be vnderstanded of those which can conveniently and order- ly be brought to baptisme, as the scripture saying, that who so doth not beleue the gospell, is already condemned, meaneth this sentence of those which can heare the gospell, and haue discreti- on to vnderstand it, when they heare it, and cannot here shut vnder this condemnation, eyther those that be borne deafe, and so remaine, or little infants, or naturall fooles that haue no witte to con- ceive what is preached.

And herupon *S. Augustine* concludeth, that all not baptised are condemned, which is as ab- surdly concluded of him, as that of our sauoure *Christes* words: excepte one eate the flesh of the sonne of man, he hath not life, he concludeth, that whatsoeuer he be which recepueth not the Sa- crament of the Supper, is damned.

Vpon this false conclusion of *S. Augustine*, hath risen this profanation of the sacramente of baptisme, in being ministered in priuate houses, and by women or lay men, as also vpon his other absurd conclusion, spring a horrible abuse of the Lords supper, whilist they did thrust the bread and wine, into yong infants mouthes. for that menne were perswaded, that otherwise if their children should die, before they were baptised, or had recepued the supper, that they were damned for euer. And what better token can there be, that this was the cause of this blind baptisme, than that the Baptistes, from whence this baptisme by women is translated, were of the same iudge- ment, and for that cause brought in their baptisme by women. Whereunto may be added another cause, which is, that as (when the Church began not only to decline, but to fall away from the sinceritie of religion) it borrowed a number of other profanations of the heathen: so also it borrow- ed this. For as the heathen had women priests, so it would haue also hir women priests, and that this was another occasion of bringing in the baptisme by women, it appeareth by *poutr Clement*, if he can speake any truth.

### Io. Whitgiste.

It is vntreue that I vse any reasons at all to proue, that women may baptize: onely I bring this and such like examples to improue this generall assertion of the Admo- nition, that then sacraments were ministered by ministers only, and not by midwives or deacons. For Deacons then did baptize, and Moses wife long before that time did circumcise. I know that particular examples make no general rules: but you are not ignorant that particular examples may in the like cases and circumstances be followed, when ther is no rule to the contrary.

The place in the 3. of *John* by you alleadged hath diuers interpretations, and the most part of the auncient writers, do take water in that place, for materiall and ele- mentall water: as *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, *Cyrill*, and sundry others, euen as many of the auncient fathers, as I haue red vpon that text. But bycause I do mis- like as much as you the opinion of those that thinke infants to be condemned, which are not baptised, therefore I will not contend with you, eyther in the interpretation of that place, or in anye other thing that you haue spoken touching this er- roure: onely this I saye, that you must take heed, least in auoiding an error, you fall into an heresie, and giue place to Anabaptistes, in not baptising in- fants. And I knowe not what you can saye agaynst priuate baptisme, in that case of necessitie, whyche they doe not in lyke manner alleadg agaynst the baptising of yong Infantes. Master Caluine in his Introduction

aduersus

Particular  
examples may  
sometimes be  
followed.

*Cbr. in. 3. lo.*  
*3. lib. de spi-*  
*rit. sanct.*  
*lib. 2. de Abra-*  
*ham patriar.*  
*Cyri. in. 3. lo.*

106. Epist.  
ad Bonifac.  
in lib. de  
meritis &  
remissi. pec-  
cat. 1. ca. 4

Li. 3. ca. 9.



*Aduersus Anabap.* though he allowe not this error, which condemneth chyldren not baptized, yet both he appoyne and allowe the necessitie of baptizing infantes: His wordes be these. But some man will say, that the grace of God towards vs, is not diminished if infantes be not admitted to Baptisme, so that it be not denied, that God is as mercifull vnto them as vnto the children of the Iewes, but I will shewe that it is much diminished: for we muste esteeme the grace of God, especially by the declaration thereof which he maketh both by his worde and Sacramentes. Seyng therefore Baptisme is nowe ordeyned, that the promise of saluation may be sealed in our bodies, as it was in tymes past in the people of the Iewes: Christians should be deprived of a singular consolation, if theyr children shoulde be secluded from this confirmation, which all the faythfull haue at all tymes enioyed, that they should haue the visible signe, whereby the Lorde doth shewe and witnesseth that he receyue their children into the Communion and fellowship of the Church.

*Caluine aduersus Anabapt.*

If the Authours of the Admonition say truly, that Victor who liued Anno. 198. did firste appoynt that women might Baptise, then came it neyther from the Papistes, nor yet from the Gentils. But whensoever this began, or from whom soeuer it was taken, the baptizing of infantes hath alwayes bene thought necessarie in the Church, by all such, as haue not deuided themselues by any Schisme or Heresie from the same.

### Chap. 5. the. 3. Division.

T. C. Pag. 113. Sect. 4.

Now I returne to the example of Sephora, and say that the vnlawfulnessse of that acte both appeare sufficiently, in that she did it, (1) before hir husbände Moses, which was a Prophete of the Lorde, and (2) to whome that office of circumcision did appertayne: so that vntlesse M. Doctour would haue indwiues baptise in the presence of the Bishop, or the minister, there is no cause why he shoulde allage this place, besides that she did cut of the fore skinne of the Infante not of munde to obey the commaundement of God, or for the saluation of the chyld, but in a choler only, to the ende that hir husbände might be eased, and haue release: which munde appeareth in hir, both by hir wordes, and by casting away in anger, the foreskinne which she had cut of. And if it be sayde, that the euent declared that the acte pleased God, because that Moses forthwith waxed better and was recovered of his sicknesse, I haue shewed before, how if we measure things by the euent, we shall oftentimes iustifie the wicked, and take the rightuousnesse of the rightuous from them.

(1) Moses by reason of sicknesse was not able to do it himselfe.  
(2) This is contrary to that which hath, Pag. 170. Sect. 1.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

In the. 170. Page of your booke, you say that God toke the Priesthode from Moses, and gaue it to Aaron, and now we seeme to affirme the contrarie in saying, that Moses was a Prophete of the Lorde, to whome that office of circumcision did appertayne, for here by you do insinuate that Moses was a Priest. Moreover, Moses at this tyme was extremely sicke, and therefore could not execute that office himselfe: And in the Geneva Bible, there is this note: that it was extraordinarie, for Moses was sore sicke, and God euen then required it. Sephora therefore did circumcise in a poynt of extremitie and not wilfully or of purpose: & that circumcision was a true circumcision, though it were not done ordinarily: euen so Baptisme is true Baptisme, though it be sometimes ministred by such, as be not ordinarie ministers.

Pag. 170. Sect. 1.

Baptisme true though not ordinarily ministred.

The euent both oftentimes declare the thing. *Exitus acta probat*, though not necessarily: but this is certayne that these euentes are better reasons to iustifie the fact, than you can shewe any out of that place to the contrarie.

### Chap. 5. the. 4. Division.

T. C. Pag. 113. Sect. vlt. & Pag. 114. Sect. 1.

In other reason he hath which is, that the dignitie of the sacramentes doth not depende vpon the man, whether he be minister or no minister, good or euill.

In deepe vpon this poynt whether he be good or an euill minister, it dependeth not, but on this poynt



(a) A strange as popnt whether he be a minister or no, dependeth not onely the dignitie, but also (a) the beynge of the Sacrament, so that I take the baptisme of women, to be no more the holy Sacrament of baptisme, than I take any other dayly or ordinarie washing of the childe, neyther let any man thinke that I haue at vnwares slipped into this asseueration, or that I haue forgotten, that soone after the tymes of the Apostles, it was the vse of certayne Churches, that Deacons shoulde baptize in the tyme of necessitie (as they call it) for as for the Baptisme of Deacons, I holde it to be lawfull, for because although (as it is with vs) they giue him the name of Deacon, (\*) yet in deede he is as he then was in the elder tymes a minister, and not a Deacon. And although he did then provide for the poore, and so had two functions (which was not meete) yet his office ought to be esteemed, of the principall parte of his function, which was preachyng and ministring of the Sacramentes, in certayne cases. And as for the baptizing by laye men, considering that it is not onely agaynst the woorde of God, but also founded vpon a false grounde, and vpon an imagined necessitie (which is none in deede) it moueth me nothing at all, although it be very auncient, for so muche as the substance of the Sacrament dependeth chiefly of the institution and woorde of God, whiche is the forme, and as it were the lyfe of the sacrament, of which institution this is one, and of the chiefe partes, that it should be celebrated by a minister.

(\*) Vrge hoc &c.

### *Io. Whitgiste.*

The inconuenience of the Replers doctrine.

If this be true and sounde doctrine, then is there many that go vnder the name of Christians, whiche were neuer baptized: for besides diuerse that haue bene baptized by women, some there are, and not a fewe, that haue bene baptized by suche as haue taken vpon them the ministerie, not beynge thereunto eyther ordinarily, or extraordinaryly called: and it may so be that T.C. hath hereby proued himselfe to be no Christian.

The assertion hath no sufficient patrones.

Baptisme by lay men.  
Tertull.  
Ambrose.  
Hierome.  
Augustine.  
Zuinglius.

And surely if you peruse all the writings of the auncient Fathers, and of the late wyters in lyke manner. I beleue that you shall not finde the lyke proposition affirmed, for although diuers, bothe olde and newe, do not allowe that Lay men shoulde be suffred to baptize, yet is there none of them (suche onely excepted, as erre in rebaptisation) that thinke the beynge of the sacrament so to depende vpon the minister, that it is no sacrament if it be not celebrated by a minister. Tertull. in his booke *De Baptismo* sayth, That laye men may Baptize. Ambrose in the 4. ad *Ephef.* sayeth, that in the beginning it was lawfull for all menne to Baptize. Ierome, ad *Luciferianos* affirmeth, that it is lawfull for Laye men to Baptize if necessitie do requyre. And hereunto also dothe S. Augustine agree, in his 2. Booke, agaynst the Epistle of Parmenian, the 13. Chapter. M. Zuinglius in the place befoze by me alleaged: VVriteth that the seconde error in the circumstances of Baptisme is aboute the person, because they thinke that Baptisme can not be gyuen of any but of a Prieste onely, whereas if necessitie do requyre any man may do it. And a little after he sayeth, That this and such lyke circumstances are not *De ipsa Baptismi essentia*, Not of the beynge of the Sacrament. Whiche is directly contrary to your assertion. M. Caluine also in his *Institutions* Cap. 17. Sect. 16. doth sufficiently confute this error in these wordes: Nowe if it be true that we haue set downe, the Sacrament is not to be esteemed of his hande, by whome it is ministred, but as it were of the hande of God, from whome it certaynely commeth: hereof we may gather, that nothing is added or taken from the dignitie of it, by him by whome it is ministred. And therefore among men if an Epistle be sent, so that the hande and seale be knowne, it skilleth not who or what manner of person caryeth it: euen so it is sufficient for vs, to knowe the hande and seale of the Lorde in his Sacramentes, by whomesoeuer they be deliuered. Hereby is the error of the Donatistes confuted, who measured the vertue and woorthynesse of the Sacrament by the woorthynesse of the minister. Such be now a dayes our Anabaptistes, which denie vs to be rightly baptized, because we were baptized by wicked and idolatrous persons in the Popes Church. And therefore they furiously vrge rebaptisation: agaynst whose folly we shall sufficiently be defended, if we thinke that we were baptised not in the name of any man, but in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, and therefore baptisme not to be of man but of God, by vvhome soeuer it be ministred. *Hec Caluinus.*

Caluine.

Andoubtedly if this your assertion were true there had neede be some generall rebapti-



rebaptisation throughout all Christendome, as well of men as of children, for certayne it is, that that Sacrament hath bene ministred to many by such, as be in no degree of the ministerie.

Your opinion of a Deacon, that he should nothing differ from a minister, is very straunge, and vnhheard of in any writer olde or newe. Shew any authour, any example, any Scripture, that proueth or alloweth it: *Diaconus* and *Presbyter* or *Sacerdos* be distinct in all Authours. But I know wherefore this is affirmed of you, euen to stoppe a gappe, but it will not serue. I will say no more: the opinion is very absurde and vnlarned, contrarie to the Scriptures, and all learned Authours. Neyther do you shew any reason of your Paradoxe, which you ought to do, seing it is *Contra opinionem omnium*, contrarie to all mens opinions, not one excepted.

Agaynst baptising by laye men in tyme of necessitie you haue no Scripture. But for the allowing of it, you haue the authoritie of learned men, etien such as were farre from the opinion of Augustine in condemning infantes not baptized, as namely Zuinglius, who also in the place befoze recited, sufficiently answered, whatsoeuer is here by you barely without any kinde of p<sup>ro</sup>se set downe.

You haue also examples thereof in Ecclesiasticall histories, *Socrates* Lib. 1. cap. 14. and *Sozomen* lib. 2. cap. 17. w<sup>ri</sup>te: That Alexander Bishop of Alexandria together with the rest of the Clergie determined that baptism which was ministred by Athanasius beyng but a childe, to certayne other children, to be true baptism, and not to be iterated, bicause after examination he was founde to haue vsed the woordes, and right forme of baptism. Whereby it is playne, that the opinion of the Church at that tyme was, the minister not to be of the substance or being of baptism. There is recited a storie in the Centuries, of a Jewe baptized in the case of necessitie by Laye men, and with sande, bicause there was no water. Afterwarde the Bishop of Alexandria beyng demaunded of the matter, *De sententia Ecclesie respondit, baptizatum esse Iudeum si modo aqua denuo perfunderetur*, He answered by the iudgement of the Church, that the Jewe was baptized, if so be he were agayne sprinkled with water. This argueth that the Church then made no doubt in the respect of the persons that ministred this Baptisme, but onely bycause there lacked water. This storie is cited out of *Nicephorus* lib. 3. cap. 37. and alleaged by the Authours of the Centuries, to proue the simplicitie of the Church at that tyme, aboute Baptisme, neyther do they in any respect shew any misliking of it. And surely I know not wherein this opinion of yours doth differ from the Donatistes, or Anabaptistes, except it be in this, that you speake of Laye men, and they of Ministers.

And whereas you say, that the minister is one of the chiefe partes, and as it were of the lyfe of the Sacrament: In so weightie a cause, and greate a matter, it had bene well if you had vsed some authoritie of Scripture or testimonie of learned Authour: for so farre as I can reade, the opinion of all learned men is, that the essentiall forme, and as it were the lyfe of Baptisme, is to Baptise in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoste, which forme beyng obserued, the Sacrament remaineth in full force and strength of whom soeuer it be ministred, or howsoeuer by Ceremonies or other additiōs it is corrupted. This I am sure is the answer of Zuinglius, both in his booke *De Baptismo*, and in his *Elench. contra Anabap.* to the Anabaptists, who would haue them all to be rebaptised that haue bene baptised in the Popes Church. And the same is the opinion of *M. Caluine* in the place befoze recited, and of all other learned men that I haue redde.

And certaynely if the being of the Sacrament depended vpon man in any respect, we were but in a miserable case, for we should be alwayes in doubt whether we were rightly baptized or no: but it is most true, that the force & strength of the Sacrament, is not in the man be he minister or not minister, be he good or euill, but in God himself, in his spirite, in his free & effectuall operation. And therefore sayeth *S. Paule*, *What is Paule, what is Apollo, &c.* This I speake not to bring cōfusiō into the Church (for as I sayde befoze, let men take heede that they vsurpe not an office, wherevnto they be not called, for God will call them to an account for so doyng) but to teache

Baptisme by Lay men not condemned in Scripture.

Examples of baptism by lay men.  
*Socrates.*  
*Sozomen.*  
*Athanasius* beyng a childe baptised.  
*Cent. 2. cap. 6.*

The Replier in so weightie a matter blotti no proofes.

The essentiall point of baptism.

The force of baptism depending not vpon man but vpon God.

*1. Cor. 3.*  
Confusion & disorder is not maynteyned.



a truth, to take a yoke of doubtfulness from mens consciences, and to resist an error, not much differing from Donatisme and Anabaptisme.

### Chap. 5. the. 5. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 114. Sect. 1.

For although part of the institution, in that the name of the holy Trinitie is called vpon, be obserued: yet if the whole institution be not, it is no more a Sacrament, than the Baptists communion was, which celebrating it in one kinde, toke a parte of the institution, and leste the other.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

If you can shew as manifest Scripture that the minister is of the substance of Baptisme, as I can do that the cuppe is one of the essentiall partes of the supper, then it is something that you say: but if there be no likely hode betwixt the one and the other, then can you not want iuste reprehension, for so confidently auouching that which you cannot proue.

The distribution of the cuppe in the Lordes supper, is commaunded in manifest and expresse wordes as a parte of the Supper, but you cannot shew me the like commaundement that only a minister shall celebrate Baptisme, or els that it is no Baptisme. We know that circumcision, the figure of Baptisme, was ministred sometimes by such as were no Priests: and yet right and true circumcision.

### Chap. 5. the. 6. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 114. Sect. 1.

(\*) This is added to the text.

And for as much as S. Paule sayth that a man cannot preach which is not sent, (\*) no not although he speake the wordes of the scripture and interpret them, so I cannot see how a man can baptise, vntlesse that he be sent to that end, although he poure water and rehearse the wordes which are to be rehearsed in the ministrie of baptisme. Rom. 10.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Martyr.

Caluine.

S. Paule in that 10. chapl. to the Rom. speaketh of the extraordinarie calling to the office of preaching, so sayeth M. Martyr in his Commentaries, vpon this place. And although Paule intreateth in this place of calling, and sending, and this is as I sayde ordinarie and extraordinarie: there is no doubt but that he nowe speaketh of the extraordinarie calling, &c. And B. Caluine lyke wise vpon the same place sayeth, that Paule doth not there speake, *De legitima cuiusque vocatione*, of the lawfull calling of euery man. Wherefore if you will grounde any such reason vpon this place, it muste be thus: S. Paule sayth that a man cannot preach which is not sent, and he meaneth of an extraordinarie sending, therefore no man may preach vntlesse he be extraordinarily called therevnto: and so consequently not minister baptisme, except he be called in like manner. If you will reason thus, then do you cōfirme the baptizing by laye men, who do it not ordinarily but extraordinarily vpon necessitie.

The Replier addeth to the text, and for what purpose.

Whisperers both in preaching and ministering the Sacraments offend God.

S. Paule doth not say, that a man cannot preach which is not sente, no not although he speaketh the wordes of the scripture, and interpret them. These wordes be so added by you, that the simple and ignozant, may thinke they be the wordes of S. Paule. He that speaketh the wordes of the scripture, and doth interpret them, preacheth, though he be not therevnto called, and it is the true worde of God he preacheth, if he truly interprete, but he intrudeth himselfe into a vocation wherevnto he is not called, and therefore offendeth God: but that doth derogate nothing from the worde preached. The same reason is of the administration of the Sacramentes, for as the worde of God, is the worde of God, by whom so euer it be preached minister or other: so is the Sacrament of Baptisme, true baptisme by whom soeuer it be celebrated: the vsurper of the office hath to answere for his intrusion, but the Sacrament is not thereby defiled.

It is



It is no harde matter to shew that in the primitive Church, laye men were suffered to preach: you know that Euseb. sayeth that Origene being a lay man was sent into Arabia to preach the Gospell which he also did, both before & after in the Church of Alexandria, and likewise in Cesarea. And although Demetrius then Bishop of Alexandria, founde faulte that Origene being a laye man shoulde preache in the presence of Bishops at Cesarea. Yet is it manifest that he allowed laye men to preach, if Bishops were not present. And in the same chapt. by diuers examples it is shewed (as of Euelpis at Laranda, of Paulinus at Iconium, of Theodorus at Synada) that the custome of the Churches both then and before that time was, that laye men might preach euen in the presence of Bishops, so that you haue erred both in applying the place of S. Paule, and in saying that laye men may not preache the word upon occasion, and so consequently Baptise.

Lay men suffered to preach.  
Euseb. lib. 6.  
cap. 20.

### Chap. 5. the. 7. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 114. Sect. 1.

I know there be diuers difficulties in this question, and therefore I was loth to enter into it, but that the Answerer setteth downe so confidently, that it maketh no matter for the truche of baptisme whether he be minister or no minister, and so whether one haue a calling or no calling, wherein notwithstanding he doth not onely by his often handling of one thing confounde his reader, but himselfe also, and forgetteth that he is in an other question, than which is propounded. For although it should be graunted him, that the sacrament doth not depende vpon that, yet hath he not that (a) which he would haue, that women may baptise for it is one thing to say the baptisme which is ministered by women is good and effectuell, and an other thing to say, that it is lawfull for women to minister baptisme. For there is no man doubteth but that the baptisme which is ministered by an hereticall minister is effectuell, and yet I thinke that M. Doctor will not say, that therefore an hereticall minister may baptise, and that it is lawfull for heretikes to baptise in the Church. And therfore men must not onely take heede (as M. Doctor sayth) that they vsurpe not, that which they are not called vnto, but they must also take heede, that they receyue not functions and charges vpon them, whereof they are not capable, although they be therevnto called.

(\*) The more to blame you are without proofe to enter into such difficulties.

(a) This is not intended.

### Io. Whitgiste.

There are no difficulties in this question than you can wel determine: and therfore it had bene beste, eyther not to haue spoken of it at all, or els to haue handled it more substantially: but the scarcitie of matter and reasons, argueth the weakenesse and sayntnesse of the cause. I passe ouer your wordes: I go not aboute to proue that women may baptise, onely I withstande this error, that the Substance and being of the Sacramentes dependeth vpon the man in any respect. I say that baptisme ministered by women is true Baptisme, though it be not lawfull for women to baptise, as the baptisme also ministered by heretiks is true baptisme, though they be vsurpers of that office. And the same, S. Augustine affirmeth of baptisme by laye men in the place before alleaged: Although (sayeth he) it be vsurped without necessitie, and is giuen of any man to any man, that which is giuen cannot be sayde not to be giuen, although it may be rightly sayde not to be rightly giuen. And I further say, that if the baptisme, ministered by hereticall ministers, which be no members of the Church, be notwithstanding good and effectuell, I see no cause why it should not be so rather, if it be ministered by laye men, which are members and partes of the Church.

Baptisme true baptisme, though vsurped, lawfully ministered.  
August. lib. 2.  
contr. Epist.  
Parmen. 54. 13.

### Chap. 5. the. 8. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 153. Sect. 2.

M. Bucer in his censure vpon the Communion booke, speaking of the order appointed in the same for priuate Baptisme, writeth thus.

In this constitution all things are godly appoynted, I woulde to God they were so obserued, and especially this that the baptisme of infants be not deferred,

Differring of baptisme not expedient.



ferred, for, therby is a dore opened vnto the Deuill, to bring in a contempt of baptisme, and so of our whole redemption, and communion of Christ which thorough the sect of Anabaptistes, hath to much preuayled vvith many.

T.C. Pag. 114. Sect. 2.

(\*) This is but  
grosse courtesie.

In the 153. page, M. Bucers censure vpon the communion booke is cited, for the allowance of that it hath touching priuate baptisme, and consequently of the baptisme by women. It may be, that as M. Bucer although otherwise very learned hath (\*) other grosse absurdities, so he may haue that. But it had bene for the credite of your cause, if you had shewed that out of those writings, which are published & knowne to be his, & not out of those, wherof men may doubt, whether euer he wrote any such or no: And if he wrote, whether they be corrupted by those into whose hands they came. And if you would take any aduantage of M. Bucers testimonie, considering that a witnesse is a publike person, you should haue brought him out of your studie into the stationers shop, where he mought haue bene common to others, as well as to you, whereby his stile and manner of writing as it were by his gestures, and countenances, and by those things that go before, and come after, as it were by his head, and by his feete, we might the better know whether it were the true Bucer or no.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The reuerence  
which T.C.  
giveth to learned  
men.

It is very grosse courtesie that you shewe to so worthy and learned a man: modestie and charitie would not haue bene so rashe as to answer that whiche he well speaketh, in opprobriously obiecing vnto him his other errors, which you call grosse absurdities. But this is the reuerence that you giue to all learning, and learned men, that are contrary to your opinions. I haue sometimes heard a Papiste burst out in to this rage, against M. Bucer beyng pressed with his authoritie: But you are the first professor of the Gospell, that euer I hearde so churlishly to be so reuerent, so learned, so paynefull, so sounde a father, being also an earnest and zelous professor. It causeth me the lesse to regarde what you speake of me, when I heare such bitterness agaynst all other, be they neuer so zealous and excellent. Well Bucers reasons (which touch the quicke) would haue bene reasonable answered without spyte: and you should rather haue considered them, than the anthrow. There is nothing in these wordes by him affirmed, which is not in as playne termes auouched by Zuinglius, in the wordes before recited. The booke of M. Bucers is forth coming to be shewed, and he affirmeth nothing therein contrary to his bookes published: he had more speciall occasion here offered to speake both of this and other matters now in controuersie, and therefore the more he is to be credited.

### Chap. 5. the. 9. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 114. Sect. 2.

For although I will not say but that this may be Bucers doing, yet it seemeth very straunge, that Bucer should not onely contrarie to the learned writers nowe, but also contrary to all learned antiquitie, and contrarie to the practise of the Church, whilst there was any tollerable estate, allowe of womens baptizing. (a) Tertullian sayeth it is not permitted to a woman to speake in the Church, nor to teache or to baptize, nor to do any worke of a man, much lesse of a minister. (b) And in an other place, although he do permit it to be done by Laye men, in the tyme of necessitie (as it is termed) yet he giueth not that licence to the woman. (c) Epiphanius vpbraideth Marcion that he suffered women to baptize. And (d) in an other booke he deribeth them that they made women Bishops. And (e) in an other booke he sayeth, it was not graunted vnto the holy mother of Christe to baptize hir Sonne.

(a) De virgin, velan.  
(b) Lib. de Baptis.  
(c) Epiph. li. 1. contra hares.  
(d) Lib. 2. Vbi de Phrygib. & Priscil.  
(e) Lib. 3.

### Io. Whitgifte.

M. Bucer speaketh not one worde in this place of baptizing by women: but of priuate Baptisme, which neyther Tertullian, nor Epiphanius in these places by you alleaged do disallow.

### Chap. 5. the. 10. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 115. Lin. 6.

An vntruth.

Argueth although he were of that minde, that children could not be saved without baptisme, yet in the tyme of necessitie (as it is called) he doth not allow eyther of baptisme in priuate houses, or by women, but when there was daunger the women basted to carie the children vnto the Church, and although he do seeme to allowe of the baptisme of a Lay man, in the tyme of necessitie, yet there also he mentioneth not womens baptisme. And further he doubteth whether the childe should be baptised againe, which was baptised by a laye man.

1. Li. de misericord. peccat. 24. cap. Contra Euphrasium. lib. 2.

Io. Whitgifte. 13. cap.



*Io. Whitgiste.*

Where doth *S. Augustine* disallow baptizing by women, or in private houses: he uttereth no such thing in any of the places quoted in the margente. Will you still counterfeit: is there no ende with you of falsifying? In his seconde booke *contra Epistolam Parmeniani, Cap. 13.* he doth not onely say that a lay man may baptise in the tyme of necessitie, but he also addeth, that if it be ministred without necessitie, yet notwithstanding that it is baptism: as appeareth in these words (as I have before sayde) But althoughe it be vsurped (he meaneth baptism by lay men) without necessitie, and is given of any man to any man, that whiche is given can not be sayde not to be given, althoughe it maye be rightly sayde, that it is not lawfully given. And he doth make the same manifest by two pretie similitudes following, whiche I omitte for to avoide tediousnesse. The learned Reader maye in that place of *Augustine* some perceyue, what an errour this is to saye, that the Minister is of the substance and being of the Sacrament: neyther doth he in eyther of the places, eyther disallowe baptism by women, or in private houses, as you affirme, but *ad Fortunatum* he saythe thus: In necessitie when the Bishops or Priests, or any other minister can not be founde, and the daunger of him that requireth dothe constrainne, least he shoulde departe this lyfe without this sacrament, we have heard, that even lay men have given the sacrament that they have receyued.

*Aug. lib. 2.  
contra Epist.  
Parm. cap. 13.*

*Aug. ad For-  
tunatum.*

*Chap. 5. the. 11. Division.*

T. C. Page. 115. Lin. 12.

Tom. 1. cō.  
a. 100.

And in the fourth Councell of Carthage it is simply decreed that a woman oughte not to baptise.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

This Canon in *Gratian de conse. Disti. 4.* is thus reported: *Mulier quamvis docta & sancta, viros in comuentu docere, vel aliquos baptizare non presumat, nisi necessitate cogente* Let nor a woman, although learned and godly, presume to teache men in an assembly, or to baptise any, excepte necessitie constrainne. So that the Canon inhibiteth women to preache or to baptise in the open Church and publike assemblies. And this is a sufficient answer to this place, neyther doth it impugne any thing affirmed in the Answer.

*Chap. 5. the. 12. Division.*

T. C. Page. 115. Lin. 13.

The authors of the Admonition object that necessitie of saluation is tyed to the Sacrament by this meanes, and that men are confirmed in that olde errour that no man can be saued without baptism, whiche in deede is true. For muste it not be thought to be done of necessitie, and vpon great extremitie, for the doing whereof the orders that God hath set, that it shoulde be done in the congregation, and by the Minister of the Gospell, are broken? Yes verily. And I will further say, that although that the Infants which dye without baptism shoulde be assuredly damned (whiche is mooste false) yet oughte not the orders whiche God hath set in hys Church, to be broken after this sorte. For as the saluation of men oughte to be deare vnto vs; so the glory of God, whiche consisteth in that his orders be kepte, ought to be muche more deare, that if at any time the controuersie coulde be betwene his glory and our saluation, our saluation ought to fall thar his glory may stande.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Yet the auoyding of that errour is no sufficient cause to debarre Infantes from baptism: excepte you will therein ioyne with the Anabaptistes. The outward sacramentall signes, are seales of Gods promises, and whosoever refuseth the same, shall neuer enjoy the promises, and althoughe the necessitie of saluation is not so tyed to the Sacraments, that whosoever hath the externall signes, shall therefore be saued, yet is it so tyed vnto them, that none can be saued, that willingly and wittingly

There is necessitie of baptism, though the necessitie of saluation be not tyed to the sacramentes.



Genes. 17.

Mark. 16.

The doctrine  
tendeth to the  
derogation of  
the sacraments.

is voyde of them, & not partakers of them. Circumcision which is a figure of baptism, had that necessitie ioyned vnto it, that whosoever lacked it, was not counted nor reckoned amongst the people of God. It is not nothing that Chryst sayth: *Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit* &c. But your maner of doctrine is suche, that it maketh men thinke that the externall signes of the sacraments are but bare ceremonies, and in no sense necessarie to saluation, whiche muste in time bring in a contempte of the sacraments, and especially of baptism for Infants.

M. Zuinglius, Bucer, and Caluine as you heard before, although they doe not thinke childzen without baptism to be damned, yet doe they iudge the baptism of childzen to be necessarie, and that for iust causes, as is before declared. And what Christian would willingly suffer his child to dye without the sacrament of regeneration, the lacke whereof (though it be not a necessarie) yet may it seeme to be a probable token and signe of reprobation.

What eyther order of God, or commaundement is broken in priuate baptism: or where hath God appoynted that baptism muste be ministred in the open congregation onely, and not vpon any cause in priuate families: Will you yet deale on this sorte without ground or p<sup>ro</sup>ofe? In priuate baptism v<sup>se</sup>d vpon necessitie there is neyther order nor commaundement of God broken. If there be, shewe it.

### Chap. 5. the. 13. Diuision.

#### The Admonition.

And yet this is not to tye necessitie of saluation to the sacraments, nor to nousell men by in that opinion. This is agreeable with the scriptures, and therefore when they bring the baptised childe they are receyued with this speciall commendation: I certifie you that you haue done well and according to due order. &c.

But now we speake in good earnest, when they answer this, let them tell vs howe this geare agreeth with the scriptures, and whether it be not repugnant or agaynst the worde of God?

#### Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 187. Sect. 1.

And yet (you say) this is not to tye necessitie of saluation to the sacramentes, nor to nousell men vp in that opinion. &c. No surely, no more than it is to teach, that childzen ought to be baptized, and not to tarry vntill suche time as they be able to answer for themselves.

#### T. C. Pag. 115. Sect. 1.

Now in the. 187. page, M. Doctor answereth heerevnto, that this implieth no more, that the saluation is tyed to the sacraments, than when it is taught that Infants must be baptised, and not tarry vntill they come to the age of discretion. The which how truly it is spoken, when as the one hath grounde of the scripture, the other hath none, the one approued by the continuall, and almost the generall practise of the Church, the other v<sup>se</sup>d onely in the corrupt and rotten estate thereof, let all men iudge.

#### Jo. Whitgiste.

This verifieth my saying, for if baptism of childzen be grounded vpon the scriptures, as it is, then is the necessitie of baptising them, the more: so that if not for feare of damnation, yet because of Gods commaundement and institution, childzen are of necessitie to be baptized: and this is a receyued opinion in the Church, even from the beginning, & therfore lay men in the time of necessitie, from the beginning haue bene permitted to baptise, as may appeare by the autho<sup>rs</sup> before alleaged.

### Chap. 5. the. 14. Diuision.

#### T. C. Pag. 115. Sect. 1.

Therefore for so muche as the ministerie of the worde and Sacramentes goe together, and that the ministerie of the worde may not be committed vnto women, and for that this euill cu<sup>st</sup>ome



Some hath risen first of a false understanding of the Scripture, and then of a false conclusion of that vntue understanding, which is, that they can not be saved whiche are not baptized, and for that the authors them selves of that error dyd neuer seeke no remedie of the mischiefe in women or priuate baptisme: And last of all, for that if there were any remedie, agaynst the mischiefe in suche kinde of baptisme, yet it ought not to be vsed, being agaynst the institution of God, and his glory. I conclude that the priuate baptisme, and by women is vnterly vnlawfull.

### *To. Whitgifte.*

These be all petitions of principles, or the mooste of them: for I haue shewed before, that the administration of baptisme hath bene and may be committed to some, euen in the publike congregation, to whom the preaching of the word is not committed: and now in lyke maner I haue proued, that laye men in the time of necessitie maye baptise: whiche bothe are denyed by you without any kinde of profe. I haue also shewed, howe that the necessitie of baptizing Infants is vehemently defended of those, that be not of S. Augustines iudgement touching their damnation, if they be not baptized, and I haue set downe their wordes, whiche conteyne their reasons. Last of all, I haue put you to proue that Priuate baptisme in time of necessitie is agaynst any commaundement or institution of Christe: for I denie it. So that notwithstanding I suspende my iudgement for baptizing by women: yet I am oute of doubt for priuate baptisme.

¶ Of priuate Communion, wherwith the Admonition chargeth the booke of Common prayer.

### *Chap. 6. the. 1. Division.*

#### Admonition.

<sup>k</sup> Nowe they are bounde to the booke of Common prayer, in which a great number of thinges  
1. Cor. 11, 18, contrary to the worde of God are conteyued, &c. as (k) priuate Communion, &c.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 81. Sect. 1. 2.

I knowe not what you meane by priuate Communion: if you meane the receyuing of one alone, there is none suche allowed in the booke: if you meane because it is ministred sometime vpon occasion in priuate houses, I see not howe you can call it priuate in respect of the place, if the number of Communicants be sufficient. You must explicate your selfe before I can tell what you meane.

There is nothing in the communion booke touching the Communion, contrarie to the place of S. Paule by you quoted, to my knowledge. 1. Cor. 11, 18.

T. C. Page. 105. Sect. 1.

There followeth the priuate Communion, whiche is founde faulte with, bothe for the place whererein it is ministred, and for the small number of Communicants, whiche are admitted by the booke of service. Touching the place before is spoken sufficiently, it resteth to consider of the number. But before I come to that, I will speake something of the causes and beginning of receyuing in houses, and of the ministring of the Communion vnto sicke folkes. It is not to be denyed, but that this abuse is very auncient, and was in Iustine Martyrs time, in Tertullians and Cyprians tyme, euen as also there were other abuses crepte into the Supper of the Lorde, and that very grosse, as the mingling of water with wyne, and therein also a necessitie and great mysteric placed, as it may appeare bothe by Iustine Martyr, and Cyprian, whiche I therfore by the waye doe admonish the Reader of, that the antiquitie of this abuse of priuate Communion, be not prejudiciall to the truth, no more than the mingling of water with that opinion of necessitie that those fathers had of it, is or ought to be prejudiciall to that that we vse in ministring the cuppe with pure wyne, according to the institution.

To. Vvhit.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

The vsuall  
answering of  
T.C.

More sincer-  
itie in the mi-  
nistratio now  
than in the  
auncient  
Church.

This is your accustomed maner (but it is besides all good maners) to wype away auncient and learned authoritie, by objecting vnto the authoꝛs, some imperfection in their writings, oꝛ errors in their times. Is this a good reason, water was of necessitie required in Cyprians time in the administration of the supper, and that was an error, therefore the communion at that tyme, and long before, ministred vnto the sicke, and carried to priuate persons being absent, was unlawfull: Suche be your arguments, and this is your kinde of answering: which maye be plausible to the ignorant people, but nothing pleasaunt to suche as be learned. This one thing I will desire the Reader to consider (that seeing our sacraments nowe be more sincerely ministred than they were in Iustines, Tertullians, and Cyprians tyme, being so neare the Apostles) what cause there should be for you, so bitterly to inueygh agaynst this Church in that respect.

*Chap. 6. the. 2. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 115. tovvardes the ende.

I say therefore that this abuse was auncient, and rose vpon these causes. First of all in the primitive Church, the discipline of the Church was so severe, and so extreme, that if any whiche professed the truth, and were of the body of the Church, dyd through infirmitie deny the truth, and toynd hymselfe vnto the Idolatrous service, although he repenting came agayne vnto the Church, yet was he not receyued to the communion of the Lords supper any more. And yet lying in extremitie of sickness, and ready to depart this lyfe, if they dyd require the Communion in token that the Church had forgiven the fault, and was reconciled altogether vnto that person that had so fallen, they graunted that he might be partaker of it, as may appeare by the (\*) story of Serapion.

(\*) Euseb.  
li. 6. cap. 41

*Io. Whitgifte.*

All this is true, for sometime they had thre, fyve, oꝛ ten yeres space of repentance before they were admitted to the sacrament, and after that tyme was expired, they came as other dyd to the Communion, if they lived to it: if not, they receyued it on their death bedde. This is for my purpose, for it manifestly declareth, that then the Communion was ministred vnto the sicke, whiche is our question, it can by no meanes be drawne agaynst me.

*Chap. 6. the. 3. Diuision.*

T.C. Page. 116. Lin. 2.

In other cause was, that whiche was before allaged, which is, the false opinion, whych they had conceived, that all those were condemned, that receyued not the supper of the Lorde, and therefore when as those that were as they called them Cathecumeni, whych is yong Monikes in religion, neuer admitted to the supper, oꝛ yong chyldeꝛn fell sicke dangerously, they ministred the supper of the Lord vnto them, least they should want their voyage victuall (as they termed it) whiche abuse notwithstanding was neyther so auncient as the other, nor so generall.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

This was the cause that moued some so to doe: howbeit, neyther was it the only cause, neyther the generall and vsuall cause, but the generall and vsuall cause was the institution of Chryste, and the frutes and effectes of that Supper, the whiche whosoener dothe consider accordingly, will neyther cease from requiring it, in tyme of extremitie, neyther withholde it from suche as saythfully and earnestly desire the same, and it is an easie matter to shewe, that this manner of communicating in priuate families, is of very great antiquitie, euon in Iustinus Martyrs time, as appeareth in his seconde Apologie, and is by you confessed.

Chap.



Chap. 6. the. 4. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 116. Lin. 8.

And there wanted not good men, whiche declared their misliking, and byd decree agaynst both the abuses, and agaynst all manner communicating in priuate houses. As in the Councell of (\*) Laodicea, it was ordeyned that neyther Byshop nor Elder, shoulde make any oblation, that was, minister any Communion in houses.

(\*) Tom. 1. can. 58.

Jo. Whitgifte.

This Councell dothe speake agaynst the vsuall manner of celebrating the Communion in priuate houses, without any respect of necessitie: whiche abuse was growen in some places in the tyme of Hierome and Damasus, about whose time thys Councell was: but there is neyther Councell, nor learned Father, that euer opened their mouthes agaynst ministring the Communion to the sicke in priuate families, or vpon any other vrgente or necessarie occasion. The (\*) 12. Canon of the Councell of Nice, dothe determine directly, that the Communion oughte to be ministred to the sicke.

The Communion ministred to the sicke. (\*) In the Grecke it is the. 13. Canon.

Chap. 6. the. 5. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 116. Lin. 12.

Besides therefore that I haue before shewed the vnlawfulness generally of ministring the Sacrament in priuate places, seeing that the custome of ministring thys Supper vnto the sicke, rose vpon corrupte causes and rotten foundations, and considering also (God be prayd) in these tymes there are none bypoken by feare to renounce the trueth, where vpon any suche excommunication should ensue, which in the extremitie of sicknesse should be mitigated after thys sorte (for no man nowe that is in extreme sicknesse, is cast downe, or else assaunted with this temptation, that he is cutte off from the Church) I saye these things considered, it followeth, that this ministring of Communion in priuate houses, and to the sicke, is vnlawfull, as that whiche rose vpon euill grounds: and if it were lawfull, yet that nowe in these tymes of peace, and when the sicke are not excommunicated, there is no vse of it. And so it appeareth how little the custome of the olde Church, dothe helpe M. Doctor in this poynt.

Io. Whitgifte.

This was one cause, but not the only cause why the Communion was ministred to the sicke: the chiefe and principall cause was (as I haue sayde) the frutes and effectes of that Sacrament, whiche is remission of sinnes, peace of conscience, and effectuall applying of the death and passion of Christ vnto the Communicants, and an assurance of Gods promises, whereof that sacrament is an effectuall seale.

Chap. 6. the. 6. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 81. Sect. 3.

The Communion exhibited vnto sicke persons, is allowed both of Peter Martyr, and Bucer, as in the other treatise I haue declared, and consonant to the custome of Christes Church, euen from the Apostles time, as is to be seene in the olde wyters.

Sicke persons receiue the communion

T.C. Page. 116. Sect. 1.

And as for that he sayth Peter Martyr, and Bucer do allowe the Communion exhibited to the sicke persons, when he sheweth that, he shal haue answer. For where he sayth he hath declared it in an other treatise, either the Printer hath left out that treatise, or M. Doctor wonderfully forgetteth him selfe, or else he meaneth some odde thing, that he hath written, and layed vpon some corner of his studie, for surely there is no suche saying in all his booke before, nor yet after, as farre as I can finde.



## Io. Whitgifte.

Bucer.

M. Bucer in his Censures vpon the Communion booke speaking of this parte of it, sayth thus: And those thinges whiche are commaunded in this behalfe doe well enough agree with the holie Scriptures: for to receyue the Communion of the Lorde, and to be partaker of hys Table, dothe not a little auayle vnto the comfote of afflicted consciences, if it be receyued according to the Lords institution.

M. Martyrs allowing of the same, is added in that place.

Musculus.

M. Musculus in his Common places, *Titul. de cena Domini*, saythe that *Priuate & extrema egrotantium communio*. &c. Priuate and last communion ministred to the sicke, is reteyned in dyuers reformed Churches, for this ende, that the sicke persons thereby maye be strengthened in fayth, made stronger agaynst the temptations of Sathan, and the better armed to beare the paynes of death. Neyther doe I see any reason (if the superstitious opinion of the Papistes be rooted out) why any man in that case shoulde be deprived of these benefites.

## Chap. 6. the. 7. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 116. Sect. 2.

Howe remayneeth to be spoken of the number of communicantes, and that there is faulte in the appoynting of the Service booke, not onely for that it admitteth in the tyme of plague, that one wyth the Minister maye celebrate the Supper of the Lorde in the house, but for that it ordeyneth a Communion in the Church, when of a great number whiche assemble there, it admitteth three or foure. The abuse and inconuenience whereof maye thus be considered. The holy Sacrament of the Supper of the Lorde is not onely a seale, and confirmation of the promises of God vnto vs, but also a profession of our communion, as well with Christ our sauour, and wyth God, as also (as (\*) S. Paule teacheth) a declaration and profession that we are at one wyth our brethren: so that it is first a sacrament, of the knyting of all the body generally, and of euery member particularly wyth the head, and then of the members of the bodie one wyth an other. Howe therefore seeing that euery particular Church and body of Gods people, is a representation, and as it were a huius portraiture of the whole Church and body of Christ, it followeth that whiche we can not doe wyth all the Church scattered throughout the whole worlde, for the distaunces of places whereby we are seuered, we ought to doe with that Church wherunto God hath raunged vs, as muche as possibly or conueniently maye be. The departing therefore of the rest of the Church, from those three or foure is an open profession that they haue no communion, fellowship, nor vnitie wyth them that doe communicate: and likewise of those three or foure, that they haue none wyth the rest that ioyned themselves therewith: when as both by the many grapes making one cup, & cornes making one loafe, that whole Church being many persons, are called as to the vnitie whiche they haue one wyth an other, and altogether among them selues: so to the declaration and profession of it, by receyuing one wyth another, and altogether amongst themselves. And as if so be, that we do not celebrate as we may possibly and conueniently, the supper of the Lorde, we thereby bette our wante of loue towards the Lorde, whiche hath redeemed vs: so if we doe not communicate together wyth the Church, so farre forth as we maye doe conueniently we betray the wante of our loue, that we haue one towards an other. And therefore S. (\*) Paule draving hereunto, wytheth that one shoulde rary for an other, reprehending that when one presenteth, and commeth before an other, saying: that that is to take euery man hys owne supper, and not to celebrate the Lordes Supper, not that so many men or women as there came, so many tables were, for that had not bene possible in so great assemblies, but that they sorted them selues into certayne companies and that they came scattering one after an other, and that in steade of making one Supper of the Lorde, they dyd make dyuers.

## Io. Whitgifte.

The intent of the booke is to moue all men to communicate.

You can not be ignorant, that the whole drift of the Communion booke, is to moue all men to ofte communicating, and that together, as it manifestly appeareth in the first exhortation in the booke prescribed to be read, when the Curate shall see the people negligent in coming to the Communion, the which if you had well perused you would haue (as I think) cutte off much of this talke. If the booke should appoynt that three or foure should communicate together, & no more, or if it did not allow that

Communion



Communion best wherein most of the Church doe participate : then were your reasoning to some ende : but seeing that it is appoynted that there shoulde not be fewer than thre or foure, to the ende that it might be a Communion, and haue no similitude with the Papistlicall Masse, there is no cause why you should take this paynes. And surely he that shal compare that exhortation in the booke with this discourse of yours, it will be no harde matter for him to iudge, how much more pithily and effectually this matter is there handled, than it is here by you. But that thre or foure shoulde be a sufficient number to communicate if other will not, there is good cause : for seeing the holy Sacrament is a Seale and confirmation of Gods promises, and an effectually applying of the death and passion of Christ vnto vs, and therefore a singular comfort and reliefe to the afflicted conscience and minde touched with the feeling of sinne, why shoulde those that be desirous of it being a congregation (as thre or foure is, according to the saying of Christ, where two or three be gathered together in my name, &c.) be debarred from their Godly desire, and that singular comfort, for the carelesse, securitie, negligence, or lacke of such feeling of others : Shall none communicate because all will not? Shall not thre or foure because the rest refuse? Is it lacke of loue towarde our neighbour, or any token thereof if we resort to the Lordes table, when other will not? Where learne you that?

Thre or foure  
a sufficient  
number, if o-  
ther will not  
communicate.

Thre or foure  
a congregation,  
Mat. 18.

The place of S. Paule. 1. Cor. 11. is not aptly applyed. For the Apostle in that place, reproveth onely such as contemptuously or contentiously did separate themselves from other as well in the publike feastes called Loue feastes, and then used in the Church, as in the Supper of the Lord. But he rather meaneth of the first than of the latter, and therefore sayth M. Martyr vpon that place. The Supper is here called private : eyther because some did challenge to themselves priuately that which belonged to all : or else because euerie one after the receyuing of the holy mysteries, did take againe to himselfe those things, which he had offered at the Lordes table, and made that his owne which by right belonged to all. And againe he sayth, that the Corinthians be there reproveth, because they pampered their bellie, and contemned their brethren. I tolde you before what M. Caluine thought of this place : it can in no respect tende to the disallowing of any order appoynted in the booke of common prayer, because no man is secluded from the Communion that will come, and those that come when other men will not, do it not of contempt or of contention, but of conscience and pietie. Moreover, we haue no such banquettes or feastes, eyther before or after the Communion, as the Corinthians had, and therefore in that respect, there can be no suche abuse as the Apostle there reproveth.

Martyr. in. 1.  
Cor. 11.

## Chap. 6. the. 8. Diuision.

### Admonition.

Sixthly, in this booke thre or foure are allowed for a fit number to receyue the Communion, and the Priest alone together with one more, or with the sicke man alone, may in tyme of necessity, that is, when there is any common plague, or in tyme of other visitation minister it to the sicke man, and if he require it, it may not be denyed. This is not I am sure, like in effect to a priuate Masse : that Scripture (f) drinke ye all of this, maketh not against this, and private Communion, is not against the Scriptures.

(f)  
Mat. 26. 27  
Mar. 14. 23

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 185. Sect. 1.

How bitterly these men charge the Church with priuate Communion I haue shewed before. The place of scripture here alledged to proue that thre or foure be not a sufficient number to communicate is this, drinke ye all of this. Mat. 26. Mark. 14. which may as well be applyed to proue that ten, twentie, fortye, is no sufficient number : I know not what your meaning is except you thinke no number sufficient, vnlesse al do communicate together, because Christ said drinke ye

No number  
determined to  
be at the Co-  
munion.

Py.

all



Basil would  
haue. xii. at  
the least.

all of this. This text proueth that all ought to be partakers of the Lordes Cuppe, but it doth not determine any certaine number of Communicants. I knowe there be some of the olde fathers as Basilus Magnus, which would not haue fewer Communicants than. xij. But of the number of Communicants there is nothing determined in Scripture, neither is it materiall so that there be a number, that it may be a Communion.

T. C. Pag. 117. Sect. 1.

These things being considered, the reason which the Admonition beth in the. 185. page, where this matter is spoken of, which is, drink you all of this, is not so ridiculous, as Mr. doctor maketh it. For although it do neyther proue that. 12. or. 20. or any other definite number must of necessitie receiue, yet it proueth that as all they which were present did communicate: so as many as in the Church are fit to receiue the Sacraments, or may conueniently receiue them together, should follow that example in celebrating the supper together.

Jo. Whitgiste.

The booke of common prayer doth greatly commend, and like the receiuing of the whole Church together, but if that can not be obteyned (as it cannot, and they will not haue men compelled vnto it) it secludeth not those that be well disposed: so they be a competent number. And the booke doth exhort those to depart which do not communicate, with a warning from whence they depart, so that you may well vnderstand, that the meaning of the Booke is, that all that be present should communicate. Neither can this place of scripture be drawne to improue the decree of the Church therein. For Christ had. 70. other disciples and his mother, with diuers other which followed him, that were not present at that Supper: as no doubt they should haue bene, if by that example he had ment to haue made a law, that there may be no Communion vnlesse the whole congregation of euery particular Church do communicate together.

Chap. 6. the. 9. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 117. Sect. 1.

(\*) They were  
made Apostles  
before, and so  
called.

And it is probably to be thought, that if our Saviour Christ had not bene restrained by the lawe of God, touching the Pasche into his owne familie being twelue, and therefore a competent number to eate vp a lambe by themselves, that he would haue celebrated his supper, not only amongst his. xii. disciples, which (\*) afterword he made Apostles, but also amongst other of his disciples, & professors of his doctrine. But forsomuch as it was meete that he should celebrate his supper there and then, where and when he did celebrate his Pasche, for the cause before by me alleged, it pleased him to keepe his first Supper with twelue onely, for that the law of Communication vnto the Pasche which was ioyned with the supper, would not admit any greater number of Communicants, they being sufficient and enough to eate vp the pasche.

Jo. Whitgiste.

This is onely a coniecture: but it ouerthroweth your argument: for by your saying, Christ had his twelue Apostles there at Supper, because the lawe touching the Pasche did bind him thereunto, not because he would signifie that there should be no Communion except the whole Church do communicate.

Math. 10.  
Marke. 3.

The disciples were made Apostles before the institution of the Supper, and were so called, as it is euident. Math. 10. & Marke. 3. and therefore I maruell what you meane in saying, which afterwordes he made Apostles.

Chap. 6. the. 10. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 117. Sect. 2.

And although it be cleare and plaine, that when it is sayde drinke ye all of this, and tate one for another, these sayings are ment of that particular congregation or assemblie which assemblie themselves together to be taught by one mouth of the Minister, yet I haue there-  
fores



fore put this caution of (as much as may be possible) least any man should be cannib, as though I should have no Communion, untill all the godly through the world should meete together. Likewise I have put this caution (as much as may be conveniently) for although it be possible, that any particular Church may communicate at one table, in one day, and together, yet may the same be inconvenient for diverse causes. As if the number should be verie great, so that to have them all communicate together, it would require such a long time, as the taryng out of the whole action, would hazard eyther the life, or at least the health of dyverse there. I gaine forasmuch as other some being at the Church it is meete that other should be at home upon occasion of infantes and suche lyke things, as require the presence of some to tarye at home. In these cases and suche lyke the inconveniences do deliuer vs from the guilt of uncharitablenesse and forsaking the fellowship of the Church, for that we doe not here sever our selves, but are by good and iust causes severed, whiche guilt we shall never escape, if besides such necessarie causes we pretende those that are not, or having not so much as a pretence, yet notwithstanding separate our selves, as the daily practise through the Church doth shewe.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

If you be content to admit so many cautions, and exceptions, then is the question some decyded, and you make it no such commaundement, but that upon occasion it may be altered. In dede the wordes of Christ do signifie, that the cup of the Supper, and the whole Supper is common to all, as well of the laytie (as we terme them) as of the clergie, but it doth not prescribe what number shall be present at every severall Communion. I doe not excuse those that withdraue themselves from that Supper, except it be upon necessarie and iust occasion, but I denie that the negligence or lawfull occasion of some ought to hinder or stay other from communicating: this you should have proued, but you do not, and your cautions, and exceptions (which I verie well allowe) declare the contrarie.

*Chap. 6. the. 11. Diuision.*

T. C. Page. 117. Sect. 3.

But it may be objected, that in this point the booke of common prayer is not in fault, whiche doth not onely not forbid that all the Church should receiue together, but also by a good and godly exhortation moueth those that be present, that they should not depart but communicate altogether. It is true that it doth not forbid, and that there is godly exhortation for that purpose, but that (I say) is not enough, for neyther should it suffer that three or foure should haue a Communion by themselves (so many being in the Church meete to receiue, and to whom the Supper of the Lord doth of lyke right apperteyne) and it ought to provide that those which would withdraue themselves, should be by ecclesiasticall discipline at all tymes, and now also vnder a godly Prince by ciuill punishment (\*) brought to communicate with their brethren. And this is the lawe of God, and this is nowe and hath bene heretofore the practise of Churches reformed. All men vnderstande that the Passouer was a figure of the Lordes Supper, and that there should be as straight bondes to binde men to celebrate the remembrance of our spirituall deliuerance, as there was to remember the deliuerance out of Egypt. But whosoever did not then communicate with the rest at that time, when the Passouer was eaten, was excommunicated, as it may appeare in the Numbers, where he sayth, that whosoever did not communicate being cleane, (\*) his soule should be cut off from amongst the people of God, therefore this neglect or contempt rather of the Lordes Supper ought to be punished with no lesse punishment, especially when as (after the Church hath proceeded in that order which our Saviour Christ appoynted, of admonishing) they be not sory for their fault, and promise amendment. And that this was the custome of the Churches, it may appeare by the. 9. of those Canons which are sathered of the Apostles, where it is decreed that all the faithful that entred into the congregation, and heard the Scriptures read, and did not tarye out the prayers and the holy Communion, should be as those which were causers of disorders in the Church, separated from the Church (or as it is translated of an other) deputed of the Communion. Also in the councell of Baccara, it was decreed, that if any entering into the Church of God, heard the Scriptures, and afterwarde of wantonnesse or losenesse, withdrew himselfe from the Communion of the Sacrament and so brake the rule of discipline in the reuerend Sacraments, should be put out of the church, till such time as he had by good frutes declared his repentance.

(\*) This is cleane contrarie to the Admonition, pag. 109.

(\*) This is not excommunication, but putting to death.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I do not much disagree from this, saving that I see no reason, that three or foure should be debarred from so comfortable and frutesful a Sacrament, either for the negligence or necessarie impediments of others: except also your misvnderstanding of the 9. of Numbers: for *deleto animam eius de populo suis* is there not to excommunicate, (as you

Py. 4.

interprets

Num. 9.

Conc. Apo. Can. 9.

Con. 1. Bracca, cap. 3. tom. 2.



The Admo-  
nition and the  
Reple agree  
not.

interpret it, but to put to death and to kill, which were a hard punishment for such as be negligent in coming to the Communion. Convenient discipline I thinke very necessarie in this poynt, and therefore I will not stande with you in other circumstances of this portion, onely I will desire the Reader to note howe farre the Authors of the Admonition varie from you in this assertion, who Page 102, say, That we thrust them in their sinne to the Lordes table, and page 109, that it shoulde be provided, that Papists nor other, neyther constrainedly nor customably communicate in the mysteries of salvation, whiche cannot otherwise be ment, than that we compell them by punishments to come to the Lordes table. But howe much more cause shoulde they haue so to say: if we were as seuer in punishing as you here requyre. But the negligence of the common sort, in not oftner frequenting the Lordes supper is lamentable, the punishment appoynted for such, in all places not so well executed, and therefore as I sayde before, I thinke convenient, discipline and due execution of the same, verie necessarie.

An other thing also I woulde haue the Reader to marke, that you here alledge for profe the Canons of the Apostles, which are as much doubted of to haue bene the Apostles, as the Epistles either of Clement, or Anacletus,

### Chap. 6. the 12. Division.

T. C. Pag. 118. Sect. 1.

But here also may rise another doubt of the former wordes of Moses, in the booke of Numbers: For seeing that he maketh this exception (if they be cleane) it may be sayd that those that depart, do not feele themselves meete to receiue, and therefore depart, the other three or foure, or mo. feele themselves meete and disposed for that purpose, whereupon it may seeme that it is neyther reason to compell those to come, which feele not themselves meete, nor to reiect them that feele that good disposition and preparation in themselves. For answer whereunto we must vnderstande, that the vncleannesse whiche Moses speaketh of was such as men could not easily auoyde. And wherunto they might fall sometymes, by necessarie duetie, as by handling they, dead, which they were by the rule of charitie bounde to burie, sometymes by touching at vnwares a dead bodie, or by sitting in the place where some vncleane bodie had sitten, or by touching suche things, whiche the lawe iudged vncleane, which thing cannot be alledged in those that are nowe of the Church: for as many as be of it, and withall of such discretion, as are able to proue and examine themselves, can haue no excuse at all if they may be at the Church, to withdrawe themselves from the holy Supper of the Lorde. For if they will say, that they be not meete, it may be answered vnto them, that it is their owne fault, and further if they be not meete to receiue the holy Sacrament of the Supper, they are not meete to heare the worde of God, they are not meete to be partakers of the prayers of the Church, and if they be for one, they are also for the other, for with that boldnesse, and with that dutie or lawfulnessse, (I speake of those which are of the Church, and of discretion to examine themselves) I say (\*) with what lawfulnessse they may offer themselves to the prayers, and to the hearing of the worde of God, they may also offer themselves vnto the Lordes Supper. And to whome soeuer of them the Lorde will communicate himselfe by preaching the worde vnto the same he will not refuse to communicate himselfe by receiuing of the Sacraments, for whosoever is of Gods householde and family, he neede not be afrayde to come to the Lordes table, nor doubt but that the Lorde will feede him there, and whatsoeuer he be, that is a member of the bodie of Christ, may be assured that he receiue life from Christ the head, as well by the arteries and conduites of the Supper of the Lorde, as by the preaching of the worde of God: so that it muste needs followe, that the not receiuing of those which depart out of the Church, when there is any Communion celebrated, proceedeth epyther of vaine and superstitious feare, growing of grosse ignorance of themselves and of the holy Sacraments, or else of an intollerable negligence or rather contempt, of the which neyther the one, nor the other shoulde be either bozne with or nourished, either by permitting three or foure to communicate alone, or else in letting them which depart go so easily away with so great a fault which ought to be seuerely punished.

(\*) This is not  
true as shall be  
shewed.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Neither do I differ from you in the substance of this that you here set down, which is (as I take it) to cut off friuolous and vaine excuses, vsed by such as eyther neglect or contemne the holy Communion, but in certaine circumstances here vsed, I do not altogether agree with you. For first, the vncleannesse that Moses speaketh of is but ceremoniall and externall, and therefore may more easily be auoyded: but weakenesse of sayth, and vncleannesse of lyfe (which may and ought for a tyme withold men from the Communion) is naturall and inward, & therefore with greater difficultie shunned,  
Secondly,



Secondly a Christian man and a true member of the Church may take benefit by prayer and hearing of the worde of God, whiche yet for diuerse respectes is not meete to receyue the holy Communion: and indeede praying and preaching be meanes to prepare men, and make them apt to communicate: besides this he that is weake in fayth, corrupt in iudgement, ignorant in the right vse of the Sacrament, may be admitted to prayer, and to the hearing of the worde, that he may be instructed (for *fides ex auditu*, sayn cometh by hearing) so may he not, to the receyuing of the Supper: thirdely, no man may presume to receyue the Supper except he hath first tryed and examined himselfe: but he ought to come to the hearing of the worde of God, that he may first learne how to examine himselfe. Wherefore this is not true that with what lawfulness they may offer themselves to the prayers and to the hearing of the worde of God, they may also offer themselves vnto the Lordes Supper. And you affirme the contrarie. Pag. 55. For there you say that the Magistrate ought to compell such as be Papistes and excommunicate persons to heare Sermons, and Pag. 133. you affirme the same in playner wordes, shewing a reason why suche may be admitted to the hearing of the worde, and yet not to the participation of the Lordes Supper. Lastly, I denie that any such perswasion is nourished in them, by suffering thre or foure to communicate, but the contrarie rather, for the Godly example of these fewe may eyther prouoke the rest to the like diligence, or else confounde them and make them ashamed, especially if eyther that Godly exhortation conteyned in the booke, be read vnto them, or they be otherwise put in minde of their slacknesse by a Godly and carefull Minister. These circumstances excepted, in the rest of the matter in this part I agree with you.

He not meete to communicate, may be admitted to the hearing of the worde and prayers.

Rom 10.

T.C. contra-  
rie to himselfe,  
pag. 35. lin. 10  
& pag. 133.  
lin. 19.

### Chap. 6. the. 13. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 118. Sect. 1.

And vpon this eyther contempt or superstitious feare, drawne from the Papistes lenton preparation of foure dayes, earnest, displing, &c. it cometh to passe that men receyuing the Supper of the Lord but seldome, when they fall sicke must haue the Supper ministered vnto them in theyr houses, which otherwise being once euery weeke receyued before shoulde not breed any sicke quietnesse in them, when they cannot come to receyue it, although as I haue before shewed, if they had neuer receyued it before, yet that priuate receyuing were not at any hand to be suffered. And thus hauing declared what I thinke to be faultie in the Communion booke in this poynt, and the reasons why, and withall answered to that which eyther M. Doctor alledgeth in this place of the 80. and 81. and likewise in the 152. and 185. pages touching this matter, I come nowe vnto that which is called the Jewish purifying by the Admonition, and by the seruice booke afoze tyme, the purifying of women.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

I see not howe this in any poynt is true: for lenton fast was then vsed when the Communion was most diligently and often frequented, and indeede the rare and seldome receyuing, came in with priuate Massing, which had the beginning long after the lenton fast.

To receyue once euery weeke is a thing to be wished if it might conueniently be, And yet notwithstanding were not the Communion to be denyed to the sicke: for it oftentimes cometh to passe, that men through infirmities and sicknesse are not able to come to the Church in whole monethes and yeares, whome this weekly communicating coulde nothing helpe, and it were agaynst all reason to debarre them of this scale of Gods promises, this effectuall maner and kinde of applying of the death of Christ vnto themselves, this assurance of the forgiveness of sinnes, and this Sacrament of comfort, especially in tyme of extremitie and sicknesse, if they be desirous of it. And thus you haue declared what you thinke to be faultie in the Communion booke in this poynt, and the reasons why: but of what force your reasons are, and how iustly in this poynt you charge the booke, the Reader may now iudge.



# The defense of the answere Of the Churching of women.

## Chap. 7. the. 1. Division.

T. C. Pag. 118. Sect. vlt.

Strife about  
wordes.

Now to the churching of women, in the which title yet kept, there seemeth to be hid a great part of the Jewish purification: for like as in the olde law she that had brought forth a child was holden unclean, untill such time as she came to the temple to shewe hirselfe, after she had brought forth a man or a woman: so this terme of churching of hir can seeme to import nothing else, than a banishment (and as it were) a certaine excommunication from the Church during the space that is betwene the time of hir delivrie, and of hir comming unto the Church. For what doth else this churching import, but a restoring hir unto the Church, which cannot be without some barre or shutting forth presupposed. It is also called the thanks giving, but the principall title which is the directorie of this part of the Liturgie, and placed in the top of the lease, as that which the translator best liked of, is (Churching of women.) To passe by that, that it will have them come as nigh the Communion table as may be, as they came before to the high altar (because I had spoken once generally agaynst such ceremonies) that of all other is most Jewish, and approacheth nearest to the Jewish purification, that she is commaunded to offer accustomed offerings, wherein besides that the verie worde offering carryeth with it a strong sent and suspicion of a sacrifice (especially being uttered simply without any addition) it cannot be without danger that the booke maketh the custom of the Jewish Church (which was so corrupt) to be the rule and measure of this offering. And although the meaning of the booke is not, that it should be any offering for sinne, yet this manner of speaking, may be a stumbling stone in the way of the ignorant and simple, and the wicked & obstinate thereby are confirmed and hardened in their corruptions. The best which can be answered in this case is, that it is for the reliefe of the minister, but then it should be remembered, first that the minister toucheth not any more of offerings: secondarily, that the payment of the ministers wages is not so convenient, either in the Church, or before all the people: and thirdly, that thereby we fall into that fault which we condemne in Poperie, and that is, that besides the ordinarie living appointed for the service of the Priests in the whole, they take for theyr severall services of Masse, Baptisme, Burping, Churching, &c. severall rewardes, which thing being of the service booke, well abolished in certaine other things, I cannot see, what good cause there shoulde be to retaine it in this and certaine other.

Leuit. 12.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

Strife of  
wordes pro-  
per to quarrel-  
lers.

It is the proper tie of quarrellers, and of men naturally bent to contention, to strive about wordes and termes, when they cannot reproue any thing in the matter it selfe. For in all these faults here pretended there is not one that toucheth the matter of the booke, onely the title in the top of the lease, the coming of women so neare to the Communion table, the paying of the accustomed offerings to the Curate, are in this place reproued, as matters of great importance, being all of themselves not worth the talking off: and yet being (as comely and decent orders) prescribed by the Church, may not be contemned and despised, without the crime of stubbornesse and disobedience. But that your quarrelling may the rather appeare, I will answere your cavilles in as few wordes as I can, and first for the title which is this. The thanks giving of women after child-birth, commonly called the Churching of women. Now sir you see, that the proper title is this. The thanks giving of women after Childebirth. The other is the common name customably used of the common people, who will not be taught to speake by you, or any man, but keepe their accustomed names and termes: therefore they call the Lordes day Sunday, and the next day unto it Monday, prophane and ethnicall names; and yet nothing derogating from the dayes and tymes. Likewise they call the Morning and Evening prayer, Mattens and Evensong, neyther can they be brought to the contrarie, and yet the prayers be not the worse: so they call the day of Christes nativitie Christmasse, &c. what is this to condemne the things themselves?

The people  
hardly brought  
to leave accu-  
stomed termes

But you say this terme doth import nothing else than a banishment from the Church, &c. so might you say that these names Sunday & Monday do import y<sup>e</sup> we dedicate those dayes to the Sunne & Moone: and so likewise might you say of the other names retained in the comon and usuall speache: but all men would then espie your folly even as they may do now, if they be disposed. The absence of the woman after hir delivrie,

is



is neyther banishment nor excommunication (as you terme it) but a withdrawing of the partie from the Church by reason of that infirmitie and daunger, that God hath layde vpon woman kinde in punishment of the first sinne, whiche daunger she knoweth not whether she shall escape or no: and therefore after she hath not onely escaped it, but also brought a childe into the worlde, to the encrease of Gods people, and after such tyme as the comeliness of nature maye beare, she cometh first into the Church to giue thanks for the same, and for the deliuerance by Christe from that sinne, wherof that infirmitie is a perpetuall testimonie. And this being done, not Jewishly, but Christianly, not of custome, but of duty, not to make the act of lawfull matrimonie vncleane, but to giue thanks to God for deliuerance from so manifold perilles, what Christian hearte can for the names sake, thus disallowe of it, as you doe?

The true cause of the absence of the woman after hir deliuerance.

The cause of hir thanksgiving.

The coming so neare the communion table, is a verie small matter to carpe at, it is thought to be the mooste conuenient place, both for the minister & for the woman, especially if she be disposed to receiue the holy Communion. But such trifling quarrels argue an extreamie penurie of good and substantiall reasons.

The paying of hir accustomed offerings which you seeme mooste to mislike (as your selfe confesse the meaning of the booke to be) hath no such purpose and intent, as you would make the Reader to beleue, neither can it: for she neither offereth Lambe, Turtle, or yong Pigeons, as the lawe requireth, but payeth to the Curate his accustomed dutie, which both she may as lawfully giue, and he receiue, as the other tenthes may be payde and receyued. It is a portion of the Pastors living appointed and limited vnto hym by the Church, and therefore he may lawfully receiue it, as it is appointed vnto him. And all your objections to the contrary, are hereby answered fully.

Leuit. 12.

### Chap. 7. the. 2. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

Act. 15. 10.

In which booke a great number of things contrary to Gods worde are conteyned, as Jewish purifyinges, &c.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 81. Sect. 4.

The thirde is, the Jewishe purifyinges (as you terme it) you cite for that purpose Act. 15. where Peter speaking against certeyne of the Pharisees, which beleued and taught that it was nedeful for the Gentiles which were conuerted, to be circumcised, and to obserue Moses labor, saith on this sorte: Nowv therefore vwhy tempte ye God, to laye a yoke on the disciples neckes. &c. Howe any thing here conteyned, prohibiteth women after they be deliuered from the great daunger and paynes of child bearing, to giue in the congregation thanks for their deliuerance, let the godly Reader iudge. Surely this is no Jewishe purifying, but Christian giuing of thanks, most consonant and agreeable to the worde of God. But hereof also some thing moze is to be spoken in an other place.

Act. 15.

T.C. Pag. 119. lin. 24.

Howe whereas M. Doctor sayth that the place of the 15. of the Actes alleaged by the Admonition, maketh nothing against this, he should haue considered, that if it be a Jewishe ceremony (as they suppose it) it is to be abolished vterly. For it being shewed there, that all the Ceremonial law of Moses is done awaye through our Saviour Christe, this also a parte thereof must needs be therein compyled.

#### Io. Whitgifte.

The place nothing pertaineth to this purpose, neither is giuing of thanks a Jewishe

Pr. iiij.



Let vs Ceremonie, and therefore their supposition is but vayne.

### Chap. 7. the. 3. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 119. in the midst.

And whereas he sayth that it being nothing else but a thanksgiving for his deliuerance, cannot be therefore but Christian and very goodly: I answer, that if there should be solemn and expresse giving of thanks in the Church for every benefite, either equall or greater than this, which any singular person in the Church doth receiue, wee should not onely haue no preaching of the word, nor ministring of the Sacramentes, but we should not haue so much leysure, as to doe any corporall or bodely worke, but should be lyke vnto those heretikes, which were called of the Syriake word Meſſalians or continuall prayes and which did nothing else but praye.

Theod. 11. 4  
cap. 11.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Truthe is neuer contrary vnto it selfe: before you reprobued the booke of Common prayer for want of thanksgiving for benefites receiued: and now you reprobue it for appointing thanks to be giuen for deliuerance from sinne, from manifold perils and daungers, and for the encrease of Gods people, all which things are publike, although thanks be giuen by a private person: for in dede the punishement and daunger layde vpon all womankind, for disobedience is not onely common, but very notorious, and a perpetuall testimonie of our subiection vnto synne, and therefore requireth a solemn thanksgiving at such time as it pleaseth God to shewe his mercie therein, and to deliuer from ill. And yet if it were not so, where reade you that any private person is forbidden to giue thanks in the publike congregation, for some especiall benefite receiued, namely if the Church thinke it conuenient, and agree therunto, as it doth to this?

Pag. 108.  
Sect. 3.

The errors of  
the Meſſalians  
Theod. lib. 4.  
cap. 11.

Theodoret sayth, that the Meſſalian heretikes had these errors: firste, they being possessed with a Deuill, which they thought to be the holy spirite, did condemne all bodily labour as wicked: secondly, they being giuen to much sleepe, did name the visions of their dreames prophesies: thirdly, they sayde that the supper of the Lorde and Baptisme, did neither good nor harme to any man: fourthly, when they were charged with such things, they would not stande to them, but impudently deny them: last of all, they taught that every man when he is borne, doth take of his parentes as the nature, so likewise the seruitude of Demils, which being driven out by diligent prayer, the holy spirit entred in. &c. This is all that Theodoret in that place reporteth of those heretikes: the which howe much it maketh against either diligent or continual prayes, or thanksgiving for benefites receiued, the Reader may consider. Christ and the Apostle S. Paule, require continuall prayer and thanksgiving, but not in the same sense and meaning that the Meſſalians did.

Luc. 18.  
Rom. 12.  
Ephe. 6.  
Col. 4.

### Chap. 7. the. 4. Diuision.

Admonition.

They should first proue that churching of women committing in bayles abusing the Psalm to him, I haue lifted vp myne eyes vnto the hilles, &c. and such other foolyshe things, are agreeable to the written worde of the almighty.

Psal. 120.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 155. for the vvhich T.C.  
hath noted. 153. Sect. 2.

The. 121. Psalm (for I thinke your printer was overseene in that quotation) I haue lifted vp myne eyes. &c. teacheth that all helpe commeth from God, and that the faythfull ought onely to looke for helpe at his handes, and therefore a most meete Psalm to be sayde at such



at such tyme as we being deliuered from any perill come to giue thanks to God.

T.C. Pag. 119. someywhat past the midst.

For the Psalm. 121. spoken of in the 155. page, it being shewed that it is not meete to haue any such solemn thanksgiuing, it is needesse to debate of the Psalm, wherewith the thanksgiuing should be made.

### *Io. Whitgiste.*

A short answere, and to small purpose: the Psalm is mosse apt for that ende, and thanksgiuing in such cases mosse godly, as I haue declared both in my Answere to the Admonition and to your Replie.

### *Chap. 7. the. 5. Diuision.*

#### Admonition.

The twelfth. Churching of women after chyld byrth, smelleth of Jewishe purification: their other rites and custome in their lying in, and coming to church, is foolish and superstitious, as it is vsed. She must lie in with a white sheete vpon hir bed, & come covered with a bayle, as ashamed of some folly. She must offer, but these are matters of custome, & not in the booke: but this Psalm (as is noted before) is childishly abused. I (o) haue lifted vp myne eyes vnto the hils, from whence cometh my helpe. The Sunne shall not burne thee by day, nor the Moone by night.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 155. and. 202. for the vvhich

T.C. hath quoted. 101. and. 102. page.

In the hundredeth fifty five, these be my wordes. That women should come in bayles is not contained in the booke, no more in dede is the wafer cake, and therefore you might well haue left these two out of your reason being thrust in without all reason. To which nothing is answered.

In the 202. page thus I saye. For their lying in, I can saye little. I am not skilfull in womens matters, neither is it in the booke, no more is hir white sheete, nor hir bayle: let the women them selues answere these matters.

T.C. Pag. 119. lin. 38.

And whereas in the 101. and. 102. pages vnto the Admonition, objecting that the coming in the bayle to the church more then, than at other tymes, is a token of shame, or of some folly committed, Mr. Doctor tellingly leueth the matter to the womens answere, a little true knowledge of diuinitie, would haue taught hym, that the bringing in or blurring without authoritie any ceremony in the congregation, is both an earnest matter than may be iested at, and a weightier than should be permitted vnto the discretion of euery woman, considering that the same hath bene so horribly abused in the tyme of poperie.

### *Io. Whitgiste.*

The answere is fit for so friuolous an objection: and a little true reason boyde of malicious carping, would haue taught you that this is rather a ciuill manner and custome of our countrey, than a ceremonie of the church, and the wearing of netwe gloues (as many at that time, and especially at the time of mariages do) is as much a ceremony as those: for the wearing of the bayle, first began of that weakenesse and sickenesse, that nature in that daunger doth bring most women vnto, thereby to kepe them the more from the ayre, and therefore (as I haue sayde) in this countrey it was taken vp as a custome of the people, and not as a ceremonie of the Church. But I perceyue you wyll playe small game before you sitte out, and picke out very small trifles (though without the booke) to bzaule and barke at, rather than you woulde lacke matter.

The womans bayle a ciuill custome, not a ceremonie of the Churches



## Of holydayes Tract. 10.

Of holydayes in generall, that they may be appointed  
by the Church, and of the vse of them.

## Chap. 1. the. 1. Diuision.

## Admonition.

In which a great number of thyngs are conteynted contrary to the worde of God as obser-  
uing of (m) holy days, &c. patched (if not altogether, yet the greatest peece) out of the popes portuise, Exod. 20, 9.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 81. Sect. 5. 6.

Holydayes.

Fourthly, you mislike obseruing of holydayes: And you alleadge  
Exod. 20. Syxe dayes shalt thou labour and do all thy vvorke.

Good vse of  
holydayes.

To obserue any daye superstitiously, or to spende any daye unpro-  
fitably, is flat against not this commaundement only, but others also  
in the holy scriptures. And I would to God it wer better looked un-  
to. But to absteyne any daie from bodily labour, that we may labour  
spiritually in hearing the worde of God, magnifying his name and  
practising the workes of charitie, is not either against this, or any o-  
ther commaundement. For I thinke the meaning of this commaun-  
dement is not so to tie men to bodily labour, that they may not inter-  
mitte the same to labour spiritually. For then howe could wee prea-  
chers and studentes excuse our selues? How might the people law-  
fully come to our Sermons and Lectures in any of the syxe dayes?  
But of this thing also occasion will be ministred to speake more here-  
after.

T.C. Pag. 119. Sect. 1.

The holy dayes followe, of which M. Doctor sayth that so they be not viced superstitiously, or  
unprofitably, they may be commaunded. I haue shewed before that they were, if they were so indis-  
ferent as they are made, yet being kept of the Papistes, which are the enemies of God, they ought  
to be abolished. And if it were as easy a matter to pull out the superstition of the obseruing of those  
holydayes out of mens heartes, as it is to protest and to teache that they are not commaunded for any  
Religion to be put in them, or for any to make conscience of the obseruing of them, as though there  
wer some necessary worshippe of God, in the keeping of them: then were they much more tollerable,  
but when as the continuance of them both nourishe wycked superstition in the myndes of men,  
and that the doctrine whiche should remedy the superstition through the fewnesse and scarcitie of  
able ministers, cannot come to the moste parte of them which are infected with this disease, and that  
also where it is preached, the fruite thereof is in part hyndred whylest the comon people attende  
oftentimes rather to that whiche is done, than to that whiche is taught, being a thyng indifferent  
(as it is sayde) it ought to be abolished, as that whiche is not onely not fyttest to holde the people  
in the sincere worshyping of God, but also as that whiche keepeth them in their former blindness &  
corrupt opinions, which they haue conceived of such holydayes.

## Io. Whitgiste.

Profitable  
thyngs must  
not be refused  
for the abuse.

Things that be good and profitable and haue a necessary vse, tending to the  
edifying of the Church, and the worshyping of God, are not to be utterly remoued  
for the abuses crepte in, but the abuse muste be taken awaye and the thing still re-  
maine. If all things should be abrogated because they were kepte of the Papistes,  
there



there would be a miraculous alteration, bothe in the Church and in the common weale. But I haue shewed before howe farre this is from the truthe, even in some things inuented by Popes, much more in such things as were agreed vpon in the primitive Church (as many of the holydays were) before the Popes tyranny, though afterwarde greatly abused.

Tract. 7. ca. 5.

Holydayes as they be nowe vsed, be rather meanes to withdraue men, not only from superstition of the dayes them selues, but from all other kyndes of superstition whatsoever: for then is God in the publike congregation truly worshipped, the Sacramentes rightly ministred, the scriptures and other godly Homilies read, the worde of God saythfully preached: all whiche be the chiefe and principall meanes to withdraue men, not onely from superstition, but all kynde of errorr likewise.

The vse of our holydayes a stoppe to superstition.

### Chap. 1. the. 2. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 120. Lin. 2.

And if they had bene neuer abused, neyther by the Papistes, nor by the Iewes (as they haue bene and are daye) yet such makynge of holydayes is neuer without some greate danger of bypnyng in some euill and corrupt opinions into the myndes of men.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Imaginations and gheasses may not go for reasons, and I haue shewed before that the holydayes nowe obserued in the Church of Englande, be meanes to roote euill and corrupte opinions out of the heartes of men: so farre are they from ingendring the contrary.

### Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 120. Lin. 5.

I wyll vse an example in one, and that the chiefe of holydayes, and most generally, & of longest tyme obserued in the Church, which is the feast of Easter, whiche was kept of some more dayes, of some fewer. Howe many thousandes are there, I wyll not saye of the ignorant Papistes, but of those also which professe the Gospell, which when they haue celebrated those dayes with diligent heed taken vnto theyr lyfe, and with some earnest deuotion in praying and hearing the worde of God, do not by and by thinke that they haue well celebrated the feast of Easter, and yet haue they thus notably deceyued them selues. For Saint Paule teacheth the celebratyng of the feast of the Christians Easter, is not as the Iewes Easter was, for certayne dayes, but sheweth that we must keepe this feast all the dayes of our lyfe, in the vneleuened bread of sinceritie and of truthe, by which we see that the obseruing of the feast of Easter for certayne dayes in the yere, doth put out of our myndes or euer wee bee aware, the doctrine of the Gospell, and causeth vs to reste in that neare consideration of our duties for the space of a few dayes, whiche shoulde bee extended to all our lyfe.

1 Cor. 5.

### Io. Whitgifte.

What do you condemne the feast of Easter also? would you haue it abrogated because it hath bene abused? do you not knowe that the Apostles them selues obserued it, and the Church euer sithence their tyme? reade Eusebius lib. 5. cap. 23. and you shall finde it to be a tradition of the Apostles: peruse the. 24. and. 25. chapter of the same booke, & you shall vnderstand by the testimony of Polycrates, & all the other byshops in Asia, that Philip the Apostle, Iohn the Euangelist, Polycarpus his scholler, & other byshops likewise of greatest antiquitie, kept soly the feast of Easter. But why should I labour to proue that, that all histories, all auncient fathers, all late wyrters, all learned men confesse: and especially seeing that S. Augustine ad Ianu. 119. sayeth that the obseruation

The apostles obserued Easter.

Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23. 24. 25.



Confess. Helue.

seruation of Easter hath the authoritie from the scriptures, and saying also that the same feast with others is allowed by the confession of the Churches in *Helvetia*? The wordes of which confession be these. Moreouer if Churches, as they may by Christian libertie kepe religiouslye the remembraunce of Christe his birth, circumcision, passion, resurrection, ascension into heauen, and sending his holy ghost vnto his disciples, wee well allowe it. Therefore I cannot but marueyle, that you so boldly without grounde, for abuse sake, condemne euen the feast vfed and allowed by the Apostles, and continued in the Church without contradiotion, of any one worthy of credite, to this daye. Surely you may as well reason that the scriptures are not to be read, because that heretikes haue so greatly abused them.

The place of *S. Paule. 1. Cor. 5.* is nothing to your purpose, for though he bozrowe a Metaphor of the Jewes passeouer, to moue the *Corinthians* to purenesse and integritie of lyfe, yet doth he not abrogate the feast of Easter: if he had ment any such thing (as he did not) yet must it haue bene vnderstanded of the Jewes passeouer, not of celebration of the memorie of Christes resurrection, whiche we commonly call Easter. Dothe hee that sayeth the whole lyfe of a Christian man ought to bee a perpetuall faste, denye that there maye bee anye daye or tyme appoynted to faste in? A Christian man muste euer serue God and worshyppe hym, shall there not therefore be certayne dayes appoynted for the same? This is a verie symple argument. *Saint Paule* wylleth vs to purge out the olde leuen, that we maye be a newe lump. &c. also to kepe the feast not with olde leuen, neither with the leuen of malitiousnesse. &c. therefore we maye not celebrate the feast of Easter, once in the yeare. I denye this argument.

The obseruing of Easter, doth rather put vs in mynde of the doctrine of the Gospel, and drawe vs to a more nere consyderation of the benefites that wee haue receyued by the death, passion and resurrection of Christe, and I suppose that there are fewe goodly disposed Christians, that doe not thynke it moste convenient and profitable, that such feastes especiallye shoulde bee in the Church reteyned, neither is euery contentious persons imagination and surmyse what maye happen, to bee so greatlye regarded, that it shoulde bee sufficient to condemne anye thyng, that maye haue a profitable vse in the Church, by whome so euer it is inuented, much lesse if it hath bene vfed of the Apostles them selues, and euer sythence they tyme continued in the Church, as I haue shewed this feast to haue bene. The weakenesse of man is greate, therefore as hee is continuallie to be taught that hee shoulde at all tymes remember his dutie, so is it verie necessarie to haue certayne feastes wherein by the reading and hearyng of the Scriptures, men maye be particularlye styrrred to the remembraunce and depe consyderation of the principall partes of our Religion, and the good and goodly examples of the Saintes of God in doing their dutie therein.

### Chap. 1. the .4. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 120. Lin. 18.

But besydes the incommodities that vfe of making such holydayes, and continuing of those which are so horribly abused, where it is confessed that they are not necessary: besydes this I saye the matter is not so indifferent as it is made, I confesse that it is in the power of the Church, to appoynt so many dayes in the weeke or in the yeare, in the whiche the congregation shall assemble to heare the worde of God, and receyue the Sacramentes, and offer vp prayers vnto God, as it shall thynke good, accordyng to those rules whiche are before alleadged. But that it hath power to make so manye holydayes (as we haue) wherein no man maye worke any parte of the daye, and wherein men are commaunded to cease from theyr daylye vocations, of plowng, and exercising theyr handycraftes, &c. that I denye to be in the power of the church. For prooffe whereof, I wyl take the fourth commaundement and no other interpretation of it than *M. Doctoz* alloweth of in



of in the. 174. page, whiche is, that God lycenseth and leaueh it at the libertie of euery man to worke sixe dayes in the weeke, so that he rest the seuenth day. Seeing that therfore, that the Lord hath left it to all men at libertie, that they might labour, if they thinke good sixe dayes: I say the Church, no; (\*) no man can take away this libertie from them, and giue them to a necessarie rest of the body.

(\*) You drawe from the Magistrate his lawfull authoritie, and giue to the people too much carnall libertie.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The same God that gaue that libertie in that commaundement, did appoynt other solenne feast dayes besides the Sabbath: as the feast of Easter, of Pentecoste, of Tabernacles, &c. withoute any restraynte of this libertie. Therefore the interpretation giuen by me page. 174. of that place, dothe not leaue it to euery private mans free libertie, agaynst the authoritie of the Magistrate, or of the Church, but it giueth libertie rather to suche as be in authoritie, and to the Church to appoynt therin what shall be conuenient.

The Magistrate hath power and authoritie ouer his subiectes in all externall matters, and bodily affayres: Wherefore he maye call them from bodily labour, or compell them vnto it, as shall be thought to him mooste conuenient. The libertie that God giueth to man, whiche no man oughte to take from hym, nor can if he woulde, is libertie of conscience, and not of worldly affayres. In bodily businesse he is to be gouerned by Magistrates and lawes. This doctrine of yours is very licentious, and tendeth too much to carnall and corpozall libertie, and in dede is a very perillous doctrine for all states. Not one title in Gods worde dothe constraineyther the Magistrate, or the Church from turning carnall libertie to the spiritual seruice of God, or bodily labour to diuine worship, as those doe that cause men to abstayne from corpozall labour, that they maye heare the worde of God, and worship him in the congregation.

The Magistrate hath authoritie to abridge externall libertie. What libertie can not be taken away.

And whye maye not the Church as well restrayne them from working anye parte of the daye, as it maye doe the mooste parte of it, for you confesse, that it is in the power of the Church to appoynte so many dayes in the weeke, or in the yere, in the whiche the congregation shoulde assemble to heare the worde of God, and receyue the Sacramentes, and offer vp prayers vnto God, as it shall thinke good, according to those rules whiche are before alledged: and this it can not doe, vnlesse in the same dayes during all that tyme, (whiche is no small portion of the daye) it restrayne them from bodily labour.

Wherefore this beeing no commaundement, that they shall labour sixe dayes in the weeke, but a signification that so many dayes they maye labour: as the same God that gaue this commaundement hath done before in the olde lawe, so maye the Churches likewise for the encrease of godlinesse and vertue, and edification, appoynt some of those sixe dayes, to be bestowed in prayers, hearing the worde, administration of the sacraments, and other holy actions.

### Chap. 1. the. 5. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 120. about the middest.

And if it be lawfull to abridge the libertie of the Church in this poynte, and in steade that the Lord saythe: Sixe dayes thou mayest labour if thou wilt, to saye, Thou shalt not labour sixe dayes: I doe not see why the Church maye not as well, where as the Lord saythe, thou shalt rest the seuenth daye, commaunde, that thou shalt not rest the seuenth day: for if the Church maye restrayne the libertie that God hath giuen them, it maye take away the yoke also that God hath put vpon them.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

The Church is not abridged of hir libertie in this poynte, but vseth hir libertie in appoynting some of these dayes to the worshipping of God, and the



instruction of his people : whiche shoulde not be counted a bondage or seruitude to any man.

To rest the seuenth daye is commaunded : to labour sixe dayes is but permitted: he that forbiddeth rest on the seuenth daye, dothe directly agaynst the commaundement: so dothe not he that restrayneth men from bodily labour in any of the sixe dayes, and therefore the reason is not lyke. And yet the commaundement of bodily rest vpon the seuenth day, in sundrie cases maye of a mans selfe, muche moze at a lawfull commaundement of a Magistrate in necessitie be broken.

In thinges indifferent private mens willes are subiect to suche as haue authoritie ouer them, therefore they ought to consent to their determination in such matters, except they will shewe them selues to be wilfull, whiche is a great faulte, and deserueth muche punishment.

But hitherto you haue not replied to any Answere made to the Admonition.

### Chap. 1. the. 6. Diuision.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 173. in the latter ende.

This is no restraynt for any man from seruing of God any daye in the weeke else. For the Jewes had diuers other feastes, whiche they by Gods appoyntment obserued, notwithstanding these words, Sixe dayes. &c.

T. C. Pag. 120. Sect. 1.

And where as you say in the. 173. page, that notwithstanding this fourth commaundement the Jewes had certayne other feasts whych they obserued : In deede the Lorde whiche gaue this generall lawe, mighte make as many exceptions as he thoughte good, and so long as he thoughte good: but it followeth not bycause the Lorde dyd it, that therefore the Church maye doe it, vniuersally it hath commaundement and authoritie from God so to doe. As when there is any generall plagu or iudgement of God, eyther vpon the Church, or coming towards it, the Lorde commaundeth in suche a case, that they shoulde sanctifie a generall faste, and proclayme ghnatharah, whiche signifieth a prohibition or forbidding of ordinary works, & is the same Hebrue worde wherewith those feast dayes are noted in the law, wherin they shoulde rest: the reason of which commaundement of the Lorde was, that as they abstayned that day, as much as myght be conveniently from meate, so they myght abstayne from their dayly workes, to the ende they might bestowe the whole day in hearing the worde of God, and humbling them selues in the congregation, confessyng their faultes, and desiring the Lorde to turne away from his fearece wrath. In this case the Church hauing commaundement to make a holyday, maye and oughte to doe it, as the Church whiche was in Babylon dyd, during the tyme of their captiuitie. But where it is destitute of a commaundement, it may not presume by any decrees to restrayne that libertie which the Lorde hath giuen.

### 10. Whitgiste.

When you are conuincid by manifest Scripture, as you are in this matter, then you flye to your newly deuised distinctions, as you do in this place, saying : The Lorde whiche gaue this generall lawe, might make as many exceptions as he thoughte good, but to no purpose, for you can not shewe in the whole Scripture, where God hath made any lawe or ordinance agaynst his owne commaundement. And surely in this poynte you haue greatly overshotte your selfe, being content rather to graunt contrarietie to be in the Scripture, than to yelde to a manifest and knowne truthe. The Church in appoynting holydayes, dothe followe the example of God him selfe, and therefore hath sufficient ground and warrant for hir doings, and of the authoritie of the Church in such matters I haue spoken in an other place : And I haue also a little before declared, what kinde of libertie the Church may not restrayne : and I adde that euery private mans consent, is in the consent of the Church, as it is in the consent of the Parliament, & therefore no mans libertie otherwise restrained than he hath consented vnto.

That in the seconde of the Prophet Joel maketh agaynst you directly : for it sheweth that vpon iuste occasion, the Church maye inhibite men from labour even in the

Traff. 2.

So mans libertie restrayned.

The Replier bringeth authority against hym selfe.



the five dayes, notwithstanding it be sayde, Sixe dayes thou shalt labour. &c. And to the intente no man shoulde doubt of the libertie of the Church here in, or of the practise of this libertie, let the nynty chapter of Esther be perused, and therein it will appere that in remembrance of their great deliuerie from the treason of Haman, the Jewes by the commaundement of Mordecai, did solemnize and keepe holy daye the fourtenth and fiftenth daye of the moneth *Ader*, euery yere. But if neyther the ordinaunces of God him selfe, nor the wordes of his Prophetes, nor the examples of his Apostles, nor the practise of his Church from the beginning wil take any place wth you, you are no man for me to deale wth.

The Jewes appointed to them selues holydayes.

## ¶ Of Sainctes dayes.

### Chap. 2. the. 1. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 120. Sect. vlt.

Nowe that I haue spoken generally of holydayes, I come vnto the Apostles and other sainctes dayes, whiche are kepte wth vs. And though it were lawfull for the Church to ordayne holydayes to our saviour Christe, or to the blessed Trinitie, yet it is not therefore lawfull to institute holydayes to the Apostles and other Sainctes, or to their remembrance. For although I confesse as muche as you saye in the. 153. page, that the Church of Englande dothe not meane by this keeping of holydayes, that the Sainctes shoulde be honoured, or as you alleage in. 175. and 176. pages, that wth vs the Sainctes are not prayed vnto, or that it dothe propounde them as meritorious, yet that is not inoughe. For as we reason agaynst the Popeshe purgatorie, that it is therefore naught, for as muche as neyther in the olde Testament, nor in the newe, there is any mention of prayer at any tyme for the dead, (a) so may it be reasoned agaynst these holydayes ordained for the remembrance of the Sainctes, that for so muche as the olde people dyd neuer keepe any feast or holyday for remembrance eyther of Moses, or Daniel, or Job, or Abraham, or David, or any other howe holy or excellent souer they were: nor the Apostles, nor the Churches in their time neuer instituted any, eyther to keepe the remembrance of Stephen, or of the Virgin Mary, or of John Baptist, or of any other notable and rare personage, that the instituting and erecting of them now, and this attempte by the Churches whiche followed, whiche haue not suche certayne and vndoubted interpreters of the will of God, as the Prophetes and Apostles were, whiche liued in those Churches, is not without some note of presumption, for that it undertaketh those things whiche the Primitive Church in the Apostles times (hauing greater gifts of the spirit of God, than they that followed them had) durst not venter vpon.

(a) Argum. ab authoritate negatiue.

## ¶ Jo. Whitgiste.

Purgatorie is made a matter of saluation or damnation, as all other doctrines of the Popes be: and therefore a negative reason (suche as you vse) is sufficient inoughe to improue it: But holydayes in our Church haue no suche necessitie ascribed vnto them, onely they are thought very profitable to the edifying of Gods people, and therefore suche negative reasons preuaile not agaynst them, no more than they doe agaynst other constitutions of the Church pertainyng to edifying, order, or comelynesse, wherof there is no mention made in the wordes of God. And therefore nothing that is here spoken by you can take any holde.

### Chap. 2. the. 2. Diuision.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 175. Sect. 1.

Neyther are they called by the name of any Sainct in any other respect, than that the Scriptures whiche that daye are read in the Church, be concerning that Sainct, and conteyne eyther his calling, preaching, persecution, martyrdom, or suche like.

Why? name of Sainctes are given to our holydays.



Moreover, I haue shewed before, what force the name of euery thyng hath, to cause men to thinke so of euery thing, as it is named, and therefore althoughe you saye in the. 175. page that in calling these holydayes the dayes of suche or suche a Saincte, there is nothing else ment, but that the Scriptures whiche are that daye read concerne that Saincte, and conteinne eyther his calling, preaching, persecution, Martyrdome, &c. yet euery one dothe not vnderstande so muche. For besides that the corrupte custome of Popery haue carryed their myndes to an other interpretation, the very name and appellation of the daye teacheth otherwys. For seeing that by the dayes dedicated to the Trinitie, and those that are consecrate to our sauour Christe, are in that they be called Trinitie daye, or the Natyuitie daye of our sauour Christe by and by taken to be instituted to the honour of our sauour Christe, and of the Trinitie, so likewise the people when it is called saint Pauls daye, or the blessed Virgin Marys daye, can vnderstande nothing thereby, but that they are instituted to the honour of saint Paul, or of the Virgin Mary, vnlesse they be otherwys taughte. And if you saye, let them so be taught, I haue answered, that the teaching in this lande, can not by any order whiche is yet taken, come to the most parte of those whiche haue dronke this popson, and where it is taughte, yet were it good that the names were abolished, that they shoulde not helpe to vnteach that whiche the preaching teacheth in this behalfe.

### Io. Whitgifte.

You haue so dismembred my booke, in taking here a piece and there a piece, to answere as it pleaseth you, and in leauing oute what you liste, that you rather make a newe discourse of your owne, than a Replie to anye thyng that I haue set downe.

Touching the names of the holydayes (whiche you mislike) I haue tolde the cause why they be so called, whiche cause you can not improue, and therefore you fall agayne to your accustomed coniectures, and suppositions, whiche are but very simple and slender argumentes. What if euery one dothe not vnderstande so muche: muste the Church alter hir decrees and orders, for euery particular mans abusing or not vnderstanding them? He that is moste ignorant maye learne and knowe why they be so called, if he be disposed: if he be not, the faulte is his owne, the name of the day is not the worse to be lyked. You might muche better reason agaynst the names of Sunday, Monday, and Waterday, whiche be Heathenish and prophane names, yet I suppose that there is no man so madde, as to thinke that those dayes be instituted and vsed of Christians to the honour of the Sunne, of the Moone, and of Saturne. This is but to play the parte of a quareller (as I haue sundry times tolde you) to cauill at the name, when you can not reprove the matter. Those dayes be rather reteyned in the Church, to rote oute suche superstitious opinions, by the preaching of the worde, and the reading of the Scriptures: Neyther can any man that vnderstandeth Englishe, and frequenteth the common and publike prayers, in those holydayes (except he be wilfull) be so affected as you seeme to suspect.

Trinitie Sunday, the Natyuitie of our Sauour Christe, and suche lyke, althoughe we honour the Trinitie, and our Sauour Christe in them, as we doe in all other, yet haue they their names especially, bicause the Scriptures then read in the Church, concerne the Trinitie, and the Natyuitie of our Sauour Christe. Augustine *ad Ianuar.* 119. sayth thus of the daye of the Natyuitie of Christe: Heere first it behoueth that thou knowe the daye of the Natyuitie of the Lorde, not to be celebrated in a Sacrament or figure, but onely that it is called backe into remembraunce, that he is borne, and for this there needeth nothing, but that the day yerely be signified by solempne deuotion, wherein the thing was done.

There is no place in this lande so destitute of instructions, eyther by preaching or reading, that any man can iustly pleade ignorance in suche matters, and therefore seeing you haue no other argumentes agaynst holydayes, but coniectures, and surmises, and they false and vnttrue, or at the least not sufficient to alter a profitable order in the Church, holydayes maye still remayne and stande in their former force and strengthe.



## Chap. 2. the. 3. Division.

T. C. Page. 121. Sect. 2.

Furthermore seeing the holydayes be ceremonies of the Church, I see not why we may not here reune Augustines complaine, that the estate of the Jewes was more tollerable than ours is (I speake in this point of holydayes) for if their holydayes and ours be accounted, we shall be founde (\*) to haue more than double as many holydayes as they had. And as for all the commodities which we receiue by them, whereby M. Doctor goeth about to proue the goodnesse and lawfulness of their institution, as that the Scriptures are there read & expounded, the patience of those Saintes in their persecution and martyrdome, is to the edifying of the Church remembred, and yearly renewed. I saye that we mighte haue all those commodities without all those daungers which I haue spoken of, and without any keeping of yereley memorie of those Saintes, and as it falleth out in better and more profitable sorte. For as I sayde before (\*) of the keeping of Easter, that it tyeth, and (as it were) fettereth a meditation of the Easter to a fewe dayes, which shoulde reache to all our age and tyme of our lyfe: so those celebrations of the memories of Saintes and Martyrs, streyghten our consideration of them vnto those dayes which shoulde continually be thought of, and dayly as long as we lyue. And if that it be thoughte so good and profitable a thing that this remembrance of them shoulde be vpon those dayes wherein they are supposed to haue dyed, yet it followeth not therefore, that after this remembrance is celebrated by hearing the Scriptures concerning them, and prayers made to followe their constancie, that all the rest of the daye shoulde be kepte holy in such sorte, as men should be debarred of their bodily labours, and of exercising their dayly vocations.

(\*) It will be found otherwise.

(\*) Very absurdly.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

Augustine speaketh not of holydayes in that place, but of other vnprofitable ceremonies used in particular Churches, neyther grounded of the Scriptures, determined by Councils, nor confirmed by the custome of the whole Church. But the holydayes that we reteyne, being not onely confirmed by the custome of the whole Church, but also profitable for the instruction of the people, and used for publicke prayer, administration of the Sacramentes, and preaching the worde, can not be called burdens, except it be a burden to serue God in praying, in celebrating his sacraments, and in hearing his worde.

And whereas you say, that if they holydayes & ours be accounted, we shall be found to haue more than double as many holydayes as they had, you speake that which you are not able to iustifie. In the. 23. of Leviticus there is appoynted vnto the Jewes the feast of Easter: the feast of unleuened bread: the feast of first frutes: Whitsontide: the feast of trumpets: the feast of reconciliation, and the feast of Tabernacles: whereof the feast of unleuened bread, and the feast of Tabernacles had eche of them seuen dayes annexed vnto them. And if you wyll adde to these, Iudiths feast, chap. 16. the Machabees feast. 1. Macha. chap. 4. which continued eyght dayes together, and Westers feast, chap. 9. which continued two dayes, you shall finde that our holydayes be somewhat short in number of theirs: so far are we from hauing more than double as many as they had. But your spirite is acquainted with suche vntreue assertions.

The Jewes had mo holydayes than we.

But you saye, we mighte haue all these commodities without all those daungers, &c. and why not as well this waye which the whole Church hathe from tyme to tyme allowed, as that way which certayne particular persons, of their owne heades haue deuysed: There is nothing that you haue to saye agaynst these dayes, but onely their names, and that those memories of Martyrs streyghten our consideration of them vnto those dayes, &c. and that men be inhibited from bodily labour, to serue God: al which I haue answered before, and the latter in parte you confesse: for you woulde haue certayne dayes appoynted for publicke prayer, the celebration of the sacraments, & hearing the worde, and you saue not to deny but that the remembrance of Saints and Martyrs may be kepte, onely you mislike, that in the rest of the day men should be debarred from their bodily labours, & exercising their dayly vocations. Well I perceiue that some

Zy. iij.

thing



thing you woulde finde faulte with, if you knewe what. They are not so bounde from labour (as it appeareth in the lawes of this Church) but that they may doe their necessarie businesse: and in dede they are so farre from scrupulositie in this poynte, that all the punishmentes appoynted can not keepe a number of them from their worldly affayres, not in the very time of publike prayers, and preaching of the worde: and yet I see no cause why they maye not iustly be wholly debarred (excepte some urgent occasion require sometime the contrarie) from their bodily labours in suche dayes: for are not the householders bounde of duetie as well to instruct their families, as the Pastor is bounde to instruct them: and when is there a more convenient tyme than in suche dayes? If you haue suche a regarde to their worldly affayres, is it not more commodious for them to abstayne wholly from worke upon these Holydayes, when they fall, than twice or thrice every weeke halfe the daye? Therefore this reason of yours as it is worldly, so is it weake, bothe in the respect of God, and of the worlde also.

A bayne reason.

Your imagination that the keeping of Easter dothe fetter the meditation of Easter to a fewe dayes, &c. and so likewise the reste of the Holydayes, I haue answered before, it is a mooste bayne reason, and you mighte as well saye, that there oughte to be no certayne tymes appoynted for the receyuing of the holy Communion, because the meditation of the death and passion of Christe, and the application of the same, is fettered to these certayne dayes, whiche shoulde continually be thoughte of, and dayly as long as we lyue. The same mighte you saye likewise of the Sabbath daye. But you oughte to knowe that the especiall celebrating of the memorie of Christes resurrection, once in the yeare, is no more a fettering of our meditation thereof to that daye onely, than the receyuing of the Communion once in the moneth, is a strayghting of our consideration of the death and passion of Christe, to that time onely, wherein we receiue the holy Sacrament: By this reason of yours we muste eyther haue suche memorie celebrated at all times, or at no time. But wyse men can consider howe farre you wander for want of reason.

### Chap. 2. the. 4. Diuision.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 176. Sect. 3. 4. 5.

Ierome.

Ierome writing upon the. 4. chap. to the Galatians, sayth on this sorte: If it be not lawfull to obserue dayes, moneths, times, and yeres, vve also fall into the like fault which obserue the passion of Christ, the Sabbath day, and the time of Lent, the feasts of Easter, and of Pentecoste, and other times appoynted to Martyrs, according to the maner and custome of euery nation, to the which he that vwill answere simply, vwill say, that our obseruing of dayes is not the same with the Ievvish obseruing, for vve doe not celebrate the feast of vnleuened bread, but of the resurrection & death of Christe, &c. And least the confused gathering together of the people should diminishe the fayth in Christ, therefore certayne dayes are appoynted that vve might all meete together in one place, not because those dayes be more holy, but to the intent that in vwhat day soeuer vve meete, vve may reioyce to see one another. &c.

Augustine.

Augustine in lyke manner Lib. 8. de ciuitate Dei, cap. 27. sayth, That vve honor the memories of Martyrs, as of holy men, and suche as haue stricken for the truthe, euen to death. &c.

The



The same Augustine in his booke *Contra Adamantam Manichei Discip. ca. 16.* expounding the wordes of the Apostle: Ye obserue dayes, yeares and tymes, **wryteth thus.** But one may thinke that he speaketh of the Sabbath: do not vvee say that those tymes ought not to be obserued, but the thinges rather that are signified by them: for they did obserue them seruilely, not vnderstanding vwhat they did signifie and prefigure, this is that that the Apostle reproveth in the, & in all those that serue the creature rather than the Creator: for vve also, solemnly celebrate the Sabbath day, and Easter, and all other festiuall dayes of Christians: but bycause vve vnderstand vvhervnto they do appertayne, we obserue not the times but those thinges vvhich are signified by the tymes, &c.

T.C. Pag. 122. Sect. 1.

Howe whereas M. Doctor citeth Augustine and Jerome to proue that in the Churches in theyr times, there were holy dayes kepte besides the Lordes day, he might haue also cyted Ignatius, and Tertullian, and Cyprian, which are of greater auncientie, and would haue made more for the credite of his cause, semg he measureth all his truthe almoste through the whole booke, by the crooked measure and yarde of tyme. For it is not to be denied but this keeping of Holydayes (especially of the Easter and Pentecoste) are very auncient, and that these holydayes, for the remembraunce of Martyrs were vsed of long tyme, but these abuses were no auncienter than other were, grosser also than this was, as I haue before declared and were easie further to be shewed if neede required, and therefore (\*) I appeale from these examples to the Scriptures, and to the examples of the perfectest Church that euer was, which was that in the Apostles tymes.

(\*) An vnlearned shift.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I knowe that I might haue alleaged many other authorities for the proue of this matter, but I thought these two sufficient (as they be in deede) in such a matter as this is, and your lightly reiecting of them will winne no credite to your cause, among wise and learned menne. You may easilie perceyue by the wordes of bothe these Authours that these dayes in their tyme were rightly and without all superstition vsed. But you do well to appeale from these examples, and from all other auncient authoritie of learned menne: for you knowe full well your lacke of abilitie to maynteyne this and other your opinions by the testimonies of auncient wryters: nay you can not but confesse that the olde learned Fathers are vtterly agaynst you, which is the cause why you appeale from them: but it is an vnlearned shift.

The Replier appealeth to auncient authorities.

*Chap. 2. the. 5. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 122. Sect. 1.

And yet also I haue to say that the obseruation of those feastes, firste of all was much better than of later tymes. For Socrates confessing that neyther our Saviour Christe, nor the Apostles did decree or institute any holydayes, or laye any yoke of bondage vpon the neckes of those which came to the preaching addeth further that they did vse firste to obserue the holydayes by custome, and (\*) that as euery man was disposed at home: which thing if it had remayned in that freedome, that it was done by custome and not by commaundement, at the will of euery one, and not by constraynt, it had bene much better than it is now, and had not drawne such daungers vpon the posteritie, as did after ensue and we haue the experience of.

(\*) Socrates wordes vntuly reported.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Surely they were neuer better, nor more pure from al supersticion, and other errors than they be nowe in this Church: and therefore in that respecte there is no cause to complaine.

You do not truely repozte Socrates wordes, nor yet his meaning, for he doth not say that euery man at home kepte those dayes as he was disposed: but thus he sayth, VWherefore

Socrat. Lib. 5. Cap. 22.

neither



neither the Apostle, nor the Gospell, do at any tyme laye a yoke of bondage vpon them, whiche come vnto the preaching of the Gospell, but menne themselves every one in theyr countrie, according as they thought good; celebrated the feast of Easter, and other holydayes of custome, for the intermission of theyr laboures, and remembrance of the healthfull passion: his meaning is not, that euery priuate man in his owne house kepte Easter, and the other feastes as him lysted: but that euery Church appointed such an order and tyme for the same, as it thought conuenient: and that this is his meaning, that whiche followeth in that Chapter, and expresseth his owne opinion of this matter, dothe euidently declare. His wordes be these: Surely I am of this opinion, that as many other thinges in diuerse places haue bene brought in of custome, so the feaste of Easter had a priuate or peculiar obseruation with euery particular people of custome, because none of the Apostles (as I haue sayde) did make any lawe hereof, &c. For his whole drift is to proue that the feast of Easter concerning the daye and tyme, was diuersly obserued in diuers Churches and Countries: but he neyther can proue, nor goeth aboute to proue, that there was any Church wherein it was not obserued. And I haue before declared that the feast of Easter was obserued by the Apostles, and sithence that tyme continued.

*Chap. 2. the. 6. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 177. Sect. 1.

& Pag. 178. Sect. 1. &c.

**Bullinger.**

Observing of  
holydayes in  
other refo-  
rmed churches

Other reformed Churches also haue dayes ascribed to Saints aswell as we, as it may appeare by these wordes of Bullinger writing vpon the. 14. to the Rom. In the auncient vriters, as Eusebius and Augustine, thou mayste finde certayne memorials appoynted to certayne holy menne, but after an other manner, not muchie differing from oures vvhich vve as yet retein in our Church of Tigurie, for vvee celebrate the natiuitie of Christe, his Circumcision, Resurrection, and Ascension, the comming of the holy Ghost, the feastes also of the virgin Mary, Iohn Baptiste, Magdalene, Stephen, and the other Apostles: yet not condemning those vvhich obserue none, but onely the Sabboth daye. For perusing olde Monumentes, vve finde that this hath alwayes bene left free to the Churches, that euery one should follow that in these things, that should be most best and conuenient.

**Bucer.**

M. Bucer in his Epistle to master Alasco, speaking of holydayes, sayeth: That in the Scriptures there is no expresse commaundement of them: it is gathered notwithstanding (sayeth he) from the example of the olde people, that they are profitable for vs, to the encrease of godlinesse, vvhich thing also experience proueth.

Observing of  
dayes con-  
sidered foure  
wayes.

To be shorte, Illyricus writing vpon the fourth to the Galat. maketh this diuision of obseruing dayes and times.

The first is naturall, as of somer, spryng time, winter, &c. tyme of planting, tyme of sowing, time of reaping, &c.

The second is ciuill.

The third Ecclesiasticall, as the Sabboth daye, and other dayes, vvherein is celebrated the memorie of the chiefe histories or actes of Christe, vvhiche be profitable for the instruction of the simple, that they may the better remember vvhether the Lorde was borne, vvhether he suffered, vvhether he ascended vp into heauen, and be further taught in the same.

The



The fourth superstitious, vvhhen we put a necessitie, vvorshipping, meritoriousnesse in the obseruing of tyme: and this kinde of obseruing dayes and tymes is onely forbidden in this place.

Thus you see by the iudgementes of all these learned menne, that Dayes ascribed vnto Saintes, is no suche matter, as ought to make menne separate themselves from the Church, and absteyne from allowing by subscription, so worthe and godly a booke, as the booke of common prayer is, much lesse to make a Schisme in the Church for the same.

T. C. Pag. 122. Sect. 2. 3.

As touching M. Bucer, M. Bullinger, and Illyricus allowance of them, if they meane such a celebration of them, as that in those dayes the people may be assembled, and those partes of the Scriptures which concerne them whose remembrance is solemnised, redde & expounded, and yet men not debarred after from their dayly workes, it is so much the lesse matter: if otherwise that good leaue they giue the Churches to dissent from them in that poynte, I do take it granted vnto me, being by the grace of God one of the Church.

Although as touching M. Bullinger, it is to be obserued, since the time that he wrote that vpon the Romanes, there are aboute. 35. yeares, sithence which time although he holde still that the feastes kept vnto the Lorde, as of the Passiue, Easter and Pentecoste, dedicated vnto the Lord may be kept, yet he demeth flatly, that it is lawfull to keepe holy the dayes of the Apostles, as it appeareth in the confession of the Tigurine Church ioyned with others.

Confessio  
Tigur.  
Tigur. & 23  
Iurum Ec.  
de cap. 24.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

How perfect an Answer this is, to these learned mennes authorities, lette the learned Reader iudge. You are not a Church, but a member of the Church, and therefore seeing the matter is such as the Church may take an order in, you ought to submitte your selfe to the determination of that Church in such matters, whereof you are a member.

What M. Bullinger hath in any other place consented vnto, I knowe not, but certayne it is that these be his owne wordes, And that when he writte them he was of the same opinion that we are at this tyme in this Church of England.

### Chap. 2. the. 7. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 177. Sect. 2.

Caluine in lyke manner writing vpon the fourth to the Galatians, doth not disallow this kinde of obseruing dayes, his wordes be these: VVhen as holynesse is attributed to dayes, vvhhen as one day is discerned from an other for religion sake, vvhhen dayes are made a peece of diuine vvorship, then dayes are vvickedly obserued, &c. But vvhhen vve haue a difference of dayes, laying no burden of necessitie on mens consciences, vve make no difference of dayes, as though one vv ere more holy than an other, vve put no religion in them, nor vvorshipping of God, but onely vve obserue them for order and concorde sake, so that the obseruing of dayes vvith vs is free, and vvithout all superstition. And agayne vpon the. 2. to the Colloss. But some vvill say, that vve as yet haue some kinde of obseruing dayes: I answer that vve obserue them not, as though there vv ere any religion in them, or as though it vv ere not then lawfull to labour, but vvee haue a respect of pollicie & orders, not of dayes. And in his Institutions vpon the fourth commaundement, Neyther do I so speake of the seuenth daye, that I vvould binde the Church onely vnto it, for I do not condemne those



those Churches vvhich haue other solemne dayes to meete in, so that they be voyde of superstition, vvhich shall be if they be ordeyned onely for the obseruing of discipline and order.

## T. C. Pag. 122. Sect. 4.

As for *M. Caluine*, & the practise of him and the Church where he lived was and is, to admitte no one holy day besides the Lordes day, so can it not be shewed out of any parte of his workes (as I thinke) that he approued those holy dayes which are nowe in question. He sayeth in deede in his Institution: that he will not condemne those Churches which vse them: no more do we the Church of Englande, neyther in this nor in other thinges which are meete to be reformed. For it is one thing to mislike, an other thing to condemne, and it is one thing to condemne some thing in the Church, and an other to condemne the Church for it. And as for the places cited out of the Epistle to the Galatians, and Collossians, there is no mention of any holydayes epyther to Sainctes, or to any other, and it appeareth also that he defendeth not other Churches, but the church of Geneva, and answereth not to those which objecte against the keeping of Sainctes dayes, or any holydayes (as they are called) besides the Lordes daye, but against those which would not haue the lordes day kepte still as a day of reste from bodily labour, as it may appeare both by his place vpon the Collossians, and especially in that which is alleaged out of his Institutions: and that he meaneth nothing lesse, than such holydayes as you take vpon you to defende, it may appeare first in the place of the Collossians, where he sayeth, that the dayes of reste which are vfed of them are vfed for pollicie sake. Nowe it is well knowne, that as it is pollicie and a way to preserve the estate of thinges and to keepe them in a good continuance and successe, that as well the beastes as the menne which labour sixe dayes should rest the seuenth: so it tendeth to no pollicie nor wealth of the people, or preservation of good order, that there should be so many dayes, wherein menne should cease from worke, beyng a thing which breedeth idlenesse, and consequently pouertie, besides other disorders and vices, which alwayes go in companie with idlenesse. And in the place of his Institutions he declaroth himselfe yet more playnely when he sayeth, that those odde holydayes, then are without superstition, when they be ordeyned onely for the obseruing of discipline and order, whereby he giueth to vnderstande, that he would haue them no further holydayes, than for the tyme which is bestowed in the exercise of the discipline and order of the church, and that for the reste, they should be altogether as other dayes free to be laboured in. And so it appeareth, that the holydayes ascribed vnto Sainctes by the seruice booke, is a iuste cause why a man cannot safely without exception subscribe vnto the seruice booke.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

What soeuer *M. Caluine*s practise was in the Church of Geneva, yet in these places dothe his iudgement evidently appeare, neyther doth a man alwayes vse that himselfe, which he alloweth in an other: for there may be circumstances to make that commendable in one place, that is not so in an other.

He that condemneth the thing as vnlawfull, muste also condemne the Churches that vse the same, though not wholly, yet in that poynt. For as muche therefore as *M. Caluine* did not condemne other Churches for obseruinge suche dayes, it is a manifest argument that he condemned not the obseruing of those dayes in those Churches. In deede it is one thing to mislike, an other thing to condemne, but he that maketh suche a sturre in the Church for these matters, as you do, and that so disorderly, can not be sayde onely to mislike, but also to condemne.

The place of *M. Caluine*, out of the Epistle to the Galat. is not mente onely of the Lordes daye, but of other dayes also obserued in other reformed Churches, and in that place he maketh a generall answere as it were for them all, as it is some perceyued by suche as will reade that place. He also that shall peruse his wordes vpon the seconde chapter to the Collossians, shall finde the lyke sense in them. In that he sayeth they be vfed for order and pollicie, we do not dissent from him, but thinke so in lyke manner, howbeit we vnderstande as he doth Ecclesiasticall order and pollicie, for in the wordes that go before the place to the Galatians, he sayeth, that the obseruing of dayes dothe also pertaine, ad Regimen Ecclesie, to the government of the Church. What better order and pollicie can there be, than to haue cerfayne dayes appoynted wherein the people may reste from bodily labour, to labour spiritually, to heare the worde of God, &c. which *M. Caluine* called order and pollicie, and not the externall rest of the Sabbath daye, which is a commaundement of God,



God, and no constitution of the Church, neyther hath the Church any respect to worldly pollicie in appoynting of Holydayes, but to Ecclesiasticall pollicie, whiche consisteth in hearing the wordes, ministring the Sacramentes, publike Prayers, and other such lyke godly actions.

The place in his Institutions, conuince all your shifting coniectures of mere follye, for therein he playnely declareth his allowing in other Churches of mo Holydayes than the Sunday, whiche you haue denied to be his opinion in the former two places. I haue tolde you what he meaneth by discipline and order of pollicie: whereby he giueth to vnderstande nothing lesse than that whiche you woulde conclude, beyng but your owne deuise to serue for a worse shifte at a neede. And although the matter is not greate, whether they labour or no, yet the lawe of the Prince, and the order of the Church is to be obserued. And so it appeareth that there is no reasonable cause as yet proued, why you ought not to subscribe to the seruice Booke.

### Chap. 2. the. 8. Diuision.

Ansvereto the Admonition. Pag. 82. Sect. 1. 2.

In the ende you adde: (patched if not altogether, yet the greatest peece out of the Popes Portuils.)

To this I answere briefly, it maketh no matter of whome it was inuented, in what Booke it is conteyned: so that it be good and profitable, and consonant to Gods worde. Well sayeth Ambrose, *Omne verum à quocunque dicitur à spiritu Sancto est.* All truth, of vvhome soeuer it is spoken is of the holy ghost.

T.C. Pag. 123. Lin. 6.

Nowe whereas M. Doctor sayeth, it maketh no matter whether these thinges be taken out of the Portuils, so they be good &c. I haue proued first they are not good, then if they were yet beyng not necessarie, and abused horribly by the Papists, other beyng as good and better than they, ought not to remayne in the church.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Your reasons be not sufficient to proue them not to be good: the abuse hath not bene suche, but that it beyng remoued, the thing may still remayne as profitable and conuenient: the iudgement of the Church in determining what is best and moste fittest in matters of order, pollicie, and gouernment (not beyng agaynst the worde of God) is to be preferred before any priuate mans opinion, and imagination.

The iudgement of the Church is to be preferred to priuate mens iudgement.

### Chap. 2. the. 9. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 123. Lin. 10.

And as for Ambrose saying, all truth of whome soeuer it be sayde, is of the holy ghost: if I were disposed to moue questions, I coulde demaunde of him which careth not of whome he haue the truth, so he haue it, what our Saviour Christ ment to refuse the testimonie of Demils, when they gaue a cleare testimonie that he was the Sonne of God, and the holy one? And what S. Paule ment to be angrie, and to take it so grievously, that the Iudonisse sayde, he and his companion were the seruantes of the highe God, which preached vnto them the way of saluation? Here was truth and yet reiected, and I would knowe whether M. Doctor would saye, that these spake by the spirit of God. Thus whilst without all iudgement, he snatcheth here a sentence and there another out of the Doctoures, and that of the worste, as if a man should of purpose choose out the brosse, and leaue the siluer, within a while he will make no great difference, not onely betwene the Prophetes and Apostles, and prophane wryters, as Aristotle, and Plato, but not betwene them and those, which speake not by the conduyte and leading of the holy ghost, but by the violent thrusting of the wicked spirit.

Jo. Whitgiste.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

Christe liked not the truth beyng uttered of the Diuell, because he spake it of an euill meaning: but he liked very well the same testimonie of truth afterwarde uttered by Peter sincerely, Math. 16. Mar. 8. Neyther did he mislike the wordes because they were abused by the Diuell before. But I will leaue Diuels, and speake of men, of whome I thinke Ambrose mente, although the truth is true of whome soeuer it is uttered: but to Answere for Ambrose: he hath sayde nothing in that sentence which may not be iustified.

Caluine.

M. Caluine (upon these wordes, 1. Corinth. 12. And no man can saye that Iesus is the Lorde, but by the holy Ghost) sayeth thus. It may be demaunded, whether the wicked haue the Spirite of God, seying they sometime testifie playnely and well of Christe. I answer that there is no doubt but that they haue, so much as concerneth that affect: but it is an other thing to haue the gifte of regeneration, than to haue the gifte of bare vnderstanding, wherewith Iudas was indued, when he preached the Gospell.

P. Martyr.

M. Martyr also upon the same wordes, after he hath recited the opinions of other, maketh this resolution. But when I weygh this matter with my selfe, I perceyue that the Apostle here dothe speake, not of the Spirite whiche doth regenerate, or of that grace which iustifieth, but of the giftes which are freely giuen which may happen as well to the good as to the euill. Therefore I thinke that Paule spake simply, that he might declare, that by what meanes soeuer we speake well of Christe, it is of the holy Ghost, of whome commeth all trath, as all vntuth proceedeth of the Deuill who is the father of lyes. You see therefore that Ambrose is not of this iudgement alone, and that his saying is verie true.

Omne verum  
à spiritu sans  
Ego est.

The Doctours that I haue vsed, in this cause, be Jerome and Augustine, whiche be not the worst, but comparable with the best. I haue rehearsed out of them whole sentences, and persite, the which you are not able to answer: the rest of your opprobrious wordes, wherewith you conclude this question of holy dayes, I leaue for other to consider of, as notes of your spirite.

And to the intent that the Reader may vnderstande, that it was not for naught, that you set not downe my booke together with your Replie, I will here set downe such portions of my booke touching this matter, as you haue not answered vnto, but closely passed ouer, not thinking that any man should haue espied your lacke of abilitie to answer them.

*Chap. 2. the. 10. Diuision.*

## Admonition.

They should first proue that holy dayes ascribed to Sainctes, prescript seruices for them, &c. are agreeable to the written worde of the Almighty.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 153. Sect. 4.

& Pag. 154. Sect. 1.

Holy dayes ascribed to Sainctes, wherein not the Sainctes, but God is honoured, and the people edified, by reading and hearing suche stories and places of Scripture, as pertain to the martyrdome, calling and function of such Sainctes, or any other thing mentioned of them in Scripture, must needs be according to Gods worde. For to honor God, to worship him, to be edified by the stories and examples of Sainctes out of the Scripture, cannot be but consonant to the Scripture. The prescript seruice for them is all taken out of Gods worde, and not one peece thereof, but it is moste consonant vnto



unto the same. If ther be any that is repugnant, set it down, that we may vnderstande it.

I tolde you before, that touching the dayes and times and other Ceremonies, the church hath authoritie to determine what is most cōuenient, as it hath done from time to time. S. August. in his epistle *ad Ian.* in y place before of me recited saith he, that the passion of Christe, his resurrection, his ascension, & the day of the cōming of the holy ghost (which we cōmonly call Whitsontide) is celebrated, not by any cōmaundement written, but by the determination of the church. And it is the iudgement of al learned wryters, that the church hath authoritie in these things so that nothing be done against the word of God. But of this I haue spoken partly before, and intende to speake more largely thereof in the place folowing, where you agayn make mention of it.

Augustine.

### Admonition.

Exo. 20. 9.

Exo. 13. 12.

Deu. 5. 13.

Exo. 1. 10. 13.

Leuit. 23. 3.

1. Esd. 1. 13.

Rom. 14. 6.

Gal. 4. 10. 12.

In this booke dayes are ascribed vnto saints, & kept holie with fastes on their euens, & prescript seruike appointed for them, which beside that, they are of many superstitionously kepte and obserued, and also contrarie to the commaundement (2) of God. Six dayes thou shalt labour: and therefore we for the superstition that is put in them, dare not subscribe to allow them.

Answer to the Admo. pag. 173. sect. 2. & pa. 174. 175. & pa. 176. sect. 1. 2.

Your collection hāgeth not together, for how foloweth this: these holidays be superstitionously obserued of some, therefore you may not allow the: why should other mens superstition hinder you from lawfully vsing a lawful thing? The saboth day is superstitionously vled of some: so is y church, so is y crede, & the Lords praier, & many things else, and yet I hope you wil subscribe to the. You heap vp a nūber of places in the margent to proue y which no mā doubteth of, y is, this portion of the comandemēt, Six dayes shalt thou labour. &c. the meaning of which word is this, that seing God hath permitted vnto vs six dayes to do our own works in, we ought the seuenth day wholly to serue him.

These of thyn  
ges both not  
condemne the  
things.

Euery mā hath not bodily labour to do, but may serue God as well in these six dayes, as in the seuenth. And certainly he doth not by any meanes breake this cōmaundement, which absteineth in any of these six dayes from bodily labour to serue god. For this is the cōmandemēt, Remember that thou kepe holy the Sabboth day: as for this (Six dayes thou shalt work) is no cōmandement, but tendeth rather to the constitution of the Saboth, thā to the prohibiting of rest in any other day appointed to the seruike of God: And it is as much as if he should say: Six dayes thou mayst worke: & so do some translate the Hebrewe worde.

The place alleaged out of the first of Esay is far from the purpose, ther is not one word there spoke of any holy dayes dedicate to saints, but only the Lord signifieth, that their sacrifices & feast dayes wer not acceptable vnto him, bicause they were done in hypocritie, & without fayth: so that he reproceth modum, not factum, their maner of sacrificing (that is) their hypocriticall kynde of worshipping him.

Esay cōdemneth the maner of sacrificing.

In the seconde of Esdras. 1. in the place by you quoted. I see not one worde that may serue for your purpose, the wordes you quote be these: I haue led you through the sea, and haue giuen you a sure way since the beginning, I gaue you Moses for a guide, and Aaron for a Priest.

Uaine quotation.

In



In the. 14. to the Ro. the apostle speaketh nothing of our holydays, but of suche as were obserued among the Jewes, and abrogated by the commyng of Chryste. And yet in that place the Apostle exhorteth, that wee whyche bee strong, should not despyle them that are weake, nor condemne them, though they vse not the christian libertie in dayes and meates.

Augustine.

That in the fourth to the Galat. Ye obserue dayes, moneths, and tymes, and yeares. &c. **Saint Augustine** ad Ianuar. Episto. 119. expoundeth on this sorte. *Eos inculpat qui dicunt non proficiscar, quia posterus dies est, aut quia luna sic fertur, vel proficiscar ut prospera cedant, quia ita se habet positio syderum, non agam hoc mense commercium, quia illa stella mihi agit mensem, vel agam quia suscepit mensem.* I know there be other that do otherwise expounde that place (and that truly) even as they doe also that in the. 14. to the Rom. of certain Jewish feastes, as Sabboths, newe Moones, the feastes of Tabernacles, the yeaere of Iubilie, and such like abrogated by the gospell, and yet superstitiously obserued of some. But these places can by no means be vnderstode of the dayes obserued by vs, & called by the names of saintes dayes, for they were ordeined since the wyting of this epistle.

Difference  
betwixt the  
Papists holi-  
days & ours.

And that you may vnderstand the differēce betwixt the festiual dayes obserued of the Papists, & the dayes allowed now in this Church: it is to be considered, first, that their Saintes dayes were appointed for the honoring and worshipping of the Saintes, by whose names they were called: oures be ordeined for the honoring of God, for publike prayer, and edifying the people by readdyng the Scriptures, and preaching.

2 The Papistes in their Saintes dayes prayed vnto the Saintes: we only pray vnto God in Chrystes name.

3 They had all things done in a strange tong without any edifying at all: we haue the prayers and the Scriptures red in a tongue known, which can not be without great commoditie to the hearers.

4 To be shorte, they in obseruing their dayes, thinke they merite thereby something at Gods handes: We in obseruing our dayes, are taught farre otherwyle.

The Church even from the beginning hath obserued such feastes, as it may appeare in good writers.

Pag. 179 Sec. 1.

Touching fastyng on the euens of suche feastes, or rather absteyning from fleshe, you know it is not for religion, but for policie, and as I thinke, the same is protested in that Act, where suche kynde of absteyning is established: And therfore these be but slender quarels picked to disalowe suche a booke.

Jo. Whitgife.

All this haue you ouershipped: for what cause, you know best your selfe.

¶ What kind of preaching is mooste effectual.

Tract. 11. The firste Division

Admonition.

The fiftenth and sixtenth. Then (n)eeding the flocke diligently, nowe teachyng quarters. 1. Pet. 5. 1.

type



ly: then preaching (o) in season and out of season, now once in a moneth is thought sufficient, if  
 1. Tim. 4. 2. twice, it is iudged a worke of supererogation,

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 82. Sect. vlt.

& Pag. 83. & Pag. 84. Sect. 1.

These be but wordes of pleasure: God bee thanked there bee ministers (and such as you mislike of) whiche feede their flocks diligently, and preache in tyme, and out of tyme, according bothe to S. Peters and S. Pauls meaning.

But you must vnderstande, that he doth not alwayes feede the best, nor take the greatest paines, which preacheth most often, but he that preacheth most learnedly, most pithily, most orderly, most discretely, moste to edifying.

It may be that he which preacheth but once in the moneth, taketh more paynes for his sermon, hath more pithe and learning in hys sermon, edifieth more by his sermon, than you doe for all your sermons, in all your sermons, or by al the sermons that you make in the whole yeare, be they neuer so many. For what is it to preache euery day, and to spend the time with words only, or with bytter inuectiues against certain trifles, and against superiours? Such sermons do not edifie, but destroy, do not worke in the heartes of the hearers faith & charitie, but either cōtempt of religion, or else contempt of superiours, cōtempt of good orders, yea hatred, malice, vndiscrete wrath, coloured with a pretēce of zeale. Truly such sermons seldome or neuer worke any good effect: many wome in London could on that sort occupie the tyme. Wherefore I am fully perswaded, that he cometh nerer to the fulfilling of the mynd of the Apostle, which diligētly studying & labouring continually for knowledge, doth orderly, learnedly, and effectually preach once in the moneth, thā such as backbiting at other mens tables, running all the day long vp and downe the stretes, seldome or neuer studying, do negligently, vnderly, verbally (if I may so terme it) preach euery day twice. And yet I know the oftner a man doth preach (the former circumstances being considered) the better it is. But of euery one it will be required according to his talent: & not he that speaketh most, but laboureth most to speak, not he that preacheth most often, but that preacheth moste painfully, truly, and diligently, shall in that day be beste accepted.

That learned and auncient father M. Whithead hath sundry times lamented in my hearing (and I thinke there be other of his friends hathe hearde the same) the loose, friuolous, and vnprofitable preaching of diuers ministers in London. And I would to God it were better looked vnto: then I thinke verily we shoulde haue lesse contention and more religion.

T. C. Pag. 123. Sect. 1.

Here M. Doctor would saie (as it seemeth) if he durste, interpret diligent preaching & preaching in season, and out of season, to be preaching once a moneth. But because he dare not say so directly, he compasseth it about, and first putteth the case of one preaching twice a day, verbally, and with small substance of matter, and of an other preaching but once in a moneth, and doth it pithily, and orderly, and discretely, and concludeth, that such a Sermon once in a moneth, is nearer the mynd of the Apostle, than all those other Sermons made twice euery day: and yet the case is not so cleare, as he maketh it. For graunting that those (which he calleth verball sermons) haue some goodnesse and edifying, it must be very simple & slender meate, which is not better



being giuen euery day, than the best and dayntiest meate once onely in a moneth. For with the one a man may liue although he be not lyking, with the other he being once fed, is afterward famished. But how if the case be put, that the monethly and long laboured sermons, as they are called, haue as little, and lesse good whollsome doctrine in them, than the sermons whiche are preached euery daye. I surely for the moste of those that goe so long with a Sermon, and whiche I knowe and haue hearde: when they come to byng it forth: byng forth oftentimes more wynde, and vnpofytable matter, than any good and tyme frute, or holesome substantiall doctrine. And no maruell, for therein the worde of God is fulfilled, whiche declareth that the talentes of Gods gifts and grace, are increased by continuall vse, and laying out of them, and of the other side diminished, and in the ende taken quite away, when as they are suffered to lie so long rusting, as it were digged in the ground.

### *Io. Whitgiste.*

There is not  
the like reason  
of externall  
and spirituall  
foode.

**Q.** Doctors wordes bee playne: youre dealing wyth them can not obscure them: That whiche I haue spoken of verball Sermons, is notoziously knowne to bee true. What I haue sayde of monethly Sermons, I referre to other mens iudgemente. The similitude betwixte the externall meate that feedeth the bodie, and the worde of God that feedeth the soule, dothe fayle in manye thyngs, and especially in these: that the meate of the bodie remayneth not in the stomacke, but passeth thorough: the worde of God continueth and indureth in the mynde for euer. The meate of the bodie, the better it is digested, the lesser whyle it dothe continue: The worde of God the better it is vnderstande and remembred, the longer it remaineth. The meat of the bodie once taken, serueth but for y<sup>e</sup> present time, bee it neuer so good and holesome: The worde of God once preached, and saythfully receyued, dothe nourishe and fede continually: therefore one learned, effectually, orderly Sermon, preached once in a Moneth, conteyneth more nourishment in it, feedeth longer, worketh more in the heartes of the hearers, edifyeth more, than all the vnderlye, and verball Sermons, I myght also adde contentious, that some preach in one whole yere. But you compare the worde of God, and the nutriment of the body together in most grossest manner, and in that wherein they are nothing like.

What you thinke of those monethly, and long laboured sermons (as you call them) it skilleth not much, for you are in a heate, which hindreth true iudgemente. But I woulde haue you, and all other to vnderstande, that this whiche I speake of monethly sermons, I speake it in comparison, and not that I woulde haue a man that is otherwise able, to preach but once in a moneth. I haue shewed the contrary in my Answer. Euery man shall render an accompt of his labour according to his talent. Wherefore you and your company which are so greatly delighted in spreading false rumors of other men, and seeke to win credite vnto your selues, by diffaming of them, shall answer one day, to God and to me, for the great iniurie you haue done me in that behalfe. If it were lawfull for me to boast of my selfe, I might iustly saye and proue it, that I haue preached as many sermons as the most of you: God forgive me for my boasting, but you compell me. Well I confesse that I haue done no more than I ought to haue done: And I beseech God to graunt me no longer life, or ioy in this worlde, than I desire to be vigilante and profitable in his Church. I woulde not be dumbe and without a function as you are, and vpon that occasion, for all the goodes in Englande: For surely if those that preach not being able and once called therevnto, shall haue an hard iudgement: what shall become of suche, as not onely not preach themselves, but deface other men that preach, by backbiting and slandering, and spreading abroad false rumours vpon them, to discredit both their persons, and doctrine: and with sedes & schismes rent in peces the Church of Christ, and violently plucke downe whatsoever other men haue builded. **D. T. C.** these things would be considered in time.

*The*



*The seconde Division.*

T.C. Pag. 123. Sect. 2.

And heere M. Doctor taketh occasion to bitter his stomacke agaynst London. Rynning of one syde agaynst the women, of the other syde agaynst the Ministers, whose diligence bycause it maketh M. Doctors negligence moze to appeare, as a darke and duskye colour, matched with that whiche is cleare and lightsome, he doth goe aboute to deface, with the vnttrue and slanderous surmises, of loose, negligent and vnprofitable preaching. If there be some one such or two in London, it is too greete iniurie therfore, to charge indefinitely the compaignie of the ministers of London. Besides that, M. Doctor dothe not see howe lyke he accuseth the Bishop or euer he be aware, both in ordeyning suche ministers, and now in reforming them, bying so farre out of order, and then the Archbishop, whiche doth not require this disorder at the Bishops hande, lyke (as he sayeth) this is so godlie and heavenly an order, to haue one Bishop ouer many ministers, and one Archebishop ouer dyuers Bishops, and if we shall esteeme the petyblisse and fastnesse of preaching, by the frutes, as by the knowledge and feare of God in the people of London, and by fapthfull and true hearts toward the Prince, and the Realme, I thinke that that which he termeth foolish, loose, and vnprofitable preaching, shal fal out to be waighty, and to leaue a deeper printe behynde them, than those monethly sermons, whiche he speaketh of. And the Ministers of London better ministers, whiche preach twice a day, than those whiche make the word of God quell and dymme, and as M. Latimer pleasantly sayd, Strawberies commyng only at certayne tymes of the yere.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I speake lyke of the Authours of the Admonition. Then I repute M. Whitehead his saying of dyuers preachers in London: whiche if you coulde haue imprinted, I thinke you woulde.

I knowe there be many graue, learned, wyse and godlie preachers in London, whiche haue greatly profited that place, and as instruments haue wrought those good effectes you speake of, in the hartes of many. But I knowe also, there be some others farre vnlyke vnto them, in all respects, who by their vndiscrete and loose dealing, haue as muche as lyeth in them, wrought the contrarie.

If they haue bene suffered eyther throught the negligence of Archebishop, or Bishop, I excuse neyther of them: I thinke they haue good cause to take better heed hereafter.

Touching the women of London, I haue not sayde any thyng to their dyspraysle, I knowe a number verie honeste and godlie, and I knowe none that is euill. Onely I require that modestie in some of them, that becometh sober matrones, and women professyng the Gospell. It is not seemely for a woman to speake in the Church, no not that whiche is good: muche lesse comely is it for hir to scolde openly in the streates, or to be a common depraue of others at tables, and other meetings.

There is no cause why I shoulde beare a stomacke agaynst London, whiche place I haue alwayes honoured, where I haue many friendes, to the whiche I haue shewed as many tokens of good will, as any one man of my abilitie: But if I admonishe some of the Citizens, and bidde them take heed, that they abuse not the Gospel to serue theyr affections, that they make it not a cloke for theyr contentions, that they ware not wraue of it, and desire straunge Doctrines, that they heape not vp suche preachers vnto themselves, as maye serue theyr humours, that they shewe themselves moze thankfull for the Gospell, the whiche they haue so long receyued, that they studie for peace and quietnesse, that they grieue not the Prince in seeking alterations, by whome they enioy the pure worde of God, true vse of his Sacramentes, and sincere worshippyng of hym: To be shorte, if I moue them to brotherly loue, true obedience to theyr Superiours, and hatred of sectes, and schismes, wherunto many of them be too much drawne by such as you are: Do I bitter my stomacke agaynst them? If eyther they or you take it so: then I answere that I must obey God rather than man: and preferre my Prince, before all my friendes: But this is a peece of your Rhetorike, to drawe into hatred: which I doubt not the godlie will easily espie, and iudge of your spirite accordingly.



*The thirde Diuision.*

## Admonition.

For some in the fulnesse of their blasphemie haue sayde it, that muche preaching bryngeth the worde of God into contempt, and that foure preachers were enough for all London, so farre are they from thinking it necessarie, & seeking that every congregation should haue a faithfull pastor.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 167. Sect. 2. 3.

Verball preachers.

If any haue misliked often preaching, or haue sayde, that muche preaching bryngeth the worde of God into contempt, or that foure preachers were enough for all London, they are to be blamed, (and that iustely) and not the booke, for it willethe no man to say so.

But if any hath sayd, that some of those which be to preach often, by their loose, negligente, verball, and vblearned Sermons, haue brought the worde of God into contempt, or that foure goodlie, learned, pithy, diligent and discreete preachers, might do more good in London, than fortie contentions, vblearned, verball, and rashe preachers, they haue sayde truely, and their saying myghte well be iustified. Nowbeit take heede that you flander no man, or vniuallly seeke the discredite of any, whylest you seeke to bitter youre malice against that godlie booke. None that fauoureth Gods word (as I thinke) denyeth that hearing the worde of God, is the vsuall and ordinarie meanes, whereby God bleth to worke faythe in vs, And that therfore preachers be necessarie.

T.C. Page. 124. Lin. 10.

Of this thing M. Doctor speaketh agayne in the 167. page, but to this effect altogether, and almoste in the same wordes.

*Io. Whitgife.*

And yet is there something there, that would haue bin answered, but I take that as graunted whiche is not answered.

*The fourth Diuision.*

## Admonition.

The seuententh and eightenth. Then nothing taught but Gods word, now princes pleasures, mens deuises, Popish ceremonies and Antichristian rites in publike pulpits defended. Then they sought (p) them, now they seeke theyrs.

P  
Phil. 1. 10.  
21.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 84. Sect. 3. 4. 5.

It had bin wel to let vs vnderstand what those Princes pleasures be, what mens deuises, what Popish ceremonies, what Antichristian rites, for now we you haue but flandered both the Prince & the whole state of religion, in this Church by publike authoritie established: wherfore vntil you shew some particulars, this shal be my answere. that Spiritus Dei neq. est mendax, neq. mordax, The spirite of God is neyther a lyer, nor a flanderer.

It is but your pleasure thus generally to say: That then pastors soughte their flocks, now they seeke theirs: for it is well knowne that there bee Pastours which seeke their flocks, and not theirs.

Hitherto (thanks be vnto God) in al this discourse, ther is not one peece of false doctrine of any substance ascribed to this Church of England by these libellers, & therfore it hath (as God will) the first note of the true church of Christ, that is, puritie of doctrine.

T.C.

The Church  
of Englande  
flandered by  
the Admoni-  
tors.



T.C. Pag. 124. Lin. 12.

To the next section being the rest of the 84. page, I minde to say nothing, hauing before spoken of the faults, of the ceremonies and rites which are bled with vs.

*Io. Whitgife.*

The Admonition saith, that then nothing was taught but Gods word, now Princes pleasures, mens deuises, popishe ceremonies, and Antichristian rites, in publike pulpits defended, and will neyther you, nor they tell vs, what those Princes pleasures, &c. be. Well, it is true y folloiweth in that part of my Answer: for there is nothing said to the contrary.

## Admonition.

These and a greate many other abuses are in the ministrie remainyng, which brieffe they be remoued, and the truth broughed in, not onely Gods iustice shall be poured forth, but also Gods Church in this realme shal neuer be builded. For if they which seeme to be workmen, are no workmen indeede, but in name, or else worke not so diligently and in such order as the workmaster commaundeth, it is not only vniuersally that the building shall go forward, but altogether impossible that euer it shall be perfited. The way therefore to auoid these inconueniences, and to reforme these deformities, is this: Your wisdomes haue to remoue Abusions, Patronages, Impropriations, and Bishops authoritie, clayming to themselves thereby right to ordeyne ministers, and to bring in that old and true election, which was accustomed to be made by the cōgregation. You must displace those ignozant and vnable ministers already placed, and in their roomes appoynte suche as both can and wil by Gods assistance feede the flocke. You must plucke downe and utterly ouerthrow without hope of restitution, the Court of Faculties, from whence not only licences to enjoy many benefices are obteyned, as pluralities, Triallies, Cotuors, &c. but all thinges for the most part, as in the Court of Rome are set on sale, licences to marrie, to cate flesh in times prohibited, to lie from benefices and charges, and a great number beside, of such like abominations. Appoint to euery congregation a learned and diligent preacher, like vniuersall Homilies, Articles, Injunctions, a prescript order of Seruice made out of the Masse booke. Take away the lordship, the lordly ring, the pompe, the idleness, & liuings of bishops, but permyt them to such endes as they were in the old Church appoynted for. Let a lawfull and a godly feignorie looke that they preache, not quarterly or monethly, but continuallie: not for filthy lucre sake, but of a ready mind. So God shall be glorified, your consciences discharged, and the flocke of Chryste (purchased) with his owne blood edified.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 86. &amp; 87. Sect. 1.2.

What these great abuses by you hitherto alleadged be, I trust you do now fully vnderstand, surely except such factious libellers, suche stirrers bp of schismes, such disturbers of the peace of the church, such contemners of those that be in authoritie, be not onely remoued, but repressed, God will not only of his iustice punish the magistrates of this Realme for their carelesnesse in this behalfe, but also Gods gospel will therein be as much defaced with factions, schismes, and heresies, as euer it was in the Popes time, with superstition and idolatrie. For surely these men that would be compted such perfect builders, be but vnderminers and destroyers, and instruments of some greedy guttes, and lusty coyters, who to maynteyne their pride, and iopolitie, seeke for the spoyle of the Church, and indeede the vtter overthrow both of learning and religion.

For take from Bishops their lands and their authoritie, let euery parish elect their owne minister, remoue Homilies, Articles, Injunctions, appoynt no prescript order of seruice (that is to say) let there be no order prescribed to any man, no law to direct him or controll him, but let euery minister do what he list, speake what he list, alter what he list, and so oft as him list: to be chozt, let euery minister be King and Pope in his owne parish, and exempted from all controlemente of Bishop, Magistrate, and Prince, and you shall haue as many kinds of Religion, as there is Parishes, as many sects, as ministers, and a Church miserably tozue in peeces, with mutabilitie and diuersitie of opinions.

Discipline necessary.

Libellers be underminers, not builders.

Confusion.



Anabaptisme  
feared.  
Ambition in  
the Admonition.  
1028.

Do you not see what they shoote at: would they not be free from all magistracie: do they not most ambitiously desire that themselves, whiche they condemne in other: that is, Lordship and superiouritie. For who thinke you shoulde be chiefe in euery parish, and direct the rest: Surely euen the minister: The Pope neuer required greater authoritie ouer all Christendom, than they seke to haue ouer their parish. The Pope and his Cleargie did neuer more earnestly seeke, and desire to be exempted from the iurisdiction of ciuil magistrates, than these men do both from ellesiaasticall and ciuill Princes, nobles: and magistrates were neuer brought into greater seruitude & bondage, than these men seeke to lay vpon them.

T. C. Pag. 124. Sect. 1.

After a number of words without matter, sayings without mooves, accusations without any grounds, or likelihood of grounds, as that they be instruments of greedy guttes, and lusty rogues to marre the church in their politics, which notwithstanding as speake against Patronage, and would haue the tynings of the Church, which are idly and vniprofitably spent (for the most part) applyed to the right vices of the pope, and of ministers and schollers, and that they would be discharged from ciuill and ecclesiasticall subiection, which humbly submitting themselves to the Queenes maiestie, and all those that are sent of hir, would deliuer the Churches and themselves from the Churches sake, from the vniuersall dominion of one, to the end that they might yeld themselves with their Churches subiect to the lawfull ecclesiasticall government of those which God hath appoynted in his word. After this a number of such and like accusations, mixt with most bitter and reprochfull words, vnto all which, it is sufficient answer, that Quod verbo dictum est, verbo sit negatum. As easily denyed as said.

Id. Whitgise.

For proue of all that I haue here sayde, I referre my selfe to common experience, and the like practices in other Churches, by persons of much like disposition, as the notes in the beginning of the second edition of my Answer to the Admonition both more at large declare.

What that lawfull ecclesiasticall government of those which (you say) God hath appoynted in his word, is, and whether it verifieth my saying or no, shall be seene, when we come to that part of your Replie. Certain it is that you would transference both the authoritie of the Pope, Archbishop, and Bishop, to your selves, and your seniors: for that is the lawfull ecclesiasticall government you meane. And those be the persons, whome you thinke God to haue appoynted in his word, as it will fall out more euidently hereafter.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 87. Sect. 2.

Wherefore you that be in authoritie, if you loue the peace and prosperitie of the Church of Christ, if you desire the good successe of the Gospell, if you will preserve the state of this Realme, if you thinke it necessary to haue good magistrates, to haue good lawes and orders in a common wealth, if you esteeme learning, and seeke to preferre it, if you hate anarchy, confusion, Anabaptisme, if you allowe of your owne condition, and like of a kingdome better than of a popular state: Then prouide betime some speedy remedy, for these and suche like kind of men: and if the religion you haue established be good, if the orders and lawes you haue made be convenient, let them not be written against, spoken against, nay openly contemned and broken, withoute warpe and seuerer punishment: suffer not suche as execute them to be contemned, hated, discouraged, and oftentimes trampled by some superiours. Either let your lawes be maintained as lawes,

In exhortation  
to those  
that be in au-  
thoritie.

Lawkeepers  
contemned.



or else deliuer vs from our dutie in executing and obeying of them.

T.C.Pag.124.Sect.2.

He turneth him self to those that be in authoritie, whom he would make beleue, that it standeth vpon the ouerthrow of the church, of religion, of order, of the Realme, of the state of Princes, of Magistrates, which are by this meanes established, and whose estates are made thus way most sure, when as the true causes of these clamours, and outcries, that M. Doctor maketh, is nothing else, but the feare of the ouerthrow, of that honour which is to the dishonour of God, and ignominy of his Church, and which maketh to the good dispensing of these goodes, for the ayde and helpe of the Church, which now serue to oppresse it.

### *Io. Whitgife.*

It shall be sufficient to referre the consideration of this your answer to such as be in authoritie, who can best consider of both our meanings.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 88. Sect. 1.

Touching the Court of faculties I cannot say much, for I haue no great experience of it, and lesse knowledge in the lawe, notwithstanding bycause by lawfull authoritie, it is allowed in this Realme, I cannot but reuerently iudge of it, for in such matters I thinke it a poynt of modesty to suppose the best, and to abstaine from cōdemning of that government, whiche is allowed as conuenient. If there be faultes in the officers, they may be corrected.

The Court of  
faculties.

T.C.Pag.124.Sect.2.

As for the Court of faculties, the corruptions thereof, being so cleare that all men see them, and so grosse that they which cannot see, may grope them. M. Doctor answereth that he knoweth not what it meaneth, and therefore is moued of modesty to thinke the best of it, whiche is but a simple shift. For besides that that the Admonition speaketh nothing of it, but that the strates, and high wayes talke of: if there had bin any defense for it, it is not to be thought that M. Doctor would haue bin so negligent an advocate, as to haue omitted it, seeing if he were ignorant, he might haue had so easily, and with so little cost, the knowledge of it. As for his modesty, his bolde asseueration of things which are doubtful, which are false, which are altogether unlikely, which are impossible for him to know, doth sufficiently bewray, and make so well knowne, that no such visage, or paying can serue to make men beleue, that meere modesty shut vp his mouth, from speaking for the Court of faculties, which hath opened his mouth so wide, for the defense of those things, wherein as it falleth out, he hath declared himselfe, to haue lesse skill and vnderstanding than he hath of that Court.

### *Jo. Whitgife.*

I haue spoken my conscience of that Court, neither did I cōferre with any to giue me any instructions concerning it. And surely as I thought then, so do I thinke now. I haue affirmed nothing which I will not stand to, except you can conuince me by better reasons, than I haue heard any as yet. That Court hath the original and authoritie from the Prince: it is established and confirmed by Parliament: it medleth nothing with that, that pertaineth to the office eyther of Bishop or Pastor. The principall officers be the Lord Chancellour and the Archbishop. It maynteyneth the Quenes prerogative in causes ecclesiasticall, and was erected the 25. yere of King Henry the eyght by authoritie of Parliament, to the suppressing and utter abolishing of the Bishop of Romes iurisdiction. It medleth not (for any thing that I know) with matters, that by learning can be proued to be against the word of God: and in some poynts it cannot without inconuenience be missed. But this is a matter of pollicie, and therefore I leaue the further consideration of it, to suche as God hath committed the government of this realme vnto, to whome it dothe especially appertain.

Of



Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

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## The defense of the answer

Tract. 12.

### Of preaching before the administration

of the Sacramentes. Tract. 12.

#### *The first Division.*

Admonition.

Now to the second point which concerneth ministration of sacraments. In the olde time the word was (1) preached before they were ministred, now it is supposed to be sufficient if it be read. Math. 3. 12.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 89. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

The second externall note of the church.

The second external note of the true Church of Christ is ministring of the Sacraments sincerely: you would proue that this Church of England hath not the Sacraments sincerely ministred: first by three generall reasons perteyning to both the sacraments: then by certaine abuses which you find seuerally in either of them.

The first generall reason is this: In olde time the worde was preached before the Sacraments were ministred, now it is supposed to be sufficient, if it be read.

A general doctrine may not be concluded of a singular example.

To proue that the word was preached before the Sacramentes were ministred, you alleadge the third of Matthew, vers. 12. VVhich hath his fanne in his hand, and vvill make cleane his fflowver, and gather his vvheate into his garner, but vvill burne vp the chaffe vvith vnquenchable fire. I vnderstand not how you can of this place conclude, that there must be of necessitie preaching and not reading before the administration of the Sacraments: If you say, John preached vnto such as came vnto his baptisme, and read not vnto them, therefore of necessitie there must be preaching and not reading: I Denye the argument, for it is a common rule, that we may not conclude a generall doctrine, of a singular or particular example: and I am sure it is against all rule of Logicke.

T. C. Pag. 124. Sect. vlt.

Whereas vnto the Admonition prouing out of the third of S. Mathew, that preaching must go before the ministring of the Sacraments, you answer first, that it is against all logicke to conclude a generall rule vpon a particular example: you shall vnderstand that that whiche John did in that poynte, he did it not as a singular person, or as the sonne of Zacharie, but as the minister of the Gospell, and therefore it apperteyneth as well to all other ministers, as vnto him. For as it is a good conclusion, that for so much as Peter in that he is a man is borne to haue, and by common course of nature hath two legges, therefore John, & Thomas, and al the rest haue so: euen so, for so much as John by reason of his ministerie, had neede first to preach, then to baptise, it followeth that all others, that haue that ministerie committed vnto them, must do the like.

#### *Io. Whitgifte.*

So did John not as a priuate man, but as a minister of the Gospell preach in the wilderness, baptise in Jordan, must therefore all other ministers of the Gospell do the same: This is no orderly kind of reasoning to saye, Peter in that he is a man is borne to haue two legges, Ergo every man hath two legges: but the due forme of reasoning is this: Every man by nature hath two legges, Peter is a man and therefore by nature hath two legges. Therefore if the argumente had bin framed on thys sort, it is the office of every minister of the Gospell to preach before baptisme: John, Peter, and Thomas be ministers of the Gospell, Ergo they ought to preach before baptisme. It had bin in some good order touching the forme, though in the matter ther had bin some fault. But you must thinke that to preach before the administration of baptisme, is not so natural to a minister of the Gospell, nor so much of the substance of his office, as to haue two legges is to a man. For he may be a true, faithfull, and perfecte minister of the Gospell, though he neuer preache before the administration of Baptisme: But he cannot be a perfecte man, touching his body, that lacketh the one or bothe of his legges. It is an vndoubted rule in the Scriptures, that a gene-



a generall doctrine, may not be concluded of particular examples, except the same examples be according to some generall rule or commandment.

The Apostles in that they were ministers of the worde, preached in all places, cured diseases, wrought miracles. &c. But it doth not therefore follow that all other ministers must do so likewise. Howbeit if the case were now with other ministers of the Gospell, as it was then with John, that is, if they had to baptise only men of yeares and discretion, and such as believed not in Christ, as John had: then it were most necessary that they should preach before they did baptise. But seeing the case is cleane altered and there is now no occasion to minister the sacrament of baptism to any but to young infants, that vnderstand not the word preached, I cannot perceiue how that example of John can be aptly applyed, for he preached to such as were yet to be baptised. But the Reader may note, that you are content to passe over the vnapt allegation of the Scripture, used by the authoꝛs of the Admonition in this place.

### The second Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 90. Sect. 1.

But how if it may be proued that John did baptise some without preaching vnto them? In that third Chap. of Matthew vers. 5. and 6. we read that all Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the region round aboute Iordan, wente out to be baptised of him, and that they were baptised of him in Iordan, confessing their sinnes: but we reade not, that he did immediatly before preach vnto them.

Baptising distinct from preaching.

T.C. Pag. 125. Lin. 5.

Secondarily you saye that it doth not appeare, that he preached immediatly before he baptised them with water, And yet S. Matthew after that he had shewed, that he preached repentance, (which the other Euangelists call the baptism of repentance) he addeth, that then the people were baptised of him, whiche also may appeare by the 19. of the Acts, vers. 5. where S. Paule noteth this order to haue bin kept. For although betwene the story of his preaching, and that whiche is sayde, of his baptising, there is entrelaced a description of his dyet, and of his apparrell, yet these wordes (then came vnto him, &c.) must needs be referred vnto the time whiche followed his preaching.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

I doubt not but that John preached vnto them oftner than once, or twice before he did baptise them: for else should he haue baptised them being infidels: but it may wel be gathered by those places of Saint Matthew, that he did not immediatly preache vnto them before baptism, which is that that I affirme. For the authoꝛs of the Admonition seeme to condemne the administration of our sacramentes, because the word is not always preached immediatly before they be ministered.

I vnderstand not how you can gather any such order out of that 19. of Actes, vers. 5. except you cal questioning preaching. For S. Paule there doth question with them, asking them whether they had receiued the holy Ghost, or no, and vnto what they were baptised: there is no mention of any sermon preached, so any thing that I can espie. Moreover it is dangerous to vnderstand that place of the Sacrament of baptism, least we should seeme to admitte rebaptisation, and to fall into the heresie of the Anabaptists, who vse this place for that purpose: or else thinke that there is so greate difference betwixt the baptism of John, and the baptism of Christ, that such as were baptised with the baptism of John, had neede againe to be baptised with the baptism of Christ, which opinion some hold being deceiued by this place. Wherefore that it may appeare how vnaptly you haue alleadged this place for your purpose, and what suspicion you haue given either of the Anabaptistall rebaptisation, or Baptistall difference betwixt the baptism of John, and the baptism of Christ,

The place. 19 Act. may not be interpreted of a sacrament of baptism.



Of preaching before the administration of the Sacraments  
*Caluin in. 19. Afo.*

The name of baptism transferred to the gifts of the spirit.

*Bullin in. 19. Afo.*

Christ, I will recite vnto you the iudgement of some learned men concerning thys place. M. Caluine vpon the same verse and sentence writeth thus: But now it may be asked whether it be lawfull to reiterate baptism, and furious men of our time vsing thys testimonie, haue gone about to bring in Anabaptisme. Some men by the name of baptism vnderstand a new institution: vnto whome I do not assent, bycause their exposition as it is enforced, sauoureth of a shift. Others denie that Baptisme was reiterated, bycause they had bin baptized, of some foolish imitator of Iohn. But bycause their gheasse hath no colour of truth, nay rather the words of Paule do testify that they wer the very true disciples of Iohn, and Luke very honorably calleth them the disciples of Christ: I do not subscribe vnto thys sentence, and yet I denie the baptism of water to haue bin reiterated, bycause the wordes of Luke do sound nothing else, but that they were baptized with the spirit. First it is no new thing to transference the name of baptism to the gifts of the spirite, as we haue seene in the first and. 11. Chap. where Luke sayd that Christ, when he promised to the Apostles the visible sending of the holy Ghost, called it baptism, and agayne when the holy Ghost descended vpon Cornelius, that Peter remembred the wordes of the Lord, you shall be baptized with the holy Ghost. Then we see that it is here namely intreated of the visible gifts, and that they are conferred and giuen with baptism. But wheras it followeth immediatly, that when he had layd his hands vpon them, the holy Ghost came. I interprete that to be put in the way of exposition, for it is the vsuall and familiar manner of speaking in the scripture, to propound a matter briefly, and after to explicate it more plainly. That therefore which for breuitie was somewhat obscure, Luke doth better expresse, and more largely expound, saying, that the holy Ghost was giuen them by the imposition of hands. If any man obiecte, that the name of baptism, when it is vsed for the gifts of the holy Ghost, is not put simply, but with addition, I answer that the meaning of Luke is euident enough by the text. And further, that Luke alludeth to baptism, wherof he had before made mentiō. And surely if you should take it for the externall signe, it will be absurd that it was giuen vnto them, without any better instruction. But if metaphorically of the institution, the phrase would yet be more hard, and the story would not agree, that after they were taught, the holy Ghost descended vpon them.

But be it as other some learned men also interprete thys place, that in the former parte of the Chapter, the baptism of Iohn is taken for the doctrine of Iohn, and in this place for the sacrament of baptism: and that Paule preached before he did administer the same, yet doth it not follow, that of necessitie there must be preaching before the administration of baptism. The Anabaptists abused this place to the same effect, but M. Bullinger doth answer them in this manner. VWhereas the Catapults obiect here, Therefore doctrine goeth before baptism: no man denyeth it, but yet in those that be of yeares of discretion, and with whome the name of Christ hath not bin published. But agayn wheras the name of Christ hath bin heard of, no man can denie, but that there the parents being carefull for the saluation of their children, do offer them vnto holy baptism, bycause they heare that God is also, the God of infants: but baptism selfe to be nothing else, but the signe of the people of God.

The third Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 90 Sect. 11.

And verses. 13. 14. 15. it is manifest, that he did baptise Christ without preaching. This is but a slender prooffe you ble, thereby to condemn the sinceritie of our sacraments, and administering of them in this Church.



T. C. Pag. 125. Lin. 13.

Luke. 3.

John. 1.

And whereas you say that it is manifest that our saviour Christ was baptised without preaching, I would know of you, what one worde doth declare that, when as the contrary rather doth appeare in S. Luke, which seemeth to note playnely, that our Saviour Christe was baptised, when the people were baptised. But the people as I haue shewed were baptised immediatly after they heard John preache, therefore it is lyke, that our saviour Christ was baptised after he had heard John preache. And it is very probable, that our saviour Christ which did honoꝝ the ministry of God by the hand of men so far, as he would vouchsafe to be baptised of John, would not neglect or passe by his ministry of the word, being moze precious than that of the Sacramente, as it appeareth by John, that our Saviour Christe was present at his sermons, for so much as S. John doth as hee was preaching to the people, point hym out with the synger, & tolde them that he was in the myddst of them which was greater than he.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

First S. Mathe we maketh no mention of it, neither can it be gathered by any circumstance of the place. Secondly, Luke doth not say that John preached immediatly before he baptised. But the contrary rather appeareth, if S. Luke wyte the story orderly. Thirdly, to what purpose should he preache to Christe before he baptised him? Lastly, in the first of John, there is not one sentence to proue that Christe was present at any of Johns sermones, for those wordes (But there standeth one among you whome you know not. &c.) do not signifie that he was in that company at that present, Sed quod inter eos versabatur, that he was conuersant amongst them. But if he had bin present, doth it therefore followe that the sacramentes may not be ministred without preaching: do you make preaching immediatly before the administration of the sacramentes, *De substantia Sacramentorum*, of the substance of the Sacramentes?

John. 1.

*The. 4. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 90. Sect. 2. 3.

There is no man I thinke which doth not allowe of preaching before the administration of the Sacraments: but it is not therewith ioynded, *tantum de necessitate sacramenti*, as of the necessity of the Sacramente, neither is there any thing here alledged for preaching before the administration of the lords supper. Indeede we reade not that Christ did preach immediatly before the distribution of the Sacrament of his body & bloud to his disciples, only he told them, that some of them should betraye him, & that he had greatly desired to eate & passeouer with the. This I write to thewe your blynde and vnlearned collections, not to disallowe preaching in the administration of the Sacramentes.

Preaching before the sacramentes not disallowed.

T. C. Pag. 125. Lin. 25.

And there is no doubt, but those wordes which our Saviour Christe sayd before his supper, although they are gathered by the Euangelistes into short sentences, were notwithstanding long sermons touching the fruite of his death, and vse and ende of that Sacrament.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

But if it had bene so necessary a matter as you make it, and of the substance of the sacramentes, it would haue bene expessed by one meanes or other: seing therefore it is not, the wordes and order of the holy Euangelistes must bee credited before your bolde coniectures.

*The. 5. Diuision.*

T. C. Page. 125. in the midst.

And this order of preaching immediatly before the ministring of the Sacramentes is continually noted of S. Luke, throughout the whole story of the Actes of the Apostles.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

It is not denied but that men must first be conuerted to Christe by preaching of the worde, before the Sacramentes be ministred vnto them, and therevnto tende all those

Whb.

those

Act. 2.  
Act. 8. 12.  
Verf. 38.  
Act. 9.  
Act. 10.  
Act. 16.  
Verf. 15. 33.  
Act. 10.



Of preaching before the administration of the Sacramentes.

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## The defense of the answere

Tract. 12

those places of  $\psi$  Acts which be noted in  $\psi$  margent. But our questiō is whether preaching be so necessarily ioined with  $\psi$  administratiō of  $\psi$  sacramēts,  $\psi$  neither  $\psi$  faithful which wel vnderstand  $\psi$  vse of the, neither infantes whose capacite wyll not serue to learne, may be made partakers of  $\psi$  sacraments, without a sermon preached before.

The. 6. Diuision.

T. C. Page 125. about the midst.

But I wyll not precisely say, neyther yet do  $\psi$  authors of  $\psi$  Admonition affirme (as  $\mathcal{M}$ . doctor surmiseth of them) that ther must be preaching immediatly before the administration of the sacramēts. This I saye that when as the (\*) life of the sacramentes, dependeth of the preaching of the worde of God, there must of necessitie the worde of God be, not read, but preached vnto the people, amongst whome the sacramentes are ministred.

(\*) An vntreue and foule error.

Io. Whitgifte.

What do you saye then, or wherefore contend you: no man euer denied preaching to be very conuenient. But the Authours of the Admonition saye: That in the olde tyme the worde was preached before the sacramentes were ministred, nowe it is suppoled to be sufficient, if it be read. To what purpose be these wordes spoken, except their meaning be to haue the worde preached at all times, when the Sacramentes be ministred: so that you would seeme to saye something in their defense, & when you haue done, you make a doubt of the matter, and begin to halte, saying that you wil not precisely saye. &c.

The life of  $\psi$  sacramentes dependeth not of preaching. The absurdities of the assertion of the Replier.

This saying of yours, that the life of the sacramentes dependeth of the preaching of the worde of God. &c. is moste vntreue: and in mine opinion a foule error, for the lyfe of the Sacramentes depende vpon Gods promyses expessed in his worde, and neither vpon preaching nor vpon reading. If this doctrine of yours be true, then be the sacramentes dead sacramentes, and without effect, except the worde be preached when they be ministred. And so in dede do some of your adherentes in playne termes affirme, saying that they are seales without writing, and playne blankes. Whiche doctrine sauereth very strongly of Anabaptisme, and doth depriue those of the effectes and fruites of the Sacramentes, which haue bene partakers of them without the worde preached when they were ministred, and so consequently euen your selfe, for it is not like that there was a sermon at your Chyristening. And therefore this doctrine must of necessitie bring in both rebaptisation, and condemne the baptisme of infantes, which is flat Anabaptistie. For if that baptisme be without life, at the which the worde of God is not preached, then can it not regenerate or be effectuell to those that were therewith baptised: And therefore must of necessitie be iterated, that it may be liuely.

The doctrine of the Replier tendeth to plain Anabaptisme.

Againe if baptisme be dead, at the which the word of God is not preached, then can it do no good to such as haue no vnderstanding of the worde of God preached, that is, to infantes. For if the preaching of the worde be so necessarily ioined with the administration of the Sacramentes, it is in the respect of those that are to receiue the sacraments, & then must it needes folowe  $\psi$  the sacramēts may be ministred to none, but to such as be able to heare the word of God: whereby infantes must be secluded from baptisme. And in dede this is one of the strongest arguments that the Anabaptistes vse against the baptising of infantes, as shal hereafter appeare. For of this the Reader shall vnderstand moze, by  $\psi$  which straightway I will set down out of Zuinglius.

The. 7. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 125. somevvhar past the midst.

And forasmuch as I haue proued before, that no man may minister the sacraments, but he which is able to preach the word, although I (\*) dare not affirme that there is an absolute necessitie, that  $\psi$  word should be preached immediatly before  $\psi$  sacramēts be ministred, yet I can imagin no case wherein it is either meete, or conuenient, or els almost sufferable that the sacramentes should be ministred without a sermon before them, for the minister being (as he ought of necessitie to be) able to preach, ought so to do. And if it be said that his health or voyce wil not serue him sometimes to preach, when he is able enough to minister the sacraments. (\*) I say that either he ought to beg  $\psi$  help of an other minister harde by, or else there is lesse inconuenient in deferring  $\psi$  celebration of the sacrament, vntill he be strong enough to preach, than ministring it so mapmedly and without a sermon: whereby it is seene how iust cause  $\mathcal{M}$ . Doctor hath to call these blynde and vnlearned gatherings, which he with his Egles eye, & his great learning, can not scatter, nor once moue.

(\*) Belike you are in doubt of your doctrine.

(\*) Ergo one may preache out of his own cure, which is contrary to your doctrine

Tract. 6. cap. 1

& Tract. 9.

cap. 1. diuis. 15

Io. Whitgifte.

I haue sufficiently proued that the administration of the Sacramente of Baptisme may be committed to those which be not preachers of the worde.



If the life of the sacrament depende of the preaching of the worde, as you haue said before: then there is an absolute necessitie that the worde be preached immediately before the sacramentes be ministred, and therefore in making this doubt, you doe but declare a waue-  
ring mynde, and an uncerteyne iudgement.

Howe can he begge helpe of an other minister, seeing no man may preache in an other mans care?

You greatly forget your self, and the absurditie of your doctrine appeareth by your owne contrarieties.

But nowe that it may be knowen, howe neare in this point you approche to Ana-  
baptisme, I will note one or two places out of *Zuinglius*, touching this matter. In his booke *De baptismo*, speaking against this selfe same assertion of the Anabaptistes, he saith thus: The disciples did minister the baptisme of water in times past without any do-  
ctrine, and without giuing the holy Ghost, for they baptised when as Christ taught and did not baptise, as we haue before shewed out of the 4. of Iohn, and out of the 1. Cor. 1. for Paule sayth, Christe sent me not to baptise, but to preache, therefore some taught, and other bapti-  
sed. But we may gather out of the sixt of Iohn, that baptisme was vsed before that men be-  
ing indued with true faith, did stick to the doctrine, for there we reade that many for-  
sooke Christ, whom notwithstanding no man doubteth to haue bin before baptised. Again  
intreating of these wordes, (*Euntes docete omnes gentes.* &c. Math. 28. which the Anaba-  
ptistes vse for an argument to improue the baptisme of infanten, because Christe sayd  
there *Docete*, before he said *Baptizate*, wherof they gather your assertion, that preaching  
must go before baptisme, and therefore conclude that infanten may not be baptised  
because they can not be taught) saith thus: By these wordes they which deny baptisme  
vnto infanten do not only seduce them selues, but drawe others also into great errors, and  
Laberinthes: for vrging of the bare order of the wordes of Christe, they haue nothing else in  
their mouthes but onely this: *Docete & baptizate*, teache and baptise. Beho:de saye they  
the commaundement of Christe. In the meane tyme, they do not marke (nay in deede they  
will not marke) that the same thing that they so much crie vpon, doctrine, is afterwarde also  
set after, when as he sayth, *Docentes eos seruare.* &c. teaching them to obserue all those  
thinges, vvhich I haue commaunded you. By the which wordes, it is manifest that  
baptisme is a signe whereby we giue our names, and haue our firste entrance vnto Christ, the  
which being giuen and receiued, yet notwithstanding those thinges are to be taught and to  
be learned, which Christ would haue vs to keepe: but these men vrging the bare letter, Crye  
still, that Christe sayd, *Docete & baptizate*, teache and baptise. VVherfore I will also vrg  
the same bare letter, but for their causes onely, if by any meanes I might withdrawe them  
from their desire to contende. Sirs you vrg that saying, Go and teache al nations, bap-  
tizing the in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost:  
and I say this, Baptise them in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and  
of the holy Ghost, teaching them to obserue all thinges, vvhatsouer I haue  
commaunded you. VVherfore nowe I aske, whither of vs hath the worde more plaine  
and apert, that concerneth doctrine? you verily bring the worde of God, whiche proueth  
that men should be taught, but what kinde of doctrine that is, is not in those your wordes  
expressed. But wee haue the worde of God more cleare and playne than yours, whiche is,  
Teaching them to obserue all those thinges, vvhatsouer I haue commaun-  
ded you, and these wordes are put after, and not set before baptisme. And a little after.  
Although we graunt that this order of wordes hath some force in this place, yet these thinges  
pertaine nothing vnto young children and infanten, that they should not be baptised before  
doctrine: for these wordes pertaine vnto those that are instructed in doctrine and the out-  
ward worde: but it is manifest that infanten are not taught, therefore these wordes can not  
be referred vnto children, that they ought not to be baptized.

And in the same booke, speaking of this. 3. chap. of *Mattheu* by you alleadged  
and vsed of the Anabaptistes to the same purpose, he graunteth that Iohn did preache  
before he did baptise, For necessitie so required, that by teaching he should expounde to

Contrarietie  
in the 12. epist.

The doctrine  
of the Reptier  
approcheth to  
Anabaptisme.

*Zuinglius.*

When prea-  
ching is neces-  
sary before  
baptisme.



the people the causes of baptisme. For except doctrine were preached, no man would in these our dayes haue their children baptized. But after they were of yeares of discretion, and had receiued faith through the ministerie of the doctrine, (as we reade that it was done of them in olde time) they brought their children also to be baptised. And in the ende he concludeth thus: In the meane time, we do willingly graunt this vnto them, that doctrine and instruction ought to go before, if at any time we come vnto infidels, for none of the Heathen ought to be baptised, but he which hath heard and beleued that doctrine, which was before vnknown vnto them and theirs.

Thus then you see, howe nere your opinion of the necessitie of preaching before the administration of the Sacramentes, appoacheth to the heresie of the Anabaptists. If you would shifte off the matter, as though you required not this necessitie of preaching before the administration of the Sacramentes alwayes in respecte of those whiche are to receiue them, but in respect of the rest which are present, as this would be but a shifte, so can it not agree with your assertion: for the use of the Sacramentes, pertaineth not to those that be present, but vnto those that are partakers of them. Wherefore M. Doctoz needeth not his egles eyes to espye your errors (that I saye no worse) but with dimiter sight than he hath, might easely see, that you in this doctrine haue playnely ioyned handes with the Anabaptistes.

Preaching before the administration not disallowed.

And yet I would not haue any man thinke that I mislike preaching in the administration of the sacramentes, which can be vnprofitable at no tyme: but this only I affirme, that it is not so necessarily ioyned with the administration of the sacramentes, but that they may be rightly administered, though the worde be not at the same tyme preached.

## ¶ Of Reading of the Scriptures. Tract. 13.

A comparison betwene reading of scriptures and preaching

Chap. 1. the first Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 125. Sect. vlt.

After this M. Doctoz accuseth the authours of the Admonition, as though they simply condemned reading the scriptures in the church, and this accusation he foloweth in many wordes, and in diuers places, wherein as in a number of other places of their booke, the authours of the Admonition haue cause to renew that olde complaynt of Theodorinus, which is that whensoeuer any thing is sayde that is vnpleasant, that is by and by expounded otherwyle than it is ment of hym that speaketh it: so that that which is giuen with the right hande, is receiued with the left. For the authours of the Admonition declaring their bitter mislikyng, that there shoulde be in steade of a preaching minister (a) (if I may so call hym) and in steade of preachyng reading, are vntruely expounded of M. Doctoz, as though they condemned all reading in the church. And here he maketh himselfe worke, and picketh a quarell to blot a great deale of paper, and to proue that which no man denieth, for besides this treatise, he speaketh afterward of it in halfe a score pages, euen from the 159. page vntill the 170. page, & so lighteth vs a candle at noone dayes. (\*) It is a token of a nature disposed to no great quietnesse, whiche rather than he should not strue, strueth with himselfe.

(a) A daungerous parenthesis.

(\*) Herein you haue aptly described your own nature.

Io. Whitgiste.

Whither I accuse them iustly or no, I shall referre it to the Reader to iudge, after I haue set downe their very wordes, which indeede no Chyistian eares can patiently beare: pag. 157. they say thus: Reading is not feeding, but it is as euill as playing vpon a stage, and worke to. Which wordes if they be well marked and ioyned with the reason that followeth: for players yet learne their partes without booke, &c. must needs signifie a mers contempt of reading the scriptures, and a mynde that thinketh lesse edifying to come by reading, than by playing vpon a stage, which is an vntolerable blasphemie. Pages. 164. and. 165. their talke of reading the scriptures tendeth wholly to this purpose, to make the same altogether vnprofitable: and surely no man can excuse them of this



of this crime, but he that is bent without respect to assent vnto them in all things, though they be moste manifestly false, and moste absurde.

But I would haue the Reader marke this one thing, that speaking of a reading minister, you saye, If I may so call hym, whereby you giue playne signification that you may not call nor esteeme them to be ministers which cannot preache. Whiche if it be true, then haue they not in your doctrine deliuered any of the sacramentes, & so consequently so many not baptized as haue bene baptized by the, to the p<sup>ro</sup>se wher- of your doctrine tendeth wholly. The like be hath afterwarde, pag. 128. Sect. 1.

The marke  
that the Re-  
plier shewethat

### Chap. 1. the. 2. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 126. Lin. 4.

And although the cause be iust and good, which he defendeth, yet I will note in a worde or two, howe as though there were pitche of some worse thing in his handes, he defileth whatsoever he toucheth.

### Io. Whitgiste.

A token of a modest and quiet nature to impeache a knowne truthe, for the per- sones sake that doth defend it. *Nunquid sic factitabat Paulus?* Did Paule so? or did Peter dally in that manner? Paule was content to allowe the truthe preached, enen by false Prophetes. But what should I compare the myde, modest and louing spirite of the Apostles, with the contentious and scoffing spirite of T. C?

### Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 90. Sect. 4.

But I would gladly learne why you do so greatly mislike of read- ding the scriptures. I hope you be not Zvvingfildians: is not the word of God as effectuell when it is read, as when it is preached? or is not reading preaching?

Zvvingfildians  
mislike reading  
of scriptures.

Reading is  
preaching.

T.C. Pag. 126. Lin. 6.

First therefore he asketh, and so, that he doth most boldly and confidently affirme it, whether the worde of God is not as effectuell when it is read, as when it is preached? or whether reading bee not preaching? In which two questions, although the one of them confuteth the other (for so much as if reading be preaching (as he sayth) then the comparison of the profit and efficacy betweene one and the other is absurde) yet I will answer to both. I say therefore that the worde of God is not so effectuell read as preached. For S. Paule sayth, that faith commeth by hearing, and hearing of the worde preached, so that the ordinary and especiall meanes to worke faythe by, is preaching, and not reading.

Rom. 10.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I haue affirmed nothing so boldly, which I haue not as strongly by god autho- rities, and reasons confirmed, to the which you haue not answered, but in this manner of bawling. If you did vnderstande that there are diuers kindes of preachings (as M. Bucer declareth) vpon the. 4. to the Ephe<sup>s</sup>. and that reading of the scriptures is one of them, which also the same Bucer there affirmeth, then would you haue absteyned from giuing this sentence. That if reading be preaching, than is the comparison of the profite and efficacy betweene one and the other absurde: for one kynde of preaching may be com- pared to an other, without any absurditie.

I say that S. Paule in that chapter to the Romans, by preaching doth generally vnderstand, all kindes of publishing the Gospel by the external voyce, which compry- hendeth reading, as well as it doth that which you call preaching, and it is greatlye  
Bbb. ij.

Preaching for  
publishing the  
Gospe<sup>l</sup> by  
voyce gene-  
rally.



The common-  
dine of rea-  
ding the scrip-  
tures in the  
churche.  
Bucer.

against the dignitie and maiestie of the scriptures, it also greatly confirmeth the error of the Papistes, touching the obscuritie of the scriptures and debarring the people from reading them, to saue, that sayth commeth not by reading, so that is to make them dumbe and vnprofitable.

M. Bucer vpon the .4. to the Ephes. setteth forth the comoditie of reading the scriptures in this manner. Reading of the holy scriptures was appointed to this end, that both the phrase, and manner of speaking of the scripture, and the scripture it self, might be more known and more familiar to the people, when as they which did interprete the scriptures, could not finish one little part thereof in one whole yeare. In the meane time by the onely reading of the scriptures, the people were maruelously confirmed in the knowledge of all the pointes and doctrine of saluation. For they be in euery booke oftentimes repeated, and expounded with diuers wordes, that the people of that which followed might vnderstande many things, which in that that went before, they could not sometime perceiue: and by that meanes, the iudgement of the people was confirmed in all pointes of religion, so that they were able to iudge of the interpretation of the scriptures, and of all doctrine whiche was taught them by their owne Curates and teachers, or by any other. And therefore in auncient Churches, this bare reading of the scriptures was greatly esteemed. Of reading of scriptures (God be thanked) it is very well appointed in the Churche of Englande. &c. Thus farre M. Bucer. Surely I maruell what is ment by this your straunge kinde of doctrine, except you would haue the people through ignorance of the scriptures, brought againe to this point, that they must only depende vpon the mouth of the Pastor.

### Chap. 1. the .4. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 126. Lin. 14.

And although reading do helpe to nourish the faith, which commeth by preaching, yet this is giuen to the preaching, κατ' ἐξοχὴν that is by excellency, and so that it is the excellentest, and most ordinary meanes to worke by in the heartes of the hearers. The beholding of the creatures, and the consideration of the making of the worlde, and of Gods wisdom, and wonderfull loue appearing in them, doth nourish and strengthen faith, and yet may it not therefore in efficacie be compared to the preaching of the worde of God.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

Reading doth  
not only nour-  
ish faith, but  
ingendzeth also.

1ohn. 5.

2. Tim. 3.

Reading of the scriptures doth not only nourish the faith, but ingendzeth faith also: as I haue proued in my Answer to the Admonition, both by the scriptures and other learned writers. If it were otherwyse, then were the power of persuation to be ascribed to the preacher and manner of teaching, not to the worde whiche is against that saying of Christe, *Scrutamini scripturas*. &c. searche the scriptures, for in them you thinke to haue eternall life. &c. and of the Apostle. The whole scripture is giuen by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teache, to improue, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be absolute &c.

Preaching is  
most ordinary  
meanes: and  
why.

I denie not but that preaching is the most ordinary and vsuall meanes, that God vseth to worke by in the heartes of the hearers, because the people be for the most part ignorant, and dull of vnderstanding, and therfore haue neede of scholemasters & teachers to open and declare the scriptures vnto them, and to deale with them according to their capacite: but this doth nothing derogate from the might and power of the word of God being read of them, or to them that vnderstande it, & let their heart vpon it. If reading were so simple a thing and so little profitable as you would make it, why was the Gospell committed to writing: why is it thought so expedient to haue it in a tongue known to the people: why do men printe their sermons, which they haue preached: why did God by Moses commaunde the laue to be read: why did the Prophete Jeremy wyll Baruch to wyte out his sermons, and to reade them to the people?

Do you



Do you thinke that there commeth no more knowledge or profit by reading the scriptures, than doth by beholding of Gods creatures: When let vs haue Images againe, that they may be lay mens booke, as the Papistes call them: no doubt attributing as much to the externall and visibler creature, as they did to the reading of the eternall worde of God, wherein you ioyne with them, for any thing that I yet see.

Chap. 1. the. 5. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 126. Lin. 20.

John. 3.

And to know that the word of God preached, hath more force, and is more effectuall than when it is read, it is to be obserued, wherunto the preaching is compared. It is called a lifting or heauing vp of our Saviour Christ. Like vnto the displaying of a banner, as the Serpent was lift vp in the wilderness. Is therefore that which is lifted vp on high is better and easier scene of a greater compaignie, than when it standeth or lyeth vpon the ground, or in some valley or some low place: so the preaching of the gospell, doth offer sooner, and easiler the truth thereof vnto the sayth, (which is the eye of the hearer) than when it is read.

Io. Whitgiste.

Where is there any such comparison in that third Chapter of John: If you meane these wordes, *Et nemo ascendit in celum, &c. Et sicut Moses exaltauit Serpentem, &c.* As Moses lifted vp the Serpent in the wilderness. &c. as you can meane no other, then I thinke you were not well aduised or little cared for your credite, when you abused them for this purpose, to proue that the worde of God is more effectuall when it is preached, than when it is read. Surely if you fetch your similitudes so farre, and imagine that which was neuer ment, and make the scripture a nose of waxe as the Papists do, you may conclude what you list. For how hangeth this together: No man ascendeth vp into heaven, but he that descended downe from heaven, the sonne of man which is in heaven. Ergo sayth commeth by preaching of the worde of God, and not by reading of it: Or this. As Moses lifted vp the Serpent in the desert, so must the sonne of man be lifted vp, that all that beleue in him. &c. Therefore the worde of God hath more force when it is preached, than when it is read. This geare is to profound for me, I cannot vnderstand it, except I wil imagine that which is not: and it may be that you were in some other deepe meditation when you wrote it, and so applied this text to a wrong matter: for in that place, Christ fogettelh of his death and passion, wherof the lifting vp of the Serpent in the wilderness was a figure. And although I am not ignorant that some do allegorize vpon this place, saying that Christ is lifted vp, by the preaching of the Gospell, yet that maketh nothing agaynst me, who no where denie this effect of preaching. And it is a verie harde collection to say: Christ is lifted vp by preaching, therefore reading letteth him lye on the ground, as though by reading the Gospell, Christ is not also lifted vp, and made manifest vnto the eyes of the saythfull.

John. 3.

Num. 21.

Chap. 1. the. 6. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 126. in the midst.

1. Cor. 2.

1. Tim. 2.

It is called also a sweete sauour, and therefore as the spices being brayed and pynned, smell sweeter and stronger, than when they be whole and vnbroken: so the worde by interpretation being broken and brypled, carrieth a sweeter sauour vnto the vnderstanding, than when it is by reading giuen grosse, and whole, the same also may be sayde in that the preaching is called a cutting of the worde of God, for as when the meate is cut and shred, it nourisheth more than when it is not so: so likewise it is in preaching and reading.



*Jo. Whitgifte.*

2. Cor. 2.

2. Tim. 2.

Saint Paule speaking of himselfe, and of the ministers of the worde, sayth thus. For we are vnto God the sweete sauour of Christ in them that are saued. &c. and 2. Tim. he admonisheth Timothee to cut the worde of truth rightly, that is prudently, and according to the capacite of the hearers. What conclude you of this? What one worde is there in eyther of those places that derogateth any thing from reading? Do you thinke that the prayse of preaching, is the disprayse of reading? As though they were one contrarie to an other, and not rather both of them most profitable. Is not the worde of God when it is read, a sweete sauour? Is there not prudence and discretion required in reading the Scriptures? Surely I am sozie that the Papists shall haue so iust cause to iest at your so vnapt alledging of the Scriptures, and that they shall be animated in their ridiculous applications of the same, by these and such like vntoward allegations of yours.

*Chap. 1. the. 7. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 126. somevvhat past the midst.

(\*) Surely you  
will make a no-  
table conclusion

And that which is brought by the Authours of the Admonition, and so scornfully hurled as-  
way of M. doctor, that Saint Paule compareth the preaching vnto planting and watering, is a  
very (\*) notable place to proue that there is no saluation without preaching. For as the husbnde  
man receiueth no frute, vniel he both plant, and water that which is planted: Euen so there is  
no saluation to be looked for, where there is no preaching. It may be that God doth sometyms  
wozke sayth by reading onely, especially where preaching cannot be, and so he doth sometyms  
without reading, by a wonderfull wozke of his spirite: but the ordinarie wayes, whereby God re-  
generateth his children, is by the worde of God, which is preached. And therefore Solomon sayth,  
that where prophetic, which is not a bare reading, but an exposition and application of the Scrip-  
tures) sayeth, there the people perish.

1. Cor. 3.

Prou. 29.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

1. Cor. 3. ver. 6.

Saint Paule sayth, I haue planted, Apollos watered, but God gaue the increase.  
Ergo there is no saluation without preaching: is not this good stuffe, and a strong argu-  
ment to builde a matter of saluation vpon? Saint Paule there declareth, that the  
preaching of the worde is not effectuell, except God giue the increase, and that wee  
ought not to attribute our saluation to the Ministers of the worde but onely to God.  
He maketh no comparison betwixt reading and preaching, neyther is there anie  
thing there spoken, eyther of tilling, or watering, which may not also be applyed to  
attentive and diligent reading. If your distinction of quoting Scriptures, some-  
tyms for the matter, sometyms for the phrase, serue at any tyme to excuse the vn-  
skilfulnesse of the Authours of the Admonition, it must eyther serue now or neuer:  
else I vnderstande not to what purpose it can be alledged. It may be that God doth  
not onely wozke sayth by reading, but it is commonly so, especially in such as reade  
with vnderstanding. And yet this derogateth nothing from preaching, for God woz-  
keth by both.

Prou. 29.

Solomon sayeth. That where there is no vision the people decay. And most true  
it is. For where there is no true doctrine, nor saythfull Ministers to preache the  
same, there the people must needs decay in Godlinesse, and true knowledge: but this  
derogateth nothing from reading.

Preaching  
profiteth mo  
than reading,  
and why?

Both reading and preaching be necessarie in the Church, and moste profit-  
table, the commendation of the one doth not take anie thing from the other. But  
preaching doth profit mo than reading both, bicause it is more apt for the ignorant &  
vniel learned: & if in this respect you preferre preaching to reading, bicause it both more  
comoly profit, & serueth more to instruction of those which are ignorant, bicause it more  
plainly



plainly expresseth the meaning of the Scripture and applyeth the same, then haue you also bestowed a great tyme in prouing that which is not denyed of any, whiche fault you founde with me before (though vniustly) euen in this treatise. But we may not make so light of reading, whereby so many haue come to the knowledge of the truth, whereby also dayly mo are conuerted, euen such as very seldome or neuer heare the worde preached: both preaching therfore and reading be meanes whereby God doth call to saluation those that be his, he vseth them both, ioyntly and seuerally as it pleaseth him, and where the one is publikely receyued, there is the other neuer refused.

Many con-  
uerted by read-  
ing.

### Chap. 1. the 8. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 126. towards the ende, and Sect. vlt.

It is true, the worde both preached and read is all one, as the fire couered with ashes, is the same when it is discovered. But (\*) as when the fyre is stirred vp and discovered, it giueth more heate, than when it is not: so the worde of God by preaching and interpreting (as it were stirred vp and blowne) maketh a greater flame in the heartes of the hearers, than when it is read. The reason whereof is not in the worde, which is all one read and preached, but in that it pleaseth the Lord to worke more effectually with the one, than with the other, thereby approuing and authorising that meanes and wayes, whiche he especially ordeyned for vs to be saued by.

(\*) This Smili-  
tude sauereth  
of Papisme.

Actes. 8.

Of infinite examples take one of the Eunuch, which although he had bene at Jerusalem and returning home, was reading of the Prophete Esay, yet he beleued not vntill Philip came and preached vnto him, which I neither say to disallow reading of the Scriptures (whiche is verie profitable) nor yet to strengthen the handes of the Papistes, which to banish the reading of the Scriptures, object the hardnesse and difficultie of the Scriptures, as Maister docto: doth most flaunderously, and vnbrotherly surmise of the Authours of the Admonition: but that it may appeare what a grosse and a palpable error this is, that the reading of the Scripture shoulde be as effectually as the preaching of it, which God hath appoynted to be the especiall and singular meanes, to saue those whom he hath appoynted to saluation.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

What is this else but together with the Papistes to condemne the Scriptures of obscuritie: as though all things necessarie to saluation were not plainly and clearly expresse in them? I graunt you that euery man vnderstandeth them not, for it is the spirite of God that openeth the heart of man, both to vnderstande the Scriptures read and preached: and to him that vnderstandeth them, they are as hote and as lightsome read as preached: neyther shall you ever be able to proue the contrarie. And the places that you haue byther to alledged, being so farre from the purpose, conuince you of a marvellous great scarcitie of proofes.

T. C. toyneth  
with the Pa-  
pists.

One example of infinite, is as fewe as may bee. But if that one make not for your purpose, then must you be faine to seeke some other, seeing you haue such store. The Eunuche did not vnderstande the Scripture, that he read, as it appeareth in the same place of the Actes: but I speake of suche as vnderstande that which they reade, and therfore this place is sone answered. Neyther doe I speake of suche in the commendation of reading, to disproue in any respect, the necessitie and vtilitie of preaching. But neyther you, nor the Authours of the Admonition can auoyde the strengthening the handes of the Papistes in their erroneous opinions, not onely of the hardnesse and difficultie, but also of the vnprofitableness of the Scriptures. Howe palpable an error it is that I defende, may appcare by your mightie reasons agaynst it, and your learned answer to those proofes that I haue brought for it.



Chap. 1. the. 9. Division.

T. C. Pag. 127. Lin. 3.

And although this be verie grosse, yet in the 163. page, where he goeth about to shewe the profite of reading the Scriptures in the Church, he is yet more absurde. For there he sayeth that it may be, that some men be more edified by the simple reading of the Scriptures, than by Sermons. In deede if a man sleepe the Sermon time, and wake the reading time, or be otherwise deafe at the one, and attentive and heedie at the other. I will not denie but he may be more edified at the simple reading, than at the Sermon, unlesse it be in this and such like case, I knowe not howe it may be true that M. Doctor sayth. And indeede it is as much to say that it may be, that the meanes that God hath ordeyned to be the fittest and meetest, to call men to saluation, is not the fittest and meetest meanes, which a man shoulde not once so much as thinke of, without trembling and shaking every ioynt of him.

Io. Whitgifte.

As absurde as it is, Musculus doth affirme it in his common places. *citu. de Lettis. sacra script.* And as his saying, I report it in mine answer: believing it to be moste true. And therefore (if your malice had not bene wholly bent agaynst me) you shoulde haue ascribed this absurditie to him, or at least haue denided it betwixt vs, and so my backe shoulde haue bene somewhat eased of the burden of absurdities, wherewith you would so gladly ouercharge me.

God bleseth  
reading as a  
meanes as well  
as preaching.

Reading some-  
time preap-  
eth more than  
preaching.

God worketh by reading the Scriptures as well as he doth by preaching, and bleseth that also as a meanes to call men to saluation. Read Augustine lib. con. 8. cap. 12. and you shall see that God blesed reading as a meanes to conuert him. And surely I marvel that you professing the Gospell, can without trembling and shaking speake so basely of reading the worde of God, being a thing so precious, and so singular a meanes of our saluation: but for the thing it selfe, I referre it to the iudgement of those, that haue not drunke so deeply of the cuppe of contention as you haue, whither it may not sometymes so happen. Or whither they whiche are quietly affected may not receiue more edifying by the simple reading of the Scriptures which they vnderstande, than by the Sermons of diuerse contentious preachers, whose hote and bitter inuectiues, (which saue more of malice, than of loue: of contention, than of peace the frute of the Gospell) may breeds in the heartes of those that are studious of peace, and quietly minded, some suspicion of the truth of their doctrine. Or lastly, whither some misdoubting the truth of the doctrine of the preachers of the Gospell, and conceiuing a preiudicate opinion agaynst them (as diuerse Papistes doe) may not be more edified, by diligent reading of the Scriptures, of whose authoritie they doe not doubt, than by hearing of the Preacher, whose wordes they doe eyther mistrust, or not regarde, by reason of theyr preiudicate opinion agaynst all Preachers: and in the ende perceiuing by reading of the Scriptures the truth of their doctrine, may bee thereby established, which were not by the Sermons once moued. And for this cause Christ sayde, Iohn. 5. Search the Scriptures, &c.

Iohn. 5.

That Reading is Preaching.

Chap. 2. the. 1. Division.

T. C. Pag. 127. Lin. 13.

And nowe I thinke by this tyme M. Doctor knoweth his answer to his seconde question, which is whether reading be not preaching. And if this be not sufficient that I haue sayde, I woulde aske gladly of him, (\*) whether all Readers be Preachers, and whether whosoever readeth, preacheth, for if it be true (which he sayth) that reading is preaching, then that is likewise true, that all those which reade, preach, and so a childe of 4. or 5. yeares olde, is able to preach, by cause he is able to reade.

(\*) A mere cauil.

Io. Whitgifte.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

I know an answer in deede, such as it is: but it is much more fit for a Papist or Atheist, than for a professor of the Gospell. If preaching be taken generally for euery kinde of instructing or teaching by the worde of God, as it is in *ad Rom. 10.* then is reading preaching. But if it be taken in the vsuall signification, for him that interpreteth the Scripture, teacheth, and exhorteth in the Congregation, by discoursing vpon the scriptures, and applying them as occasion serueth, then it is not so: and yet no lesse profitable to edifying, to such as vnderstande that which is read, than preaching. To reade the Scriptures is not to preach, or teache, in respect of him that readeth, but in the respect of Gods spirite, whiche thereby worketh knowledge in the heart of the Reader or Hearer. For we must thinke it to be true that Cyprian sayth. VWhen we reade the Scripture God speaketh vnto vs: and in this sense a childe that can read, may preach, that is, God by his worde read of a childe, may, and doth oftentimes teach vs. And hereof we haue (God be thanked) many examples in Englande, of those which being not able to reade themselves, by the meanes of their children reading to them at home, receiue instruction and edifying. And if you had bene disposed to haue called to remembrance, that which you say you haue so diligently read in *Qd.* fore, you might haue knowne that diuerse in the beginning came to the light of the Gospell onely by reading, and hearing the newe Testament in English read: which I am sure you will confesse to haue bene to them a preaching and instruction.

How reading  
is preaching.

*Chap. 2. the. 2. Diuision.*

Admonition.

By the worde of God it is an office of preaching, they make it an office of reading.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 159. Sect. 1.

But where doth the booke make the ministerie an office of reading onely? Or what contrarietie is there betwixt reading and preaching? Nay what difference is there betwixt them? If a man shoulde write his Sermon, and reade it in the booke to his flocke, doth he not preach? Is there no Sermons but such as be sayde without booke? I thinke to preache the Gospell is to teache and instruct the people, in fayth and good maners, be it by wytyng, reading, or speaking without booke: and I am sure the spirite of God, doth worke as effectually by the one of these wayes, as it doth by the other. Did not Saint Paule preache to the Romaines when he wytte to them? Was not the reading of Deuteronomie to the people a preaching? 2. Reg. 23. Will you so scornefully and so contemptuously speake of the reading of Scripture, beeing a thing so frutefull and necessarie?

A written sermon  
is preaching.

T. C. Pag. 127. Lin. 13.

And least he shoulde seeme to be thus euill aduised, without some reason in the. 159. Page, he asketh whether (if a man wyte his Sermon and after reade it in the booke) that reading be preaching. Here is hard shift, what if I graunted that it is preaching, yet I denie that therefore he that readeth an other mannes Sermon preacheth: and further I say, that if there be any such, as beeing able to preache for his knowledge, yet for fault epyther of utterance or memorie, can not doe it, but by reading that whiche hee hath written: It is not conuenient that hee shoulde bee a Minister in the Church. For Saint Paule doth not require onely, that the Bisshope or Minister shoulde be learned in the mysteries of the Gospell, and such a one as is able



able to set downe in wytyng in his studie, the sense of the Scripture, but one whiche is apt and fitte to teache. And the Prophete Malachie sheweth, that he must haue the lawe, not in his papers, but in his lippes, noting thereby that it is necessarie to haue the gifte of utterance: And say the Prophete saying that God had giuen him the tongue of the learned, doth thereby declare, that it is not sufficient that he be well instructed in the myserie of saluation, but that he haue also the gifte of utterance.

Mal. 2.

Esay. 50.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

And why doth not he which readeth an other mans Sermon preache; as well as hee doth when he readeth his owne? What if he pronounce another mans Sermon in the Pulpit without booke, doth he not preache, because it is not his owne? I do not speake this to defende any such ignorant Pastor, that should neede so to depende vpon other mens labours: I doe but put a case. It may be that a learned Pastor hauing both memorie and utterance, sometime vpon occasion may reade a Sermon. And I nothing doubt, but in so doing he preache. And surely he shall the more rebely haue the lawe in his lippes, if he haue it first in his papers. And yet if he reade, he must vse his lippes. Ieremie the Prophete as it appeareth in the 36. Chapter, was commaunded to write that which the Lord had commaunded him to say to the people of Iuda, and of Ierusalem, and to cause it to be read vnto them, and so it was in the open congregation, and in the house of the Lord, in the hearing of all the people. And so did Baruch in like maner write that which he had to say to Iechonia, and to all the people, and read the same in the open congregation Bar. 1. and surely both these bookes were Sermons.

Iere. 36.

Bar. 1.

### Chap. 2. the. 3. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 127. about the middest.

Afterward M. Doctor asketh whether S. Paule did not preach to the Romanes, when he wrote vnto them. No forsooth, his writing to the Romanes, was no more preaching than S. Pauls hande, or his pen, which were his instruments to write with, were his tongue, or his lightes, or any other partes, which were his instruments to speake with. And S. Paule himselfe writing to the Romanes, putteth a difference betwene his writing & his preaching, when although he wrote vnto them, yet he excuseth himselfe that he coulde not come to preach vnto them, saying, that he was ready, as much as lay in him to preach vnto them.

Rom. 1.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Forsooth and I thinke verely, that the same Epistle did them more good, and wrought more with them, than if the selfe same matter, had bene preached vnto them, and not written. And if you will but peruse the. 15. and. 16. vers. of the. 15. Chapter of that Epistle, I thinke that you shall heare the Apostle call this written Epistle in effect, preaching. I do not perceiue that in the first Chapter of this Epistle, he maketh any such difference betwene his writing vnto them, and his preaching. If you meane the. 15. vers., he therein onely signifieth, that so much as lyeth in him, he is ready personally to preach the Gospell among them, as well as he doth it nowe by his letters: and therefore to say that this his writing is no more preaching than his hande or his pen, was his tongue or his lightes, is a proper iell, but not so apt for the purpose, nor so fitte for your person. A mans minde is commonly much better expressed by writing than by worde, and that which is written continueth,

### Chap. 2. the. 4. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 127. somevvhat past the middest.

But sayeth he was not the reading of Deuteronomie preaching? No more than the reading



of Exod. Here be good proofs. It is generally denied, that reading is preaching, and M. Doctor without any proof, taketh it for granted, that the reading of Deuteronomie is preaching, al men see how pitifull reasons these be.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

And why then did God by Moses Deut. 31. commaunde the Priests and Levites, that they should reade The wordes of this lawe before all Israell, that they might heare it and learne, and feare the Lorde God, and keepe and obserue all the wordes of the lawe? Why did Iosiah after he had founde this booke, cause it to be read, before all the people: if reading had not bene effectually, and of as great force to perswade as preaching, that is, if reading in effect had not bene preaching. If the eight chapter of Nehemias be well considered, and the true meaning of the 4. and 7. verses, according to learned and godly interpreters weyghed and pondered, this controuersie will some be at an ende, & it will there appeare in expresse wordes, that reading is preaching.

These pitifull reasons so disquiet your patience, that it woulde pite a man to see how of a diuine, you are become a scoynefull iester.

### Chap. 2. the. 5. Diuision.

Answereto the Admonition. Pag. 162. Sect. 2.

Act. 15. it is thus written: For Moses of old tyme hath in euery cite them that preach him, seying he is read in the Synagogues euery Sabbath day. Where he also seemeth to call reading preaching.

T. C. Pag. 127. Towwardes the ende.

And in the. 162. page, he alleageth that in the. 15. of the Actes. S. Luke seemeth to meane by reading preaching. But what dealing is this: upon a (\*) seeming and coniecture, to set downe so certainly, and vndoubtedly, that reading is preaching, and then there is no one letter nor syllable that upholdeth any suche coniecture. For S. James saith that Moses (meaning the lawe) read euery Sabbath thorough out euery towne in the Synagogue, was also preached, or had those that preached it, setting forth the order which was vsed in all the Churches amongst the people of God: that alwayes, when they mette vpon the Sabbath dayes, they had the scriptures first read, and then preached of and expounded, which is that the Authours of the Admonition do desire, and therefore complayne, for that after reading followeth no preaching, which any indifferent man may easily vnderstande, by that that they saye: In the olde tyme the worde was preached, nowe it is supposed to be sufficient if it be read.

(\*) If your seemings and coniectures were taken away, there would be few reasons left.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Surely the place of it selfe is euident, neyther can I reade any interpreter, that doth otherwise vnderstand it, than of reading, & the occasion of uttering these wordes importeth the same. For S. James doth vse this for a reason, why the ceremonies of the lawe could not by and by be abolished among the Jewes, bycause Moses was of so great authoritie with them, being read euery Sabbath day in their Churches. Therefore hauing the wordes of the Scripture with me, I must rest in my opinion, vntill I heare some profe or authoritie to the contrarie. Notobit the waight of the cause lieth not vpon this text, this is but one reason among diuerse.

### Chap. 2. the. 6. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 127. Sect. vlt.

But M. Doctor heareth with his left eare, and readeth with his left eye, as though his right eye were pulled out, or his right eare cut of. For otherwise, the other wordes which they haue touching this matter, might easily haue bene expounded, by the argument and matter whiche they handle.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

How doth it then happen that you haue not salued the matter, by setting downe theyr wordes, and declaring how I haue mistaken them: seying you haue omitted that, men may well thinke that this is not vttered of you in good earnest. Now that you haue sayde all in this matter, you must giue me leaue, to let the Reader vnderstande, what you haue lefte vntouched in my booke concerning the same, whether it be because you consent vnto it, or that you cannot answere it, I referre to his discretion.

¶ The profite of Reading Scriptures in  
the Church.

*Chap. 3. the. 1. Diuision.*

Ansvver to the Admonition. Pag. 90. Sect. 5. 6.  
& Pag. 91. Sect. 2. 3.

Isidorus.

Tertul. in A-  
polog. et.Hardinges o-  
pinion of rea-  
ding scriptureParte. 5. and  
in the. 15. Arti.  
of the Replie.

Luc. 4.

Act. 13.

Iustinus Mar-  
tyr.

Origen.

Cyprian.

Isidorus sayth that reading bringeth great profit to the hearers. Tertullian sayth, when we come together to the reading of the holy Scriptures, we feede our fayth with those heauenly boyces, we rayse vp our affiance we fasten our hope. And agayne he calleth the reading of the Scriptures, the feeding of our fayth. But what neede I speake any more of a matter so manifest: you flatly ioyne with the Papisie in this, for in the confutation of the Apologie of the Church of England, M. Harding calleth reading of the Scriptures to the people in the Church, a spirituall dumbnesse, and a thing vnprofitable, &c. That to reade the Scriptures in the Church is no new thing, but most auncient, and grounde d vpon Gods worde, it is manifest by that which is written in the. 4. of Luke, where the Euangelist sayeth, that Christe on the Sabboth daye, going into the Synagogue according to his accustomed manner, rose vp to read, and there vvas deliuered vnto him the booke of the Prophete Esay, and as soone as he opened the booke, he founde the place vwhere it vvas vvritten. *Spiritus Domini super me. &c.* The spirite of the Lorde vpon me. &c. Likewise in the thirtenth of the Actes, we reade that Paule and other of his company, beyng in the Synagogue on the Sabboth day, was sent vnto by the rulers of the Synagogue, *Post lectionem legis & Prophetarum.* After the reading of the lawe and the Prophetes. To knowe if they would make any exhortation to the people.

Iustinus Martyr *Apolog. 2. pro Christianis*, sayth, that in his time the manner was, on the Sabboth day vvhen the people vv ere gathered together, to haue the scriptures read in the publike congregation, and in the time of publike prayer, for the space of one vvhole houer.

Origen writing vpon Iosua Homil. 15. sayeth, that the bookes of the olde Testament vv ere deliuered by the Apostles to be read in the Churches.

Cyprian lib. 2. Epist. 5. sayeth. The Reader foundeth out the high and heauenly vvordes: he readeth out the Gospell of Christe. &c.

Chrysostome



Chrysostome upon the Actes Homil. 19. The minister and common minister standeth vp, and crieth vvith a louvde voyce, saying: Keepe silence, after that the Reader beginneth the prophesie of Esay. Augustine speaking to the people, sayeth: Yee heard vvhen the Gospell vvas read. Ye heard erevvhyle, vvhen it vvas read, if yegaue care to the reading, dearely beloued vve haue heard in the lesson that hath bene read.

Chrysostome.  
Augustine.

## Admonition.

<sup>d</sup> And that this is not the feeding that Christe spake of, the Scriptures are playne. (d) Reading is not feeding, but it is as euill as playing vpon a stage, and worse too: for players yet learne theyr partes without booke, and these a mayny of them can scarcely read within booke. These are emptie feeders (e) darke eyes (f) ill workemen to hasten in the Lordes haruest, (g) messengers that can not cal. (h) Prophets that can not declare the will of the Lord, (i) vnfaucie salt, (k) blind guides, (l) sleepe watchmen, (m) vntrustie dispensers of Gods secretes, (n) euill deuiders of the worde, (o) weake to withstande the aduersarie, (p) not able to confute: And to conclude, so farre from making the man of God perfect to all good workes, that rather the quite contrarie may be confirmed.

<sup>e</sup> Math. 6. 22

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 161. Sect. 2. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Math. 9. 38  
<sup>g</sup> Philip. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Luc. 14. 17

<sup>i</sup> Mat. 23. 34

<sup>k</sup> Math. 5. 13

<sup>l</sup> Mat. 15. 14

<sup>m</sup> Mat. 23. 10

<sup>n</sup> 1 Cor. 4. 1

<sup>o</sup> Luc. 16. 1

<sup>p</sup> 1 Tim. 2. 15

<sup>q</sup> Titus. 1. 9

<sup>r</sup> 1 Tim. 3. 15

<sup>s</sup> 16.

For reading ministers you bid vs biewe these places. Mala. 2. vers. 7. Esay. 56. 10. Zachar. 11. 15. Math. 15. 14. 1. Timoth. 3. 3. The Prophete Malachie in the seconde chapter, and seuenth verse, sayeth on this sorte: For the Priestes lippes shoulde preferue knowvledge, and they shoulde seeke the lawe at his mouthe. For he is the messenger of the Lord of hostes. In whiche wordes the Prophete doth signifie, that the Priestes ought to be learned in the lawe and able to instruct, which no man denieth, and if there be any crepte into the ministerie, whiche are not able so to do, it is to be ascribed, eyther to the negligence of the Bishop, and such as haue to do therein, or to the necessitie of the tyme. But here is nothing spoken agaynst reading, for any thing that I can gather: and if any man shoulde come vnto me, and demaunde of me, any question touching the lawe of God, I thinke I shoulde better satisfie him, if I did reade the wordes of the lawe vnto him, than if I should make a long tedious discourse of myne owne, to litle or no purpose. It is the worde it selfe that pearceth and moueth the conscience.

Reading is  
profitable.

I speake not this agaynst interpreting of the Scriptures, or preaching (for I know they be both necessary) but agaynst such as be enemies to the reading of them.

Pag. 162. Sect.  
1. 2.

The places in the 56. of Esay, and in the eleuenth of Zacharie, tende to the same purpose, they all speake agaynst ignorant, foolish, slouthfull gouernours and pastours, there is nothing in them that condemneeth or disalloweth readyng of the Scriptures, or reading of Prayers: No moze is there in the fiftenth of Matthew, nor. 1. Tim. 3. reade the places and you shal soone see, with how litle iudgement they be quoted agaynst such ministers, as ble to reade the scriptures and prayers to the people. If you had sayde agaynst dumbe & vnlearned ministers, biewe these places, you had sayde something. For reading ministers that is, for reading the Scriptures publikely in the church by ministers, biew you these places. 1. Tim. 4. Til I come

For Reading  
ministers.  
1. Tim. 4.



Musculus.

giue attendance to readyng, to exhortation, to doctrine. **In the whiche wordes as Musculus sayeth:** *Exprimit ordinem Ecclesiasticum, quo primum ex sacris Scripturis aliquid legebatur, deinde exhortatio & doctrina subijciatur.* He exprefseth the Ecclesiasticall order, vvherein firſte there is ſome thing reade out of the Scriptures, then followveth exhortation and doctrine. Luke. 4. **Where wee learne that Chriſte beyng at Nazareth, as his cuſtome was, wente into the Synagogue on the Saboth day, and ſtoode vp to reade. &c.**

Chriſte read  
the ſcripture.

Pag. 163, Lin.

2. & Sect. 1.

2. 3. 4.

Reading is  
feeding.

Musculus.

**And yet you ſaye,** Reading is not feeding, but it is as euill as playing vpon a ſtage, and vvorſe to, for players yet learne theyr partes vvithout booke and theſe a many of them, can ſcarcely reade vvithin booke.

**That reading is feeding,** Musculus giueth theſe reaſons: **firſte,** bycauſe it maketh the people experte and cunning, in the Scriptures, ſo that they can not be ſo eaſily deceyued vvith falſe teachers. **And therefore** *Iosephus Lib. 2. contra Appion.* ſpeakyng of this commoditie of hauing the Scriptures read, ſayeth on this ſorte: *In vnaquaque ſeptimana ad legem audiendam conueniunt vniuerſi. Noſtrorum quilibet de legibus interrogatus, facilius quam nomen ſuum recitat. vniuerſas quippe mox à primo ſenſu diſcentes in animo velut inſcriptas habemus.* Every vveweke all the people come together to heare the Lavve. Every one of vs demaunded any queſtion of the lavve, can anſwere readily, as he can tell his ovvne name. For vvwee learning the lavve euen from our youth, haue it, as it vvwee vvritten in our memorie.

**Secondly the publike reading of the Scripture, is good for ſuch as can not reade themſelues:** to ſuche likewiſe as can reade, but yet haue not the bookes of the holy Scripture at home in their houſes.

**Thirddly, it maketh the people better to vnderſtande the Sermons preached vnto them:** bycauſe through the continuall hearing of the Scriptures read, they be acquainted vvith the wordes and phraſes of the ſame.

**Last of all, it may be that ſome men be moze edified by the ſimple reading of the ſcriptures, than by ſermons.**

#### Admonition.

**By this booke bare reading is (q) good tilling, and ſingle ſeruiſe ſaying is excellent (r) buy-** <sup>q</sup> *1. Cor. 3. 5.*  
**ding, and he is ſhepherde good enough, that can, as popiſh Prieſtes could, out of their Doctrines ſay** <sup>r</sup> *1. Cor. 3. 9.*  
**ſayely their diuine ſeruiſe.**

Anſwere to the Admonition. Pag. 165. Sect. vlt.

& Pag. 166.

No godly mā  
miſtaketh rea-  
ding in the  
churche.

**Here is much a do about bare reading and ſingle ſeruiſe ſaying:** by like you lacke matter to make out your volume, when you iterate one thing ſo often. **I tell you agayne,** no honeſt, godly, or learned man, euer hitherto did or will diſallow readyng of the Scriptures in the Churche, or a preſcript order of Common prayers. **Shew any lear-**  
**ned mans iudgement to the contrary,** ſhew the example of any Chriſtian Churche of antiquitie, or of any late reformed Churche, vvherein there is not both reading of the Scriptures in the publike congregation, and a preſcripte order of Common prayers. **ſay**  
**ſhew**



Shewe any one sillable in the Scriptures to the contrary. As for your places alleaged out of the 1. Corinth. 3. vers. 5. And 1. Corinth. 3. vers. 9, The one to proue that by the booke bare readyng is good tilling, the other that by the same booke, single seruice saying is excellent buyldyng. &c. They shewe your intollerable audacitie (I will terme it no worse) in abusing the Scriptures. In that place to the Corinthians the Apostle sayeth thus. VVho is Paule then? vvho is Apollos? 1. Cor. 3. But the mynisters by vvhome yee beleueed, and as the Lorde gaue to euery man. Howe can you gather hereof that by the Communion booke bare readyng is good tilling, or how can you hereof conclude (that which I thinke you meane) that the sole and onely reading of the Scriptures is not tilling, or that the Scriptures may not be read in the open congregation by the Minister? what squirele call you this? Paule and Apollos be the ministers by vvhome you beleueed, as the Lorde gaue to euery man: Therfore the readyng of the Scriptures edifie not, or it is not lawfull for them to be read in the Church by the Minister. You come to soone from the vniuersitie to haue any great skill in Logike: but belyke bycause there is mention made of tylling in the nexte verse of that chapter, therefore you quote it in the margent, missing onely the lyne: for this is your vsuall manner, if you haue but one worde in a texte whiche you vse in your booke, you quote the place, as though it made for your purpose. This is neyther playne nor wise dealing.

Unskillfull  
Logicians.

The examples of suche as haue bene conuerted by readyng of the Scriptures, and hearyng of them read, be infinite. I knowe not to wherevnto this your bitternesse agaynst readyng of the Scripture tendeth, excepte it be to confirme an other opinion of the Papistes, touching the obscuritie and Darkenesse of the Scripture, or diuerse senses and vnderstanding of the same. If you idyne with them in that also, then I haue to say vnto you with S. Augustine: *In his que aperte in Scripturis posita sunt inueniuntur illa omnia que continent fide, moresq; viuendi.* August. In those things that be playne and manifest in the Scriptures, are all such things conteyned, vvhich pertain to fayth and good manners. And with Hierom. in Psalme. 86. *Sicut scripserunt Apostoli, sic & ipse Dominus, hoc est, per Euangelia sua locutus est, vt non pauci intelligerent, sed vt omnes. Plato scripsit in scriptura, sed non scripsit populo sed paucis, vix enim intelligunt tres homines. Isti vero, hoc est, principes Ecclesie, & principes Christi non scripserunt paucis, sed vniuerso populo.* As the Apostles vvrite so did the Lorde, that is, he spake by his Gospels, not that a fewe, but that all might vnderstand. Plato vvritte, but he vvritte to few, not to the people, for scarce three do vnderstand him: these, that is the Apostles vvrite not to few, but to the vvhole people. But I thinke you doubt not of this matter.

Pag. 168. Sect.

1. 2. 3.

Many con-  
uerted by hea-  
ring the scrip-  
tures read.

August.

Hierome.

If the readyng of the Scriptures edifie not, what needed Chrysostome wyting vpon the third to the Coloss. so earnestly exhorthe the people to get them Bibles, or at the least the new Testamēt, to be as it were a continuall maister vnto them to instruct them?

Chrysostome  
exhorteth the  
people to get  
Bibles.

What needed the same Chrysostome Hom. 3. De Lazaro with suche vehement wordes, haue moued the people to reade the Scriptures, Declaring not onely the commoditie of them, but the easinesse

Idem.



also to be vnderstoode? Is not this saying, both auncient and true, That vwhen vvee reade the Scriptures God talketh vwith vs: vwhen vvee pray then vvetalke vwith God? But touching this matter I referre you to that whiche I haue spoken befoze in the former parte of your Admonition. And also I beleeue you take paynes to peruse the. 15. Article of that notable Jewell, and worthy Bishop late of Sarisburie, wherein he of purpose intreateth of this matter agaynst M. Harding.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

All this you haue lesse vnanfwered, saue onely that you haue touched the lasse of Pusculus his reasons.

## ¶ Of Ministring and Preaching by

Deacons. Tract. 14.

*The. 1. Diuision.*

Ansvver to the Admonition. Pag. 93. Sect. 2.

Philip deacon  
baptised.

We reade in the eight of the Actes, that Philip beyng a Deacon did Baptise.

T. C. Pag. 128. Lin. r.

Of ministring of the sacraments in priuate places and by women, I haue spoken befoze, there remaineth therfore only in this section to speake of the Deacons, that they ought not to minister the sacrament. Which although I haue done partly befoze, and partly afterwarde will do, when I shall shew that it apperteyneth not to them to minister the worde, and therfore not the sacraments (being things the ministerie whereof ought not to be seuered) yet I will in a worde answer, those arguments, that M. Doctor bringeth for to proue, that they may minister the sacramentes, whereof the first is, that Philip in the. 8. of the Actes baptised. But I would gladly aske M. Doctor how he is able to proue, that that was Philip the Deacon, and not rather Philip the Apostle, seeing that S. Luke when he speaketh of Philip that was the Deacon, speaketh of him, with that title & adition of Deaconship, and there is great doubt amongst writers, which Philip that was, that S. Luke mentioneth in the eight chapter of the Actes of the Apostles. But let it be that Philip that was the Deacon. I answer that he was no Deacon then, for the Church of Ierusalem whereof he was Deacon, being scattered, he could be no more Deacon of it, or distribute the mony that was collected for the poore of that Church. And further I answer that he was afterwarde an Euangelist, and therfore preached not by vertue of his Deaconship, (whose calling is not to preach) but by that he was an Euangelist, whose office put vpon him a necessitie of preaching.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Philip that  
baptised Sa-  
maria, was a  
Deacon.

Caluine.

Gualter.

Act. 21.

In the beginning of that. 8. chap. of the Actes. S. Luke declareth, that all the Apostles did still remaine at Ierusalem, wherefore it could not be Philip the Apostle which was now at Ierusalem: but it muste needes be Philip the Deacon that was dispersed with the rest & came to Samaria, where he now preached & baptised. And of this iudgement is M. Caluine whose wordes vpon the same place & chapt. be these: Seing Luke had before declared, that the Apostles did not stirre from Ierusalem, it is probable, that one of the seuen Deacons, whose daughters also did Prophecie is here mentioned. M. Gualter writing vpon the same place sayeth thus. This Philip was not the Apostle, but he whiche was reckened before among the Deacons, as the auncient Ecclesiasticall writers do with one consent testifie: especially Epiphanius wryting *De Simone & Simoniachis*. That this Philip still remained Deacon, and that he was called an Euangelist, in respecte that he preached the Gospell though he were but a Deacon, it appeareth Act. 21. Where S. Luke speaketh of him in this manner. And wee entring into the house of Philip the Euangelist, whiche was one of the seuen, &c.

And



And further, that he still remayned Deacon, althoughe he was nowe departed from Jerusalem, M. Gualter declareth in the eyght of the Actes, in these wordes: Althoughe it was the office of Deacons to take charge of the common treasures of the Church, and of the poore, yet was it heere with permitted vnto them to take the office of preaching, if at any time necessitie required, as we haue hitherto seene in the example of Stephen. And peradventure there was not so great neede of Deacons at Ierusalem, when the Church was through persecution disperfed: and therefore they whiche before were stewardes of the Church goodes, dyd giue them selues wholly to the ministerie of the worde. The wordes of Epiphanius, whome M. Gualter mentioneth, be these: For when Philip being a Deacon had not authoritie to lay on handes, that thereby he mighte giue the holy Ghost, &c. Whereby it is playne, that Philip being Deacon did baptise, though he had not authoritie imponendi manus, to lay on handes.

Gualter.

Epipha. de Sione & Sioniac.

Augustine also in his questions, speaking of Philip, sayth thus: *Et iterum multum distare inter Diaconum & Sacerdotem, liber approbat quem dicimus actus Apostolorum &c. ex vtroque test.* Agayne the booke, which we call the Actes of the Apostles, dothe proue that a Deacon differeth muche from a Priest, for when they of Samaria beleued the preaching of Philip the Deacon, they sent (sayth he) vnto them Peter and Iohn, &c.

### The seconde diuision.

T.C. Page. 128. Lin. 19. & Sect. 1.

After you say that Deacons are not permitted w<sup>th</sup> vs to celebrate the Lords supper, and w<sup>th</sup> then should they be suffered to minister baptisme: as if the one Sacrament were not as precious as the other. This is a miserable rending in sunder of those things whiche God hath toynd together, not onely to separate the ministry of the Sacraments from the worde, but also the ministry of one sacrament from an other.

And what reason is there, that it shoulde be graunted vnto one that can not preache (being as they call him a minister) to minister bothe the sacraments, when as the same is not permitted vnto a Deacon (as they call him) whych is able to preache: I doe not speake it, for that I should haue those whych be deacons in deede, that is, whiche haue charge to prouide for the poore of some one congregation, should e<sup>th</sup>er preache or minister the sacraments, but I say that it is agaynst all reason to permit the ministry of the sacraments to those whych can not preache, and to deny it to those whych are able to preache.

(2) Why do you account him no minister: this geare would be marked.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

I doe but in that poynte agree with the Scriptures, and all other wyrters, for the mosse parte, bothe olde and newe, who testifie that Deacons dyd preache the worde, and minister the Sacrament of Baptisme. But I can not reade in any author, where they ministered the Communion, and therefore I am bolde to speake as I haue learned out of the holy Scriptures, and other godly wyrters: neyther is this to rende in sunder e<sup>th</sup>er the Sacraments from the worde, or the Sacraments from them selues: but to keepe the order v<sup>sd</sup> in the Church in the Apostles time, and since their time.

No man that is able to preache, being for his other qualities also meete, is debarred from ministering the Sacraments, if he be in the ministry: but no man be he neuer so able in all respectes, may presume to take an office vpon him, wherevnto he is not called. Therefore he that can not preache, and yet by the order of the Church is admitted to minister the Sacraments, is a lawfull minister of the same: and he that can preache, excepte by order he be therevnto called, maye not intrude him selfe into any function of the ministry. I haue also declared before, that euen from the beginning, the administration of the Sacramentes haue bene committed to some, to whome the preaching of the worde hath not bene committed.

Tract. 6. &

cap. 1.

Tract. 9. cap. 1 diuis. 15.



*The. 3. diuision.*

## Admonition.

Touching Deacons though their names be remayning, yet is the office fouly peruerterd and turned vpside downe, for their duetie in the Primitive Church, was to (1) gather the almes diligently, and to distribute it faythfully: also for the sicke and impotent persons to provide payne-fully, hauing euer a diligent care, that the charitie of godly men were not waisted vpon loyterers (2) and idle vagabounds. Rom. 11. 3. 2. Th. 3. 10

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 118. Sect. 2.

It is true that in the primitive Church, the office of a Deacon was to collect and provide for the poore, but not only, for it was also their office to preache, and to baptise. For Stephen and Philip being Deacons dyd preache the Gospell. Acts. 6. 7. 8. And Philip dyd baptise the Eunuche. Act. 8.

T. C. Pag. 128. Sect. 1.

In the. 118. page, vnto the example of Philip he addeth S. Stephen, whyche was one of the Deacons, which he affirmeth to haue preached. But I denie it: for all that long oration which he hath in the seuenth of the Actes, is no sermon, but a defense of him selfe, agaynst those accusations which were layde agaynst hym, as (\*) M. Beza dothe very learnedly and substantially proue in his annotations vpon those places of S. Stephens disputations and defense. Howe to defende himselfe being accused, is lawfull not for the Deacons onely, but for any other Christian, and we reade nothing that Stephen did there, eyther touching the defense of his cause, or the sharpe rebuking of the obstinate Pharisees and Priestes, but that the holy Martyrs of God which were no Deacons nor ministers haue done with vs, when they haue bene conuicted before their persecutors: and whereas he sayth, that Philip baptised, I haue shewed before by what authoritie he dyd it, that is, not in that he was a Deacon, but for that he was an Evangelist.

(\*) No suche thing to be found in Beza his annotations,

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Stephen bys oration a sermon.

Gualter.

Cent. 1. lib. 2. cap. 7.

This is a harde and new deuised shifte. You imagine (as I thinke) that you are in the Logike or Philosophy scholes, where you may seyne what distinctions you like, but al wil not serue. The accusations are conteyned in the. 13. & 14. verse of the. 6. chap. let the Reader compare his sermon with them, & iudge whether he spake in the way of preaching, or of defending himselfe. Although a man may make his Apologie in preaching, & answer accusations in a sermon: and surely that sharpe & seuerer reprehension, that he concludeth with, beginning at the. 51. verse, both evidently declare that it was a sermon: Moreover it was in the Synagogue which was called the Synagogue of the Libertines, &c. The ende of it was to proue true religion, and the true worshipping of God, to be affixed neither to the Temple, nor to external ceremonies, but to consist of fayth in God. And yet I do not deny but that Stephen also did vse this sermon as an answer to those matters, wherof he was accused: but he answered in the way of preaching, & not of pleading. And that doth M. Gualter directly affirme: for although he cal this an oration, & a defense, yet in the. 8. chap. he proueth by this example of Stephen, that Deacons were permitted together with the charge of the goods of the Church, and of the poore, to preache, as I haue shewed before. And the Authoys of the Centuries, speaking of that time, say thus: It appeareth also out of the. 6. & 8. of the Acts that Deacons did teach. And in the same booke & chap. Others were Deacons, whose office was to serue the tables at Ierusalem, so long as there was there a comunitie of goods. Act. 6. notwithstanding it appeareth by Steuen, Act. 6. & by Philip, Act. 8. that they did teach & work myracles, & euery where in other Churches, the office of Deacons was to teach & minister.

I can not finde in M. Beza his Annotations any such thing, as you heere affirme. Although if it were so, yet doth it not improue this to be a sermon: for then was the oration of Peters no sermo. Act. 2. wherin he answered to those that accused the Apostles of drunkenesse: neyther can Paule be sayde to haue preached. Act. 24. If this be true that an Apologie may not be made by the way of preaching. If it be lawfull thus to inuent distinctions to shift off so manifest examples of Scriptures, then it is an easy matter to shift off any thing that shall be propounded.

I haue



I haue proued by the Scripture it selfe, by Epiphanius, and by M. Guaker, and by the authoꝛs of the Centuries, that Phillip beeing a Deacon dyd bothe baptise and preache, and you onely deny it, without eyther authoꝛ oꝛ reason.

### The. 4. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 118. Sect. 2.

Iustinus Martyr one of the moſte auncient wyꝛters, in his ſeconde Apologie ſayth, that in the adminiſtration of the Supper, Deacons did diſtribute the bread and the wine to the people. The ſame dothe M. Caluine affirme of Deacons in his Institutions. chap. 19.

Deacons hel-  
ped in the mi-  
niſtration of  
the ſupper.

T. C. Page. 128. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

He addeth further out of Iuſtine Martyr, that the Deacons dyd diſtribute the bread and the wyne, in the adminiſtration of the Supper. Cully ſayth in a certayne place, that it is as greate a poynt of wiſedome in an aduocate, oꝛ pleader of cauſes, to holde back and to keepe cloſe that which is hurtfull to hys cauſe, as it is to ſpeake that which is profitable.

M. Doctoꝛ obſerueth none of theſe poynts, foꝛ beſydes that the things whych he brought foꝛ the deſenſe of the ſeruiſe booke, are ſuche, as they haue befoꝛe appeared: in ſeeking to deſende it, he manifeſtly oppugneſh it. Foꝛ befoꝛe he ſayde, that the booke of ſeruiſe dothe not permit Deacons to miniſter the ſupper of the Loꝛde, and that by way of allowyng of the booke, and here proueth that the Deacons dyd miniſter the ſacrament of the Supper, and that alſo as a thyng whych he dothe allowe of.

But to let that paſſe, I beſeeche thee (good Reader) marke, what a (\*) miniſtring of the Supper thys is, whiche Iuſtine maketh mention of, and note wyth what conſcience M. Doctoꝛ handleth this cauſe. Iuſtine ſayth, that after the Scriptures are read, and preached of, and prayers made, bread and wyne, and water was broughte foꝛth, and that the miniſter made prayers and thankſgiving in the hearing of the people, (whych is that whych the Euangelists call the bleſſing, and hath bene of later times called the conſecration) and after that the people were partakers of them, that then thys beeing done, the Deacons doe carry of that whych was left vn- to thoſe whych were not preſent (foꝛ that corruption of ſending the Communion vnto the houſes was then in the Church, agaynſt whych I haue befoꝛe ſpoken) now if to carry to a private houſe the bread and wyne whych was bleſſed, oꝛ ſet aſaparte by prayers, and by obeying the institution of Chriſt by the miniſter, be to miniſter the ſacrament of the Supper, than Serapions boy, of whome mention is made by Eusebius, miniſtered the ſacrament. Foꝛ Serapion beeing ſicke, as I haue befoꝛe ſhewed, and ſending hys boy to the miniſter foꝛ the ſacrament, receyued the ſame at the hands of his boy, foꝛ that the miniſter beeing ſicke, could not come hym ſelfe. So by M. Doctoꝛs reaſon Serapions boy miniſtered the ſacrament.

(\*) An vntꝛue &  
meere cauill.

### Jo. Whitgiſte.

Where dothe M. Doctoꝛ ſaye that Deacons dyd miniſter the Loꝛdes ſupper? ſet downe his wordes: Is there no ende of your falſifying and vntꝛue gathering? Let the Reader compare the wordes that I haue recited out of Iuſtinus Martyr wyth your collection, and then iudge of the honeſtie and ſinceritie of your dealing. The Admonition ſo ſpeaketh of Deacons as though their office in the primitive Church, had bene onely to gather, and to diſtribute almes. This I denye, and proue that Deacons dyd then alſo preache, baptiſe, and diſtribute the bread and the wyne in the adminiſtration of the Loꝛdes Supper. I no where ſaye, neyther doe I beleue that they dyd at any tyme miniſter the Loꝛdes Supper, and you mighte haue vnderſtoode, that to diſtribute the bread and wyne to the people in the adminiſtration of the Supper, is not to miniſter the Sacrament of the Supper. Foꝛ theſe Deacons of whome Iuſtinus Martyr ſpeaketh, yea and Serapions boy alſo dyd the one, but they dyd not the other: and therefore the ſpꝛite of cauilling hathe dyꝛuen you to thys ſurmiſe.



*The. 5. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 129. Lin. 11.

Many wordes  
bestowed in the  
confutation of  
that whyche is  
not affirmed.

A man would not thinke, that one that hath bene the Queenes Maiesties publike professor of diuinitie in Cambridge, should not know to distinguish, & put a difference betweene ministring the sacrament, & helping to distribute the bread & the cuppe of the sacrament. And if M. Doctor could not learne this in booke, yet he mighte haue eyther seene it, or at least heard tell of it, in all reformed Churches almost, where the Deacons do assist the minister in helping of him to distribute the cup, and in some places also the bread, for the quicker and speedier dispatche of the people, being so many in number, that if they should all receiue the bread & the cup at the ministers hand, they should not make an end in eyght hours, which by that assistance may be finished in two, whych is that that M. Caluine sayth. For he sayth, the deacons did reach the cup, & maketh no mention of the bread. And if this be to minister the sacrament, then they that cut the loafe in peeces, they that fetch & wme for the supper, they that poure it forth from greater vessels into glasses & cuppes, or whosoever apprehendeth any thing in this action, doe minister the sacrament, than the whych thing there can be nothing more ridiculous.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

A man would not haue thought, that one which hath ambitiously desired to be the Queenes Maiesties diuinitie reader, & yet pretendeth such puritie & simplicitie, would vpon any occasion (muche lesse of none) vse suche contemptuous & deriding speeches towards one not so muche his inferiour. But I passe all ouer quietly, desiring only the Reader to take these & such like notes of your mortification, modestie, & playne dealing. And marke I pray you, howe many wordes he spendeth in this place to confute me, which speake no other wise than he would haue me to speake. Surely it is very like that (when you were answering this parte) the olde griefe conceyued for missing the diuinitie Lecture came into your minde, & so much ouercame you, that you could not vnderstande what I had sayd: otherwise it coulde not haue bene possible that a man in his right wittes should so farre haue bene overshoot. For marke my saying that you confute, and you shall finde it to differ very little in wordes, but in effecte nothing at all, from that which you in confutation hereof affirme to be the vse in reformed Churches.

*The. 6. diuision.*

Admonition.

Now it is the first stepp to the ministerie, nay rather a meere order of Priesthoode.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 119. Lin. 2.

It may well be counted the first stepp to the ministerie, as it hath bene from the Apostles tyme: and S. Paule ioyneth them together. 1. Tim. 3.

T.C. Page. 129. Sect. 1.

In the ende M. Doctor to shut vp this matter, sayth, that it is the first stepp to the ministry, and so ioyned of S. Paule in the third chapter and first Epistle to Timothie. But what a reason is this: to be a Deacon is the first stepp to the ministry, therefore the Deacon may preach & minister the sacraments, when as the contrary rather followeth. For if it be a stepp to the ministry, then it is not the ministry, but dyffereth from it, and so ought not to doe the thyngs that belong to the minister.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

You are but disposed to counterfeite, I must giue you leaue so to doe, & be content: But I trust it will turne smally to your credite. The wordes of the Admonition be these: Now it is the first stepp to the ministry, nay rather a meere order of Priesthoode. The which wordes I answered in this maner: It may well be counted the first step to the ministerie, as it hath bin from the Apostles time, and S. Paul ioyneth them together. 1. Tim. 3. Now let the Reader consider, whether I vse this for an argument, or no, to proue that a Deacon may preach & minister the sacraments. If I should so haue concluded, the argument might haue bin proued, so preaching



ching and baptizing: but seeing my Answer is direct to the words of the Admonition in an other matter, it is too much for you thus deridingly to feyne, and to utter an vntruth. It seemeth you want false arguments to dally with, when you are sayne to curre some of your owne, and so for want of other sporte, to imitate the Catte that playeth with hir owne tayle.

### The. 7. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 129. Sect. 1.

But I deny that it is or ought to be alwayes a step to the ministerie. I know that it hath bene the vse of long time, and I know also, that there be very many whiche interpret the place of S. Paule (where he speaking of the Deacons that behaue themselves well, that they get themselves a good *Gradu*, that is, a degree, to be a minister, or a Bishop.) But I wyl shew a manifest reason why it can not so be vnderstanded, whych is, for that as the functions of a Deacon, or a minister are diuers: so are the gyfts also, wherby those functions are executed likewise diuers, & therefore there may be some men for their wisdom & grautie, discretion & saythfulnesse, & whatsoeuer other gyfts are required in him that should do this office of providing for the poore, & to be a good deacon: which notwithstanding for some impediment in his tongue, or for want of vterance, shall neuer be able as long as he liueth to be a good minister of the worde, and therefore the gyfts beeing diuers, wherewith those offices must be executed (although it is neyther vnlawfull nor vnnete to make of a deacon a minister if he haue gyfts for that purpose) yet I deny that S. Paule appoynteth that the deaconship shoulde be (as it were) the seede or type of the ministerie, or that he meaneth by those words, that the deaconship is a step to the pastozship. Which may yet also further appeare, by the phrase of speche which the Apostle vseth, for he doth not say, that they that doe the office of a deaconship well, shall come to, or get a good standing, but he sayth, that in so doing they doe gette themselves a good standing, that is, they get themselves auctoritie & estimation in the Church, wherby they may be both the bolder to do the office, & wherby they may do it with more fruite, whereas when they liue naughtily, they neyther dare do oftentimes that whych they should do, nor yet that whych they do well taketh so good effect, because of the dyscredite, whych cometh by their euill behaviour. And so I conclude that M. Doctor hath brought hitherto nothing to proue why epyther Deacons ought, or else haue want cyther to preach, or to minister the sacraments.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

It is not necessarie that euery one which is a Deacon, shoulde be preferred to the ministerie: for it may be that he shall so euill vse him selfe in that function, that he be thought vnnete further to be preferred. But you haue not read, as I think, since the Apostles tyme, of any that hath bene orderly preferred to the ministerie, not being Deacon before.

Ambrose, Chrysostome, the Greeke Paraphrast, Bullinger, Gualter, Hemingius, & diuers other do so expound these words of Paule. 1. Tim. 3. (*Qui bene ministraverint, gradū sibi bonū acquirunt. &c.*) that they make the deaconship a step to the ministerie. And therefore your reason had neede be very good, that shall conuince all these of vnskilfulnesse.

S. Paule doth not make much difference betwixt the gyfts that are to be required in a Bishop, & the gyfts that are to be required in a Deacon, as it appeareth. 1. Tim. 3. and in dede if you respect the gyfts, required in the both, there is not much difference betwene them, & therefore your reason is not so strong, as you make it. Moreover I neuer heard that an impediment in the tongue, or some want of vterance were sufficient causes to debarre a man (otherwise mæte) from the ministerie. In dede S. Paule requireth that he should be *aptus ad docendū*, which he may be, though he haue some impediment in spech. For S. Paule doth not meane by these words, volubilitie of tongue, but wisdom, discretion, & order in teaching. If you meane such a one, as epyther cannot speake at al, or not utter his mind in such sort, as he may be vnder stood, him I thinke neither to be fit for to be minister, nor a deacon, but (as I told you before) it is not necessarie, that whosoener is deacon should after be minister, no more than it is that a Bachelor of Art shuld be a Master of Art, or a Bachelor of diuinity a Doctor, for there may be iust causes to stay the fro proceeding any further. And therefore sayth S. Paule 1. Tim. 3. 4. *Qui bene ministraverint, gradū sibi bonū acquirunt. &c.* They which haue ministred well, get themselves a good degree. So that this reason of yours is easily pushed away. I knowe some do expound the words of S. Paule as you do, & the interpretation is not amisse: yet



yet are not the reasons sufficient to impproue the other, to the whiche I mosse incline, bicause it is allowed of mosse learned men, and the words themselues doe very fitly beare it. But the matter dothe not depende onely vpon these words of S. Paule, but vpon the continuall practise of the Church also from tyme to tyme.

### The 8. diuision.

T.C. Pag. 129. Sect. vlt.

And albeit M. Doctor be not able to shewe it, yet I confesse that it hath bene in times past, permitted vnto them in some Churches to baptise, in other some to preache and baptise, & somtimes also to minister the supper: but I say also that this was a corruption, & vsed at those times, when there were very many other grosse & untollerable abuses, from the whych I do appeale vnto that, whych was first, that is, the institution of the Apostles, whych limited and bounded euery function within his seuerall limits and borders, whych it ought not to passe.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Deacons baptizd.  
Tertul.

Nes I haue proued it by sufficient testimonies to haue bene so, euen in the Apostles time, when the Church was furthest from corruption: and now I will adde a little moze. Tertullian in his booke *de baptismo* hath these words, *Baptizandi quidem inus habet summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus, deinde Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesie honorem*: The highe Priest, which is the Bishop, hath authoritie to baptize, so haue the Ministers and Deacons, but not without the authoritie of the Bishop, for the honour of the Church.

Hierom.

Hierome *aduersus Luciferianos*, sayth thus, I do not denie, but that that is the custome of the Church, that the Bishop should go to lay his hand by the inuocation of the holy spirit, vpon those which a far of in litle cities by ministers and Deacons were baptised.

And a litle after he sayth, that neyther the ministers nor deacons haue authoritie to baptise, without the commaundement of the Bishop.

Beza.

M. Beza *lib. confess. cap. 5.* sayth, that deacons did oftentimes supply the office of the Pastors in the administration of the sacraments, and celebrating of Mariage. And to proue this he quoteth, 1. Cor. 1. verse. 14. 15. &c. and John. 4. verse. 2.

But the thing is manifest, and can not be denyed: wherefore you are but disposed to play *Iohannes ad oppositum*.

### Of matters touching the Communion. Tract. 15.

Of the orders and ceremonies vsed in the celebration of the Communion. Cap. 1. the. 1. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

They had no introite, for Celestinus a Pope brought it in, about the yere. 430. But we haue borrowed a piece of one out of the Masse booke.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 94. Sect. 1. 2.

The introite.

The Apostles began the Lordes supper with the Lordes prayer.

What you vnderstande heere by the Introite, certaynely I knowe not. The first thing that we say at the Communion is the Lordes prayer, which Celestinus did not inuent, but Chryste. Matth. 6. nor first vsed in the celebration of the Lordes Supper, but the Apostles, as we reade in good Chronicles: next vnto that is a very godly and necessary prayer, worthy to be sayde in the celebration of such a myserie, and therefore no matter at all who inuented it, or broughte it in: And yet Celestinus was a godly Bishop, and the Church of Rome



Rome, at that tyme had the substance of the sacraments, according to Gods word, neither was there any superstition mixed with them: notwithstanding I know not any Introite of Celestinus inuention, that we haue in our order of the Communion: for the Introite that he appointed was one of the psalmes, as Volateranus, Gratianus, and Polydorus Vergilius do testify. And we haue not any psalme in the celebration of the supper: if we had, it were not to be reprobued.

Celestinus  
introite  
what it was.

This I am sure of, that it is not euill, bycause it is in the Masse booke, except it be repugnant to the word of God: for the Lords prayer some of the psalmes, the Gospels and Epistles, the Nicene creede &c. be in the Masse booke, and yet good, so is there some other good prayers in it also.

The epistle  
and Gospel.

## Admonition.

The second. They read no fragments of the Epistle and Gospel, we vse both.

Answer Pag. 94. Sect. vlt. & Pag. 95. Sect. 1.

And what fault can you find in that: is not the whole scripture, and euery peece of it profitable to edify: can the scripture at any time in the open congregation be read out of season, being in a known tongue: but I thinke your quarell is at reading, not against the Epistle and the Gospel.

Alwayes in the Church there hath bin read the scriptures in the celebration of the mysteries, and I am sure, the Gospel was not wont to be read from the one ende to the other at one time. Well, it is but your opinion without reason, that the Epistle and Gospel oughte not to be read at that time: for you bring no prooofe, and I thinke the contrary. First, bycause they be scripture, and tend to edify: secondly, bycause it hath bin the manner of long tyme, euen since Alexanders time. Anno. III.

Reading of  
scriptures at  
the communi-  
on.  
Anno. III.  
Alexander.

## Admonition.

The third. The Nicene creede was not read in their communion, we haue it in ours.

Answer Pag. 95. Sect. 3.

The Nicene Creede and euery parte of it is grounded vpon the worde of God, it was collected by that famous Councell of Nice, to confounde that detestable heresie of the Arrians, and therefore meete to be reade in all Christian congregations, neyther can any mislike it, but Arrians and suche lyke, of the whiche secte you gyue iust suspitions that you bee fautors. This Creede in this forme was not framed in the Apostles tyme, bycause the heresie of Arius was not then hatched. And therefore no good reason to say it was not read in the Apostles tyme at the communion: Ergo it ought not to be read now. But this argumente is intollerable, the Nicene Creede is read at the communion, therefore the communion is not sincerely ministered. All these three reasons be taken ab authoritate negatiue: and therefore of no force, excepte wee will also graunte these to be true, and suche lyke, scilicet,

The Nicene  
Creede.

Odd.

Then



Then they had no Christian Princes, and therefore we maye haue no Christian Princes. Then they had no ciuill or politike lawes, Ergo we ought to haue none. Then the Church had no externall peace, but was vnder persecution, Ergo it should haue no peace now. Then Christians had propriete in nothing, but all thinges were common: Ergo no man may haue any thing of his owne, but common to other: we do not reade expressely, that Childzen were then baptised, therefore they ought not to be baptised now (for so do the Anabaptists reason) neyther do we reade that women did then receiue the supper, therefore they ought not to do it now: with infinite others as absurd as these.

## T.C. Pag. 130. Sect. 1.

(\*) You may as well call chapters fragments, for they are but peeces of the gospels and epistles, and were first so deuised by men.

Into the three next sections conteyned in the. 94. 95. and a peece of the. 96. pages, touching that which is called the Introite, and (\*) fragments of the Epistles and Gospels, and the rehearsing of the Nicene creede, I haue declared before the causes of our misliking, neyther meane I to stand to refute the slanderous surmises, which M. Doctor raiseth of the authors of the Admonition, whereby he would bring them into the suspicion of Arrianisme, to whom all those that feare God beare witnesse, that they are mooste farre from. He him selfe notwithstanding once agayne in the laste of these three sections. 96. pag. doth laye the manifeste foundations of that part of Anabaptisme, which standeth in hauing all thinges common, saying directly against S. Peter, that in the time of the Apostles, Christians hadde propriete in nothing. And further giuing great cause of triumph of the one syde to the Catabaptists, and such as demie the baptism of yong infants, in matching that with those thinges which the church may (although not without incommodie, yet without impietie) bee withoute: and of the other syde vnto the Baptistes, whylest he sayeth that wee reade not of any women which receyued the Lordes supper in the Apostles time. For this is that they alleage to proue their vnwritten verities, when as it is easly answered bothe to the Baptistes, and M. Doctor, that forsomuche as the Apostle dothe witnesse, that the Churches of Corinthe consisting of men and women did receiue, that therefore women also did receiue, and were partakers of the Lordes table. Thus it is manifest that M. Doctor onely to displease the authors of the Admonition, seeketh not to (\*) pleasure thre notable heretikes, Anabaptistes, Catabaptistes, and Baptistes.

5. Act.

(\*) He please reth them in declaring the absurdities of their arguments.

## Io. Whitgiste.

Yet you should here haue excused their ignorance, in certaine poynts and theyr absurd reasoning: but seeing you are content so lightly to passe all this ouer, and lea-ving the defense of the Admonition, seeke to confute my collections, I am contents also that it stande vntouched, and will answer that whyche you onely seeme to misselyke.

I doe not otherwyle suspect them of Arrianisme, than they haue giuen iust occasion, by dysliking the publike reading of that Creede, whiche was purposely made to ouerthrow Arrianisme. I trust there is a great number of such as feare God in the Church of Englande that knowe not them, but yet for their rashnesse in this point, haue them in some inspition.

By these examles of negative argumentes from the Scriptures, I ouerthrow all the Anabaptistes reasons, that they do, or can vse in the defense of their errors, so do I lykewyle yours, vsed against this Church of England, neyther speake I any otherwyle of the baptism of infants, or of womens receyuing the Communion, than M. Zuinglius doth in his *Elench* against the Anabaptistes, and M. Caluine also in his booke written against them.

But this answer soe troubleth you, and therefore you onely replie against it with slanderous wordes: but least you should by such meanes abuse the Reader, I will sette downe bothe Zuinglius and Caluines wordes. M. Zuinglius in his *Elench contra Anabap.* sayth thus: You can fynde no hole to escape at. For you foolishly reason negatively from deedes and examples, naye from no deedes and no examples. For what doe you else when you saye, wee reade not that the Apostles didde baptize infants, Ergo, infants oughte not to be baptized? Dothe not all the force of youre reasons consyfte herein? And againe: Wherefore it is to be maruelled at, with what face they dare measure

Zuinglius.

the



the Baptisme of Infantes by the Scripture, or rather by not scripture, for they haue nothing in the Scripture wherunto they may truste, but they make onely the negative their foundation, when they saye: we reade not that the Apostles baptized infantes, therefore they ought not to bee baptized. &c. And in his booke *de Baptismo*: of the baptisme of infantes and the first originall thereof neyther I, nor any other man can otherwise affirme (if we respect the expresse and euident worde of God) than that it is that true and onely baptisme of Christe. For we may fynde many things of this sorte, whereof although there be no expresse and playne testimonie of God, yet they are not repugnant to his will, but rather agreeth with the same: of this sort is that, that we make women partakers of the Lords supper, when as notwithstanding wee reade of none that sat downe in that Supper which Christe dyd institute. And M. Caluine in his booke *aduersus Anabaptist*. sayeth in lyke maner, They haue nothing to saye agaynste the Baptisme of infantes, but that there is no where any mention made that the Apostles did vse it: to this I answer, that no more doe wee reade in any place, that they did at any tyme minister the Supper of our Lorde to any woman. And yet these two be neyther Anabaptistes, Carabaptistes, nor Papists, but valiant captaines against them all.

Caluine.

### Chap. I. the seconde Diuision.

#### Admonition

The fourth. There was then accustomed to bee an examination of the communicantes, whiche now is neglected.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 96. Sect. 2. 3.

Howe proue you that there was then any examination of communicantes? If there hadde bene eyther commaundemente or example for it in Scriptures, I am sure you woulde not haue lefte it vnquoted in the margent. Sainte Paule sayeth. 1. Cor. 11. *Probet homo seipsum*. Lette a man examine hym selfe. &c. But he speaketh of no other examination: wherefore this reason of youtes is altogether friuolous and without reason.

Examination of communicantes.

1. Cor. 11.

And yet I doe not disallowe the examination of communicantes, so there be a discrete respecte had of the persons, places, and other circumstances, neyther is it neglected in this Church of Englande, but by learned and discrete ministers, wyth learnyng and discretion bled. But note I praye you the force of this argumente: some ministers neglecte to examine the communicantes. Ergo, the Communion is not rightly and sincerely ministered, as though the examination of the communicantes were of the substance of the sacrament. If you woulde reason after your accustomed manner, you should rather conclude thus, the Apostles were not examined when they receyued the communion, neyther is it expresse in Scriptures that they examined others, therefore there ought to be no suche examination: this is your vsual maner of reasonyng, but it is chyldish, vnlesse it were to conclude damnation or saluation.

T. C. Pag. 130. Sect. 2.

Q. Doctor asketh howe it is proued that there was any examination of the communicantes. A. For this sorte, all things necessarie were bled in the churches of God in the Apostles tymes, but

Dov. ij.

exami



examination of those, whose knowledge of the mysterie of the Gospel was not knowne or doubted of, was a necessary thing, therefore it was vsed in the churches of God whiche were in the Apostles time.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

1. Cor. 11.  
Caluin.

Two things  
worthy the  
noting, for  
those which  
shall commu-  
nicate.

I denie your minor, first, because no such at that tyme would offer themselves to receyue the communion. Secondly, because if any such did offer themselves, not being knowne, the fault is particular to themselves, and toucheth them onely, not the whole Church. Thirdly, because if it had bene so necessarie a thing, Sainde Paule would not haue omitted it, especially when he hadde an especiall cause to speake of it, as he had when he spake of priuate examination of a mannes selfe, 1. Cor. 11. *Probet autem seipsum homo.* Of the whiche wordes M. Caluin speaking in his booke agaynst the Anabaptists sayth thus: But what neede we so to dispute? seing the Apostle himselfe in an other place treating of the manner, howe every man shoulde be prepared to the receyving of the Supper of the Lorde (as it behoueth him) doth not bidde every one too examine the faultes of hys neighbour, but speaketh after thys manner, *Probet seipsum homo.* Lette a man examine himselfe, and so let him eate of this breade and drynke of this cuppe: for hee that eateth and drinketh vnworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation. In whiche wordes there are two things to be obserued. Firste, that to communicat with those that are vnworthy, is not to eate the bread of the Lorde vnworthily, but not to prepare himselfe as he ought to do, and not to expend and consider his owne faith and repentaunce. The second, that when the supper is to be receiued, we begin not with other men to examine them, but that we trie ourselves: and surely if all things were exactly considered, euen they which haue so much leysure to enquire of other mens behauiour, are for the most part negligent, and forgetfull of their owne duties. So that it is necessary for every man to examine himselfe, and not so necessary for one man to examine another. But what I thinke of this kynde of examining by other, I haue declared in my Answer to the Admonition.

*Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 130. Sect. 2.

A place of scrip-  
ture fondly ap-  
plied.

Then he saith he is sure there is neither commaundement nor example in all the scripture. In the second booke of the Chronicles he might haue read, that the Leuites were there commaunded to prepare the people vnto the receyving of the passouer, in place wherof we haue the Lords supper. Now examination being a part of the preparation, it followeth that there is commaundement of examination.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The Replyer  
applyeth a ce-  
rimoniall pre-  
cept to the re-  
ceyving of the  
communion.

You be tray the weakenesse of your cause to much, when you are constrained to runne so farre for a precept to proue the examination of communicants to be commaunded: and especially when you are compelled for want of other, to bring out cerimoniall precepts long ago abrogated. This boldnes of yours is so by custome confirmed that now without blushing it dare abuse any scripture, yea euen touching the Ceremonies of the law, to proue any deuise of your owne: and why may not the Papistes as well vse the same for their auricular confession?

This precept  
proueth not  
his purpose.

But what if that commaundement signify no such thing: from whence then will you fetch your proufe the wordes of Iosiah to the Leuites in the 2. Chro. 35. vers. 6. be these: So kill the passouer, and sanctify your selues, and prepare your brethren that they may do according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Moses. What one word of examining other is there in this commaundement? These wordes Prepare your brethren &c. are thus expounded by learned interpreters: Exhort your brethren to examin themselves, that they may be ready to eate the passouer, according to the word of the Lorde by the hand of Moses. And manifest it is that neyther the Priests, nor the Leuites dyd euer

Looke the  
marginal note  
in the Geneva  
Bible.



did ever use any such kinde of examination before the eating of the Passouer, as you would insinuate, and therfore as yet you are utterly destitute of a commandement.

### Chap. 1. the 4. Division.

T. C. Pag. 130. Sect. 1.

And how holdeth (a) this argument. S. Paule commandeth that every man should proue himself, ergo, there is no commandement, that the ministers should proue and examine them: so I may say, that every man is a spirituall king to governe himself, therfore he may not be governed by others. The authors of the Admonition do not mean that every one should be examined, as those whose understanding in the Gospell is well knowne, or whych doe examine themselves, and so they interpret themselves, in the. 108. page.

(a) This is an argument of your owne framing.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Surely it holdeth as the moste parte of your argumentes do, that is losely: for it is your reason, it is not myne: If I haue framed any such argument, it will appeare in my Answer. But this is your manner peuisly to peruert my wordes, and therfore haue you concealed my booke, least your Reader should espie you, as he must needs do, if he hath any iudgement.

Neither doe I mislike, that there should be examination of the communicantes, as I haue said in my Answer: but I mislike this wrangling at the administration of the sacraments bled in this church without cause: neither would I haue this kinde of examination counted as necessarie, seing it is no where commanded, neither yet any example of it, either in the Apostolicall or primitive Church.

Examination of communicantes not disallowed.

In what wordes, or how do the Authors of the Admonition interpret themselves, pag. 108: or how do they knowe that men do not examine themselves?

### Chap. 1. the fifth Division.

Admonition.

Act. 2. 4. 6.  
Act. 10. 7.

The fifth. Then they ministred with common & vsual bread: now with wafer cakes brought in by Pope Alexander, being in forme, fashion, and substance like their god of the altar.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 97. Sect. 2.

& Pag. 98. Sect. 1. 2.

The place you alleage, Act. 2. (which is this) And they continued dayly with one accord in the temple, & breaking bread at home, did eate their meate together with gladnesse, and singlenesse of heart, maketh as much for your purpose, as it maketh for the Papistes halfe Communion: for they alleadge it to proue that the Supper may be ministred with bread only: But learned interpreters, & especially M. Caluine, denye this place to be mente of the ministration of the supper: how soeuer it is vnderstanded, it doth not necessarily proue, that the Sacrament was then ministred in common and vsual bread, for there is no mention made of the kinde of bread.

Of bread bled in the communion.

If any thynke better of one kynde of bread than of another, in the ministration of the Sacramente, it is their erreure, and derogateth nothyng from the order of administration.

M. Caluin in his Institutions cap. 19. sect. 72. touchyng this matter writeth on this sorte: *Ceterum in manum accipiant fideles necne: inter se diuisant,*

Ddd. iij.

dant,



Cōmuni-  
on breade.  
Caluins opi-  
nion of y<sup>e</sup> kind  
breade.

594

## The defense of the answer

Tract. 15.

*don't, an singuli quod sibi datum fuerit edant: calicem in diaconi manu reponant, an proximo tra-*  
*don't: panis sit fermentatus, an azymus: vinum rubrum, an album, nihil refert: hac indifferentia*  
*sunt: et in ecclesie libertate posita.* But vvwhether the faythfull take it in their handes  
or no: vvwhether they deuide it among them selues, or euerye one eatethat  
vvhiche is giuen vnto them: vvwhether they gyue the cuppe to the Deacon,  
or deliuer it to hym that is nexte: vvwhether the breade be leauened or vnle-  
uened: the vvynne redde or vvhyte, it makes no matter. These be indifferente  
thyngs, and put in the libertie of the Church.

Alexanders  
institution.

Alexander lyued Anno. iii. and was a good and godlie Bishop: it  
is reported in some writers that he appoynted unleuened breade to  
be vsed in the Euchariste, because that Chryste hymselfe bled the  
same accordyng to the lawe wrytten Exod. .12. Deuteron. 16. But  
that he broughte in wafer cakes, or appoynted any certayne forme  
of breade, you can not proue, neyther dothe any credible authour  
wryte it.

### Io. Whitgifte.

To all this there is not one word answered.

### Chap. i. the. 6. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 97. Sect. 2.

& Pag. 98. Sect. 1.

Usual bread.

The truth is, that it skils not what kynde of bread is bled, leue-  
ned or unleuened so it be bread, although it were to be wished for the  
auoydyng of superstition, that common and vsuall breade were b-  
sed, and also that the forme were altered, and the quantitie encrea-  
sed. But these thyngs are not *de substantia Sacramenti*, and therfore not  
sufficient to proue that the Supper is not sincerely ministered.

M. Bucers  
opinion.

M. Bucer like wyle in his censure vpon the booke of Cōmon pray-  
ers is of the same iudgement, his wordes be these: The thirde chap-  
ter is of the substance, forme, and breaking of bread, vvhiche all doe vvelli-  
nough agree vvith the institution of Chryste, vvhome it is manifest to haue  
vsed vnleuened breade, and easy to be broken, for hee brake it, and gaue  
to his disciples peeces of the breade broken. Touching the forme and figure,  
vvwhether it were rounde or square, there is nothyng declared of the E-  
uangelistes. And because this breade is vsed onely for a signe, and not for  
corporall nourishment, I see not, vvhat can be reprehended in this de-  
scription of the breade vvhiche is in this booke, except some vvoulde per-  
aduenture haue it thicker, that it maye the more fully represente the forme  
of true breade.

T. C. Pag. 130. Sect. vi.

I haue spoken of this bread before in generall, and if M. Doctor did not disagree with him-  
selfe, we are here well agreed. For first he sayth, it skilth not what bread we haue, and by  
by he sayth, that he wisheth it were common bread, and assigneth a great cause, which the booke of  
seruice likewise assigneth, which is, to auoyd superstition, and it is certainly known by experience  
that in diuers places, the ignorant people that haue bin mislead in poperie, haue knockt and kneel-  
ed vnto it, and held by their hands whilest the minister hath giuen it, not those onely, vvhiche haue  
receiued it, but those vvhiche haue bin in the Church and looked on. I speake of that vvhiche I  
knowe,



know, and haue seene with my eyes. Another reason is alleadged by M. Bucer, whiche is, that there being some thicker substance of bread, and such as should moue and stirre by the tast better, the consideration of the mind which is conueyed by the senses, might be also the more effectually, and so the frute of receyuing greater. By the way note that epyther (\*) Bucer's censures vpon the booke of seruice be falsely ascribed vnto him, or be corrupted, or else were not such in his owne time here thought good, substantiall and sufficient, when there is some cause by act of Parliament afterward found (I meane in the second booke of King Edward) to mislike wafer cakes, and to change them into common bread. Howsoever it be, that circumstance would be well marked, that it was one thing to talke of a wafer cake in the vse of supper in King Edwards days before they were fully abolished, and another thing, now being reuoked, after they were remoued.

(\*) Or else you speake of a matter you know not.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

I am constant and agree with my selfe in the truth I thanke God for it. I knowe the kind of bread to be indifferent: my private iudgement I haue in my Answer vttered. But in such matters I submit my selfe to the determination of the Church, to whome God doth giue his spirit most abundantly, so long as it followeth and enbraceth the truth.

The danger that you speake of, is in the forme, and figure of the bread, not in the other qualities, nor in the substance: and therefore not pertainyng to any thing that I haue spoken. For the question is of leavened, or unleavened bread, not of roundnesse or squarenesse, &c. Although the forme and figure also is indifferente, and in the power of the Church to appoynt: wherefore there may no schisme or diuision in the Church be made for it.

M. Bucer's censures were vpon the first booke in King Edwards time, not vpon the second, therefore you are deceived. The Church hath authoritie in things indifferent to abolish or reuoke as occasion serueth: and therefore that circumstance is not worth the noting.

Bucer's censure vpon the first booke in King Edwards days.

### Chap. 1. the 7. Division.

T. C. Pag. 131. Sect. 1.

Besides that, we be called by the example of our saviour Christ to vse in the supper vniuersall common bread, for what time our Saviour Christ celebrated his supper there was no other bread to be gotten but unleavened bread, there being a straight charge giuen by the law, that there should be then no leavened bread, and it is not to be doubted but that if there had bin then when he celebrated his supper, as at other times nothing but leavened bread, he would not haue caused vniuersall common bread to haue bin made for that purpose of celebrating his supper.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

It was not vniuersall bread, but properly appoynted for the celebrating of the passouer, and then to be vse and not otherwise vniuersally and commonly: for their vniuersall and common bread was leavened, wherefore this maketh against you, and if you will haue the commandements that appertaine to the eating of the passouer perpetual, and to be referred to the celebrating of the Lords supper, as by that precept 2. Ch. 20. 35. before alleadged, it seemeth you would, then must we make it a matter of necessitie, to haue vniuersall bread: but as that is untrue, so is this also: for the kind of bread is indifferent, although (as M. Bucer sayth) it cometh nearer to the institution of Christ to vse unleavened bread, because he did celebrate his supper with it, if there wer not other circumstances and reasons to moue the Church sometimes to vse the contrary.

Christ vned unleavened bread.

P. 130. Sect. 2

The kind of bread of itself indifferent

### Chap. 1. the 8. Division.

T. C. Pag. 131. Sect. 1.

But this is a grosse oversight of M. Doctor, both in his section and that whiche he doth say, that he hath not learned to make a difference betweene that which is not sincerely done, & that which is not at all done: for in the former he hath triumphed vpon the Admonition because they conclude that for as much as there is no examination thereof it is not rightly and sincerely ministered. For sayth he, the examination of the communicantes, is not of the substance of the

DDd. sig.

sacrament,



sacrament, and in this section he saith, that for as much as it is not of the substance of the sacrament whether there be leavened or unleavened bread, therefore it is not sufficiently proved that the sacrament is not sincerely ministered: but he ought to have understood, that if either the matter of the sacrament as bread and wine, or the forme of it, which is the institution (which things are only substantiall parts) were wanting, that then there should have bin no sacrament ministered at all, but they being receyved, and yet other things bled which are not convenient, the sacrament is ministered but not sincerely. For example in the popish baptisme, there was the substance of baptisme, but there being bled spittle and creame, and candels and such beggerly trumperie, it was not sincerely ministered, therefore it is one thing to minister sincerely and another thing to minister, so that that which is of the substance should be wanting. But of this distinction I have spoken in another place, whereinto although M. Doctor falleth in the next section, and in other places, yet this shall be an answer for all.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

It is as grossely replied unto: but my beleefe is, that the sacrament is as purely and sincerely ministered, with the one, as it is with the other. For not every fond, superstitious or bayne opinion of every private person in this or that ceremonie, derogateth any thing, from the pure and sincere administration of the sacraments, except it can be shewed that the things bled be wicked, unlawfull or superstitious of themselves. Wherefore this is a grosse quarrell of yours, it is no our fight of mine, for I am well assured of the right and sincere administration of the sacraments in this Church, both touching substance, ceremonies, and other circumstances. And it is too much inturie that you do to this Church of England, in comparing the ceremonies thereof (which be pure) to the corrupt and superstitious ceremonies of the papists bled in baptisme. But how should you other wise utter your contempt or great spite against it.

*Chap. 1. the. 9. Division.*

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 99. Sect. 1.

These words that you bled (like their God of the altar) be slanderous and false, we are as farre from thinking the bread to be our God as you, and teach as sound doctrine touching this sacrament: And therefore you shew of what spirit you be.

T. C. Pag. 131. Sect. 2.

The meaning of the Admonition in saying (their God of the Altar) is playne enough, that it is understood of the Papists, but that M. Doctor doth set himselfe to draw the author of it into hatred, and he cannot be ignorant, that when a man speaketh of things which are notoriously known, he often bled (the, or that, or their,) without naming the things which he speaketh of.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The words of the Admonition be these: Then they ministered with common and usual bread now with wafers cakes brought in by Pope Alexander, being in forme, fashion and substance like their God of the Altar. Now let the Reader iudge whether I charge them truly or no. Your excuse is but for a fashion, their opinion of this whole Church, is as perniciously and opprobriously uttered in sundry other places of their booke, as it is in this. And therefore there is no great doubt of their meaning, or if their meaning be not so, yet was it unadvisedly set downe in that order, that we may easily suspect their meaning to be so.

*Chap. 1. the. 10. Division.*

Admonition.

The sixth. They received it (c) sitting: we kneeling according to Honorius decree.

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 99. Sect. 12. 3.

The places of scripture that you quote in the margente to prove sitting at the communion, declare that Christe and his disciples sate at the table, but that proveth nothing. For you might as well have sayde, they receiued after supper, we before dinner: they at night, we in the morning: they after meate, we before meate, they

Kneeling and sitting at the Communion.

Mat. 26. 20  
Mar. 14. 18  
Lut. 22. 14  
Iohn. 13. 28



they in a private house or in the open Church, they being all men and in number twelve, we together with women, not strictly observing the number of twelve or any other number above three or four.

This your argument toucheth them as well as it doth us, which receive it standing or walking. But to sit, stande, kneele or walke be not of the substance of the Sacrament: and therefore no impediments why it may not be sincerely ministered.

It becometh humble and meeke spiritues, in such indifferent matters to submit themselves to the order of the Church, appointed by lawfull authoritie, and not to make schismes and contentions in the Church for the satisfying of their owne fantasies.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

Nothing answered.

### *Chap. I. the II. Division.*

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 99. Sect. vlt.

& Pag. 100. Sect. I.

Touching kneeling at the communion it forceth not who did first appoint it (although I can finde no such decree made by Honorius) it is the meetest manner of receiving this sacrament in mine opinion, being commonly used in praying and giving of thanks, both which are annexed to this sacrament, and are to be required in the communicants, and therefore I thinke this to be a good reason: the meetest gesture for praying and thanksgiving is kneeling, but those that receive the Eucharist pray and give thanks, Ergo the meetest gesture for them is kneeling.

Kneeling the  
meetest ge-  
sture.

The onely perill is adoration, which may as well be committed sitting or standing. But wherefore then serveth preaching: there is as much danger of contempt the one way, as there is of adoration the other way. In such matters Christian magistrates have authority to appointe what they thinke most convenient, and the same must be observed of those that be *pacifici*, and not *contentiosi*. But of sitting and kneeling at the communion more is to be spoken hereafter in the second part.

T. C. Pag. 131. Sect. 3.

Although it be not of necessity that we should receive the communion sitting, yet there is the same cause of abolishing kneeling, that there is of removing the wafer cake, and if there be danger of superstition in one (as Mr. Doctor confesseth) why is there not danger in the other: and if there be men that take occasion to fall at the one, & that by superstition, how cometh it to passe that Mr. Doctor in the 180. pag. saith neither gospeller, nor Papists, obstinate nor simple, can superstitiously offend in this kneeling, when as the kneeling carrieth a greater shew of worship, & imprinteth in the mindes of the ignorant a stronger opinion, and a deeper print of adoration, than the sight of a round cake. And if kneeling be so boyd of all fault, as Mr. Doctor would make us beleieve, how came it to passe, that in King Edwards days, there was a protestation added in the booke of prayer, to cleare that gesture from adoration.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

If this be a sufficient argument, to alter & chaunge so decent & comely an order and gesture in praying God, then what order can stand in the church, seeing there is nothing that may not be abused? My words in the 180. pag. be true, and as yet unanswered. I will set them downe in their place, that the Reader may perceyue howe little you are able to saye against them.

The protestation made in King Edwards dayes touching this gesture, was to satisfye (if it mighte



might be) such quarrellers as you are, and to take away all occasion of cavilling, not for any great feare of adoration.

*Chap. 1. the. 12. Division.*

T. C. Pag. 131. Sect. vlr.

Another reason why kneeling should be taken away, is for that sitting agreeth better with the action of the supper, whereunto St. Doctor taketh exception, both in this place, and where he speaketh againe of it, that for so much as this sacrament is a sacrament of thanksgiving, and thanksgiving a prayer, therefore kneeling to be most fit, as that which we vse ordinarily when we pray.

*Jo. Whitgife.*

Math. 26.

If this be a good reason, then let the sacrament be ministered at night, for that doth most of all agree with the supper, let there be also other meate, and let it be made a supper in all poynts. But are you come now to the grosse imagination of the manner and forme of an earthly and terrestriall supper? Christ doth will vs in the celebration of this sacrament to expresse his death and passion untill he come, and not the manner of his sitting at the table. But to such vnapt reasons dothe the absurditie of your cause dyne you, and therefore you are to be pitied rather than confuted.

*Chap. 1. the. 13. Division.*

T. C. Pag. 132. Sect. i.

But he should haue remembred that that thanksgiving may well come after we haue receiued the sacrament, and that whilst we receiue the bread and some of the sacrament, we are not then most fit to speake, they being in our mouthes, and during the time we receiue them, our minde is occupied in considering the inestimable benefite which the Lorde hath bestowed vpon vs, and to meditate of the frute which we receiue thereby, by the Analogie and comparison, betwene the bodily nourishment and the spiritual, that by these considerations our minds may be more enflamed, and set on fire, and our mouthes may be filled, with the prayse of God, after we haue receyued.

*Io. Whitgife.*

And you should haue learned that the whole action of this supper is a thanksgiving, and therefore it is called *Eucharistia*, so that kneeling is a conuenient gesture for it, during the whole time of the celebration: Whereouer who can be boyd of thanks, when he is in that consideration you speake of, can any Christian hart thinke of the vnspokeable benefites of the death and passion of Christ, exhibited vnto him in this sacrament, and not together be moued in hart and mind to giue thanks: for thankfulness is as well in hart and thought, as it is in word: and a man may giue most hearty thanks vnto God, who vnderstandeth his cogitations, though he speake not one word. Ah dally not, dally not in Gods mysteries, seeke not for bayne reason against most meete and conuenient orders.

*Chap. 1. the. 14. Division.*

T. C. Pag. 132. Sect. i.

And further if this be a good reason, that therefore it is meete we should kneele at the supper for as much as we giue thanks, then it followeth that when soeuer we haue supped or dined, it is meete that we should kneele, whē as yet we do say grace sitting. And by this he accuseth our Sanioure Christe, and his Apostles, as those which did not vse that which was most fit, for in his iudgement he sayth kneeling is the fittest site, or position of the body which can be, and if our Sanioure Christ had bin of that iudgement, vndoubtedly he would haue also kneeled, and caused his Apostles so to do.

*Io. Whitgife.*

I do not speake of enery private mans gesture in enery private place. I knowe that a man may also pray sitting, lying, standing, walking and riding. I speake of the publike gesture most meete to be vsed in praying and thanksgiving in the publike congregation: and therefore I say againe that in the publike Church, though kneeling be not the onely, yet it is the fittest gesture for praying: neyther can you  
more



more obiect the sitting of Christe against it, than you maye his supping at nighte,  
against our receyuing in the morning.

### Chap. 1. the. 15. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

**The fourth reason.** In this booke we are enioyned to receiue the communion kneeling, whiche besyde that it hath in it a (&c) shewe of Papistrie, doth not so well expresse the mysterie of this holie supper. For as in the olde testament eating the Paschall lambe standing, signified a readynesse to passe, even so in the receyuing of it now sitting (a) according to the example of Christe, we signifie rest, that is, a full finishing thorough Christ (b) of al the ceremonial law, & a perfecte worke of redemption wrought, that giueth reste for euer. And so we auoyde also the danger of idolatrie, which was in tymes past to common, and yet is in the heartes of many, who haue not as yet forgotten their bycaden God, so slenderly haue they bene instructed. Against which we maye set the commaundement, Thou (c) shalt not bowe downe to it, nor worship it.

1. The. 5. 22  
Exo. 12. 11.  
a  
Mat. 16. 20  
Mar. 14. 18  
Luc. 22. 14  
John. 13. 28  
b  
Gala. 4. 10.  
Ga. 5. 3. 4. 5  
Hebr. in many  
places.  
c  
Exo. 10. 5.

Ansvere Pag. 180. Sect. vlt. & c.

**You say,** sitting is the most meetest gesture, because it signifyeth rest, that is a full finishing thorough Christ of al the ceremonial law. &c. **What?** are you now come to allegories and to significations? Surely this is a very papisticall reason: may then we can giue you a great deale better significations of the surples, of crossing, of the ring in marriage, and many other ceremonies, than this is of sitting. I pray you in the whole scripture where dothe sitting signify a full finishing of the ceremonial law, and a perfect worke of redemption that giueth reste for euer? If allegories please you so well, let vs haue eyther standing which signifyeth a readynesse to passe (bled also in the eating of the passouer) or kneeling, which is the proper gesture for prayer, and thanksgiuing, and signifyeth the submission and humbleness of the mind. But you say, Christ sate at his supper, therefore we must sit at the receyuing of the supper. You may as wel say, Christ did celebrate his supper at night, after supper, to twelue, only men and no women, in a parloure, within a priuate house, the thursday at night before Easter, therefore we ought to receiue the communion at night, after supper, being twelue in number, and onely men, in a parlour, within a priuate house, the thursday at night before Easter. But who seeth not the *Non sequitur* of this argument?

The Admonition  
is full of  
allegories.

T.C. Pag. 132. Sect. 1.

In the. 181. page vnto the Admonition saying that sitting is most fitte, because it betokeneth rest, and accomplishment of the ceremonies in our sauoure Christ, M. Doctor sayth it is a Papisticall reason, and triumpheth over the Authoys of the Admonition, because they allegorize, when as notwithstanding the surples before, crossing, & rings, &c. afterwards are defended by nothing but with bayne allegories, which haue nothing so good grounds as this hath. But let it be that this is not so sound a reason (as indeede for my part I will not defend it, and the authoys themselves haue corrected it) yet M. Doctor might haue dealt easilier withall than to call it a papisticall reason, which is farre from poperie, and the reason of two notable learned and zelous men Iohannes Blasco, and of M. Hooper in his commentarie vpon the Prophet Jonas.

In liturgia  
ecclie, pere.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I call it Papisticall, because the Papists ground the most points of their doctrine vpon allegories, as the authoys of the Admonition do their sitting. I neyther defend surples nor any thing else by allegories, but I shew that I might do it, muche better than they do sitting at the Communion.

### Chap. 1. the. 16. Diuision.

Ansvere to the Admonition Pag. 180 Sect. 3.

**You say** kneeling is a shew of euill, and for prooffe thereof you alledge



ledge. 1. Thessa. 5. Absteyne from all apparance of euill. Now followeth this, The Apostle willethe vs to absteyne, from all apparance of euill: therefore kneeling at the communion is a shewe of euill: But your meaning is, that because the Papists kneeled at the sacring of the Masse (as they called it) therefore we may not kneele at the receiuing of the communion: you may as well say, they prayed to images and saincts kneeling, therefore we may not pray kneeling.

Page. 181. sect.  
1. & 2.

The places written in your margent to proue, that Christ did sit at supper be needlesse, & were bled for the same purpose before, where I haue also spoken my opinion of kneeling.

If you cite the Galat. 4. and 5. and the Epistle to the Hebues in many places, to proue that sitting signifyeth rest, that is, a full finishing of the ceremoniall law: you do but delude the Readers, and abuse the Scriptures, for there is no such matter to be found in them. If you alleage them to proue that Christ is the full finishing of the the Ceremoniall lawe, you take vpon you to proue that whiche no man doubteth of, and is verie farre from your purpose.

Page. 182. sect. 1

You note also the. 20. of Exodus: Thou shalt not bowe downe to them, nor vvorship them, to proue that we may not kneele at the communion: but how fitly, euery childe may iudge. For what sequele is there in this argumente? God in the seconde commaundement forbiddeth worshipping of images, therefore we may not receyue the communion kneeling.

#### T. C. Pag. 132. Sect. 1.

For the rest which he hath here, or in the. 180. and. 181. page, it is epyther answered before (as that the daunger of adozation may be taken away) or hath no matter worthye the answering. I onely admonishe the Reader, that sytting at the communion is not holden to be necessarie, but onely I thinke that kneeling is verie dangerous, for the causes before alleadged.

#### Jo. Whitgife.

An easy kinde of answering, & a verie slender defense for the crooked handeling of the scriptures, by the authozs of the Admonition. But it is wittily done, so to passe ouer that which you can not mainteyn. Surely the authozs of the Admonition are verie little beholding to you, for in most places you leaue them to answer for theselues.

Contention  
aboute exte-  
rall rites be-  
come not the  
churche of  
God.  
1. Cor. 11.

If sitting at the communion be not holden to be necessarie, why do you then make a schisme in the church for it? do not you know y M. Caluin, M. Bullinger, and others, writing against the Anabaptists, do especially condemne them for makynge a tumulte in the Church aboute externall and indifferents things? S. Paule sayeth, If any luste to be contentious, we haue no such custome, neither the Churches of God, and he meaneth in externall rites. But the question is whether the church must giue place to you, or you to the church, in that thing that by your owne confession may be bled.

#### Chap. 1. the. 17. Diuision.

##### Admonition.

The seventh. Then it was deliuered generally, and indefinitely. Take ye (and eate ye: we particularly and singularly, take thou, and eate thou.

Mat. 26. 26  
Mar. 14. 22  
1. Co. 11. 24

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 100. Sect. 3. 4.

Here is a hyghe matter in a lowe house, hee that sayeth, Take ye and eate ye, dothe hee not also saye in effecte, take thou and eate thou? Dothe not the plurall number include the singu-

singu-

Of the words  
take thou,  
eate thou, &c.  
The plurall  
number inclu-  
deth the sin-  
gular.



singular & Christ, Matth. 6. sayth: *Ad hunc igitur modum orate vos*, Praye ye on this maner: maye we not therefore say, pray thou on this maner if we speake to one singular person: so speaking to all his Apostles he sayth: *Ite in vniuersum mundum*, Goe into all the vvorlde.

We vse the plurall number when we speake to many ioyntely, we vse the singular number when we speake to one seuerallie.

And for as muche as euery one that receyueth this sacrament, hath to apply vnto himself the benefites of Christes death & passion, therefore it is conuenient to be sayde to euery one: Take thou, eate thou. But this obiection is so ridiculous, that it is more worthy to be hissed at, than to be confuted.

Euery one must apply the sacrament to him selfe.

T. C. Pag. 132. Sect. 2.

Unto the three next sections conteyned in the. 100. & 101. page, I haue spoken already, when as I shewed the general faults of the seruice booke, only that is to be noted that Mr. Doctor still pyncheth or euer he be aware, at our sauour Christes action in the first of these sections, where as he commendeth rather this forme of speaking, take thou, than that whiche our sauour Christ vsed in saying, take ye. And if it be a good argument to proue, that therefore we must rather saye, take thou, than take ye, because the sacrament is an application of the benefites of Christ, then for as muche as preaching is the applying of the benefites of Christ, it behoueth that the preacher should direct his admonitions particularly one after an other, vnto all those whiche heare his sermon, which is a thing absurde: and therefore besides that it is good to leaue the popishe forme in these things, whiche we may so conueniently do, it is best to come as neere the maner of celebration of the supper whiche our sauour Christ vsed, as may be.

### Io. Whitgifte.

I see no difference betwixte them, but onely in number, for the whiche I haue giuen some reason before, wherevnto you haue made no answer. The similitude of preaching that you here vse to improue my latter reason, is very vnapte, for there is great difference betwixte the meanes of exhibiting the benefites of Christ by his Sacraments, and by preaching of his worde. And yet there is none doubteth, but that a man is more moued by that whiche is spoken to him particularly, than he is with that whiche is spoken generally as well to other, as to him selfe. And therefore we may commonly note that godly and zelous Preachers, euen in their generall exhortations, vse oftentimes the singular number, and seconde person, as though they spake to euery particular man seuerally. Wherefore, be the commaundements giue in that number & person, as Thou shalt haue no other Gods but me &c. And Christ dothe vse the same maner of speache oftentimes in his sermon. Matth. 5. 6. & 7. If thou bring thy gifte to the alter &c. Agree with thine aduersarie quickly &c. It is vsuall in all exhortations, and it is a maner of speaking that giueth euery man occasion to apply that vnto him selfe, whiche is spoken. Neither doe I here in pinche at our sauour Christes action, as you surmise, for he spake generally to them all, and therefore vsed that forme of words, which was most conuenient for that purpose.

Particular exhortations moue more than general.

### Chap. 1. the. 18. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

The eyght. They vsed no other words but suche as Christ left: we borrowe from Baptizing the body of our Lorde Iesus Christ which was giuen for the. &c.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 101. Sect. 2. 3.

From whence soeuer these words were borrowed, they were well borrowed, for it is a godly prayer, and an apte application of that sacrament, and putteth the Communicants in minde of the effecte of Christes passion exhibited vnto them by that sacrament, and sealed with the same, if it be worthily receyued.

Of the words The body of our Lorde Iesus Christ, &c.

Ecc.

Ac



It maketh no matter from whome we receyue any thing, so it be godly, profitable, and consonant to the scriptures. But I pray you tell vs what Pope inuented these words, The body of our Lorde Iesus Christe. &c.

Admonition.

The ninth. They had no Gloria in excelsis in the ministerie of the sacrament then, for it was put (f) to afterwarde. We haue nowe.

f  
Telepho-  
rus in anno  
130.

Ansvvere. Pag. 101. Sect. 5. & Pag. 102. Sect. 1.

Of Gloria in  
excelsis.

The Apostles  
celebrated the  
Lords supper  
with 7 Lords  
prayer.

Telephorus  
a good Bi-  
shop.

It is the common consent of ecclesiasticall histories, that the Apostles dyd celebrate the Lords supper with the Lords prayer, and yet we doe not reade that Christe dyd so. You also teache that the supper ought not to be ministered without a sermon, and in the ministration thereof you vse diuers prayers, and other orders whiche Christe bled not: Can you espie a mote (if it be a mote, as it is not) in an other mans eye, and can you not perceyue a beame to be in your owne? There is nothing conteyned in Gloria in excelsis, but the same is taken out of the scriptures, and to be bled of all true Christians.

Telephorus, whome you note in the margent to haue added to the supper of the Lorde Gloria in excelsis, in the yere of the Lorde. 130. was a good Bishop, and the Church of Rome was as yet pure in doctrine, and vnspotted with heresie.

Jo. Whitgiste.

So answere to one whit of all this.

Chap. 1. the. 19. Division.

Admonition.

The tenth. They tooke it with conscience, we with custome.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 102. Sect. 3. 4.

This is but your presumptuous and arrogant iudgement, who dare take vpon you to giue this generall sentence, so generally vpon this whole Church of Englande, for you make no exception, but set vs ad oppositum to them.

If you say some take it without conscience, I thinke you say truly, and so did some of them, as Judas. But if you say all or the moste part, you go beyonde your commission, and make your selues Iudges of other mens consciences, contrary to the rule of Christ. Mat. 7. Luke. 6. and of Paule. Rom. 2. and. 14. 1. Cor. 4. and of James. 4.

T. C. Pag. 132. Sect. 3.

When as many receyue they know not what, some other without any examination, eyther of the selues, or by others, howe they come, with what sayth in Christ, with what loue towards their brethren, I see not agaynst what rule of our sauour Christ it is, or what rashe iudgement to say, that they come rather of custome than of conscience, when neyther they speake generally of all, nor singularly of any one particular person.

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Generally to charge the whole Church with that, which is but the faulte of some, and thus boldly to enter into many mens consciences, must needs be bothe lacke of great



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Answer to the Admonition.

## ¶ Of shutting men from the Communion, and

compelling to communicate. Chap. 2. the first Diuision.

### Admonition.

<sup>g</sup> <sup>1, Co. 5. 11.</sup> The elementh. They shut men by reason of their (g) sinnes, from the Lords supper: we thrust  
them in their sinne to the Lords supper.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 102. Sect. 6. 7.

The place that you alleage out of the fift chapter of the fyrst to  
the Corinthians, whiche is this (But nowve I haue vwritten vnto you  
that you companie not together: if any that is called a brother be a forni-  
catour. &c.) dothe not particularly touche the secluding of men by  
reason of their sinnes from the Communion, but generally prohibi-  
teth true Christians to haue any familiaritie or frendship with any  
suche notozious offendour.

If you were not with malice blynded, you mighte easily under-  
stande, that by the order and rules of this Church of Englande, all  
notozious and knowne offendours, euen such as S. Paule heere <sup>The Admo-  
nitors gratify  
the Papists.</sup> speaketh of, are secluded from the Lordes supper. But peradventure  
your meaning is, that no man should be compelled to the Commu-  
nion at any time, wherein you greatly gratifie the Papistes, and  
shewe your selfe a good patrone of theirs. When you shewe any  
reason why men may not be compelled to come to the Communion:  
then you shall be answered: In the meane time you are worthy  
of your fee.

T. C. Pag. 132. Sect. vlt.

If the place of the 5. to the Corinth. do forbid that we should haue any familiaritie with noto-  
rious offenders, it doth much more forbid that they should be receyued to the Communion.

### Io. Whitgifte.

I will Answer you as M. Caluine answered the Anabaptists obiecing the same  
place of S. Paule. 1. Co. 5. in effect to the same ende and purpose, that the Authoꝝ of  
the Admonition doe, & vsing the like collection that you doe in this place. But wheras  
(sayth he) Paule doth forbid to eate, with those that lyue dissolutely, that pertyne to  
priuate conuersation, not to the publike Communion, but some will saye: if it be not  
lawfull for a Christian man to keepe company with him that is wicked for corporall meate,  
much lesse may he receyue with them the Lords bread. I answer that it is in our power,  
whether we will be familiarly conuersant with the wicked, or no, and therefore euery one  
ought to flye from them: But it is not so in our power to receyue the Communion, or not  
to receyue it, therefore the reason is not all one, we must therefore note, that if the Church  
do tollerate and suffer an vnworthy man, he shall do well, that (knowing him to be such a  
one) doth abstayne from his companie as muche as he can: so that his dooing make no  
schisme or separation in the Church. This I speake onely touching the true under-  
standing of that place of S. Paul to the Corinthians: and not bicause I would haue  
the Church to suffer any such notozious offendours to receyue the Communion.

Calu. aduersus  
Anabapt.

### Chap. 2. the 2. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 132. Sect. vlt.

And therefore Papists beinge such, as whiche are notoziously knowne to holde hereticall opi-  
nions, ought not to be admitted, muche less compelled to the supper. For seeing that our sauiour

Ecce. 15.

Christ,



It maketh no matter from whome we receyue any thing, so it be godly, profitable, and consonant to the scriptures. But I pray you tell vs what Pope inuented these words, The body of our Lorde Iesus Christe. &c.

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<sup>g</sup> <sup>1, Co. 5. 11.</sup> The eleuenth. They shut men by reason of their (g) sinnes, from the Lords supper: we thrust  
them in their sinne to the Lords supper.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 102. Sect. 6. 7.

The place that you alleage out of the fift chapter of the fyrst to  
the Corinthians, whiche is this (But nowve I haue vwritten vnto you  
that you companie not together: if any that is called a brother be a forni-  
catour. &c.) dothe not particularly touche the secluding of men by  
reason of their sinnes from the Communion, but generally prohibi-  
teth true Christians to haue any familiaritie or frendship with any  
suche notorious offendour.

If you were not with malice blynded, you mighte easily vnder-  
stande, that by the order and rules of this Church of Englande, all  
notorious and knowne offendours, euen such as S. Paule heere  
speaketh of, are secluded from the Lords supper. But peraduenture  
your meaning is, that no man should be compelled to the Commu-  
nion at any time, wherein you greatly gratifie the Papistes, and  
shewe your selfe a good patrone of theirs. When you shewe any  
reason why men may not be compelled to come to the Communion:  
then you shall be answered: In the meane time you are worthy  
of your fee.

The Admo-  
nition gratify  
the Papists.

T. C. Pag. 132. Sect. vlt.

If the place of the 5. to the Corinth. do forbid that we should haue any familiaritie with noto-  
rious offendours, it doth much more forbid that they should be receyued to the Communion.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I will Answer you as M. Caluine answered the Anabaptists obiecing the same  
place of S. Paule. 1. Coz. 5. in effect to the same ende and purpose, that the Authors of  
the Admonition doe, & vsing the like collection that you doe in this place. But wheras  
(sayth he) Paule doth forbid to eate, with those that lyue dissolutely, that pertaineth to  
private conuersation, not to the publike Communion, but some will saye: if it be not  
lawfull for a Christian man to keepe company with him that is wicked for corporall meate,  
much lesse may he receyue with them the Lords bread. I answer that it is in our power,  
whether we will be familiarly conuersant with the wicked, or no, and therefore euery one  
ought to flye from them: But it is not so in our power to receyue the Communion, or not  
to receyue it, therefore the reason is not all one, we must therefore note, that if the Church  
do tolerate and suffer an vnworthy man, he shall do well, that (knowing him to be such a  
one) doth abstayne from his companie as muche as he can: so that his dooing make no  
schisme or separation in the Church. This I speake onely touching the true vnder-  
standing of that place of S. Paul to the Corinthians: and not because I would haue  
the Church to suffer any such notorious offendours to receyue the Communion.

Calu. aduersus  
Anabapt.

### Chap. 2. the 2. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 132. Sect. vlt.

And therefore Papists beinge such, as whiche are notoriously knowne to holde hereticall opi-  
nions, ought not to be admitted, muche lesse compelled to the supper. For seeing that our saviour

Ecc. 9.

Christ,



Christ did institute his supper amongst his Disciples, and those onely which were, as St. Paule speaketh within, it is evident that the Papists being without, and forerers and straungers from the Church of God, ought not to be receyued if they would offer themselves, and that minister that shall give the supper of the Lorde to him which is knowne to be a Papist, and which hath neuer made any cleare renouncing of poperie, with which he hath bene defiled, dothe prophane the table of the Lorde, and dothe give the meate that is prepared for the children, to dogges, and he bringeth into the pasture, which is provided for the sheepe, swyne and vncleane beastes, contrarie to the fayth and trust that ought to be in a stewarde of the Lordes house, as he is. For albeit that I doubt not, but many of those which are nowe papistes, pertyne to the election of God, which God also in hys good time, wyll call to the knowledge of his truthe; yet notwithstanding they ought to be vnto the minister, and vnto the Church, touching the ministring of the sacraments, as straungers, and as vncleane beastes. And as for the Papistes howsoever they receyue it, whether as their popishe breaden God, as some doe, or as common and ordinary bread, as other some doe, or as a thing they knowe not what, as some other: they doe nothing else but eate & drinke their own condemnation, the weight wherof they shall one day assuredly feele, vntill they do repent them of suche horrible prophaning of the Lordes most holy mysteries.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

When our sauour Christ dyd institute his supper, Judas was present, and partaker thereof with the rest, as it is evident in the Euangelistes: and yet was not Judas of the Church, but without the Church, and a reprobate. You allage St. Paule, but there is neyther Epistle, nor chapter, nor any other place quoted, which argues a guyltie conscience, and willing to vse vnttrue allegations, or at the least vnaypte.

I doe not allowe that Papists being notoriously knowne, and continuing in their poperie, should be admitted to receyue the Communion, neyther are they admitted therevnto in this Church. And being suche as you speake of, I thinke they woulde not come, although they were compelled.

### Chap. 2. the. 3. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 133. Lin. 16.

And if this be to gratifie the Papists, to shewe that they ought not to be compelled to receyue the supper of the Lorde, as long as they continue in their Popery, I am well contente to shewe them this pleasure, so that bothe they and you forget not what I haue before sayde, (\*) that the Magistrate ought to compell them to heare the worde of God, and if they profite not, nor with sufficient teaching correct not themselves, that then they shoulde be punished. And if you doe aske why they should be more compelled vnto sermons, than vnto the supper of the Lorde, or why they are not as wel to be admitted vnto the one as vnto the other: you see y<sup>e</sup> like done in the sacrament of baptisme, which may not be ministrd vnto all, to whome the worde may be preached.

The reason also is at hande, for the preaching of the worde of God to the Papistes, is an offer of the grace of God, which maye be made to those which are straungers from God, but the ministring of the holy sacraments vnto them is a declaration and seale of Gods fauour and reconciliation with them, and a playne preaching, partly that they be washed already from their sinnes, partly that they are of the householde of God, and suche as the Lorde wyll feede to eternall lyfe, which is not lawfull to be done to those, which are not of the householde of fayth. And therefore I conclude, that the compelling of Papistes vnto the Communion, and the dismissing and letting of them goe, when as they be to be punished, for their stubboznesse in Poperie (with this condition if they wyll receyue the Communion) is very vnlawfull, when as although they woulde receyue it, yet they ought to be kepte backe, vntill suche tyme as by their religious and godly behauiour, they haue purged themselves of that suspicion of Poperie, which their former life and conuersation hath caused to be conceyued.

### Io. Whitgiste.

This is directly contrarie to that which you before affirmed, page. 118. For there you saye, that those which are not meete to receyue the holy sacrament of the Supper, are not meete to heare the worde of God: if they be meete for the one, they be meete for the other, and that with what lawfulness they may offer themselves to the prayers, and to the hearing of the worde of God, they may also offer themselves to the Lordes supper, and to whome so euer of them the Lorde will communicate him selfe by preaching the worde, vnto the same he will not refuse to communicate him selfe by receyuing of the Sacraments. These be your wordes there, and nowe you

(\*) You sayd before, that if they be not meete to receyue the communion, neyther are they meete to heare the worde Pag. 118. Sect. 1.



Shutting  
from the  
Communion.

you sing another song, going about to proue, that the Magistrate may and oughte to compell those to the hearing of the worde, who are not meete to be receyued to the Lordes supper. Surely this is great inconstancie, but I agree with you in this place, and I haue before declared the vntuthe of your assertion in the other place. This onely I muste let you vnderstande, that when I speake of compelling eyther Papistes or other to the communion, I doe not meane that they persisting in their wyckednesse and errors, should be constrained to come to the Lordes supper, but that all ordinarie meanes of perswasion being vsed, if they styll continue in their stubbornesse, and refuse to communicate with vs, suche discipline shoulde be vsed towardes them, as is conuenient for their wilfulnesse and contempt of the truthe.

Your selfe before, pag. 117. sayde, that suche as wythdrew them selues from the Communion, shoulde bothe by ecclesiasticall discipline, and ciuil punishment be brought to communicate wyth their brethren, the same doe I affirme also. But the Authours of the Admonition saye, that this is to byrue men in their synnes to the Lordes supper, and therefore page. 109. they woulde neyther haue Papistes nor other constrained to communicate in the mysteries of saluation: meaning (as I thinke) that they woulde haue no correction nor discipline (for that is to compell) vsed agaynst suche as refuse to communicate. I thinke in dede the especiall quarell is their owne, because they haue separated them selues from the Church, and woulde not be constrained to communicate with vs, but they make their doctrine generall, therby to cloke their intent. Wherefore whether they do it to gratifie the Papists, or no, it may be doubted, but certayne it is that the Papists could not haue had better Discourses.

When persisting in wickednesse and errors are not to be compelled.

The Replier agreeth not with the Admonition.

The Admonition woulde haue none compelled to communicate.

## Chap. 2. the. 4. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 133 Lin. 37.

As for the fee that M. Doctor saythe wee be worthy of (for shewing our selues (as he sayth) so good patrons of the Papistes) he hath giuen vs well to vnderstande, what it shoulde be if he were the paymaster: but as we serue the Lorde in this worke, so we looke for rewarde at his hande, not fearing but that the Lorde will in the ende giue suche blessing vnto our labours, as we shall not neede greatly to feare at the handes of those whiche God hath placed in authoritie, the rewarde which you do so often call for.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

Surely that see you should looke for at my hands, that it behoneth a Christiā man to giue vnto suche as continue in disturbing the Church: and yet peraduenture shoulde it not be by the twentie parte so sharpe, as the see that you woulde bestowe vpon me, if it were in your power. Howbeit, I commit my selfe to him, by whom hitherto I haue bene protected (notwithstanding all the deuises, and practises of slanderous tongues, and hatefull countenances) and I nothing doubt but that in the ende God will turne all to his glory, and profite of the Church.

## ¶ Of playne and simple ministring and receyuing of the Communion. Chap. 3.

### Admonition.

The twelfth. They ministred the Sacraments playnely, we pompeously, with singing, prying, surplesse, and cope wearing.

The thirteenth. They simply as they (h) receyued it from the Lorde: We, sinfully mixed with mans inuentions and deuises.

Ecc. iij.

Answer



Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 103. Sect. 2. 3.

& Pag. 104. Sect. 1.

Singing vsed  
in al reformed  
Churches.

This is a very slender reason to proue that the sacrament of the Supper is not sincerely ministred, bicause there is singing, pypping, surplesse and Cope: when you shewe your reasons agaynst that pompe, whiche is nowe vsed in the celebration of that Sacrament, you shall heare what I haue to saye in defense of the same. I thinke that there is nothing vsed in the administration thereof, that dothe in any respecte contaminate it, or make it impure. As for pypping, it is not prescribed to be vsed at the Communion by any rule, that I knowe. Synging I am sure you doe not disallowe, beeing vsed in all reformed Churches, and an arte allowed in Scriptures, and vsed in prayling of God by Dauid. Of Surplesse and Cope I haue spoken before, & wyl speake moze hereafter as occasion is ministred.

Caluine.

Decent ord-  
ers be Gods  
traditions.

There is no suche inuentions or deuises of man mixed wyth the Supper of the Lorde as can make it sinfull, beeing all perteruying to edifying, and to good & decent order, and nothing there appoynted to be done contrarie or not agreable to the Scriptures. Caluine him selfe sayth in his Institutions, Lib. 4. Cap. 10. That those thynges vvhiche be partes of decencie, commended vnto vs by the Apostle, though they be prescribed by man, yet are they Gods traditions, and not mans, as kneeling at solemne prayer, and suche like. The Supper it selfe in all poynts of any moment is ministred nowe in this Church of Eng- lande, euen as Christ deliuered it, as the Apostles vsed, and as the Primitive Church continued the same.

These be all the reasons you vse to proue that the Sacrament of the Supper is not rightly and sincerely ministred, wherof some be impious, some ridiculous, and all of them vnworthy any con- futation.

T. C. Pag. 133. Sect. 1. 2.

Unto that whiche is conteyned in the two next sections in the. 103. and a peece of the. 104. pages, I haue answered before, partly particularly, & partly when I noted the general faults of the Service booke, especially seeing that M. Doctor wyl not defende the pypping and Organes, nor no other synging than is vsed in the reformed Churches, which is, in the synging of two Psalmes, one in the beginning, and an other in the ending, in a playne tune, easy both to be song of those whych haue no arte in synging, and vnderstanded of those, whych bicause they can not reade, can not sing wyth the rest of the Church.

For that whiche is in the. 105. page, and concerneth the surplesse, I haue answered before.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The sacra-  
ments purely  
ministred.

Oecolamp. in  
Epist. apud  
Castium. li. 2.  
de erro. Cata-  
baptist.

To the molte of it you haue not answered any where, and the substance of it you haue left vntouched, that is, whether these things be of that weight, or no, that in any respect they can contaminate the sacramentes, or make them impure, as they be nowe vsed. Neyther haue you proued, or can proue that the sacraments are not ministred in this Church of Englande in all poyntes of any moment, euen as Christ deliuered them, the Apostles vsed them, & the primitive Church continued them. Touching synging, pypping (as you cal it) surplesse & cope wearing, I answered wyth Oecolampadius, These things be free vnto Christians, whiche holy or godly Bishops may eyther adde, if it seeme vnto them conuenient, and profitable for the people, or take away if there be any abuse, as the time requireth: euen as they may also doe in other



in other ceremonies. VVe haue made no contention for externall things: those things that be indifferent are not repugnant to the worde of God.

I haue hearde no reasons as yet to improve the manner of singing vsed in this Church of England, neyther do I say that I allow no other singing than is vsed in other reformed Churches. For I woulde not haue any Church to arrogate that perfection vnto it selfe, that it should thinke all other Churches to be bounde vnto it: it was the originall cause of the pryde of the Church of Rome. I haue onely sayde that other reformed Churches allow singing, which is true.

The originall cause of the pryde of the Romishe church.

## ¶ Of matters touching Baptisme. Tract. 16.

Of Interrogatories ministred to infants.

### Chap. 1. the. 1. Diuision.

Admonition.

1  
Act. 8. 35.  
36. 37.  
Act. 10. 47.  
And as for baptisme, it was inough with them, if they (i) had water, and the partie to be baptised, sayth, and the Minister to preach the worde and minister the Sacramentes. Nowe, we must haue Surplesse deuised by Pope Adrian, Interrogatories ministred to the Infant, God-fathers and Godmothers, brought in by Higinus, holy fontes inuented by Pope Pius, crossing and such like peeces of Poperie, which the Church of God in the Apostles tyme neuer knew (and therefore not to be vsed) nay (which we are sure of) were and are mans deuises brought in long after the puritie of the primitive Church.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 105. Sect. vlt. &c.

Interrogatories to be ministred to the infant, be not straunge, neyther lately inuented, but of great antiquitie. For Dionysius Areopagita in his booke entituled De caelest. Hierar. and seuenth chapter, speaking of the baptising of infantes, and of their sureties or godfathers, and answering to certayne prophane deriders (as he termeth them) which sayde that one was baptised for an other, bycause the Godfather did promise and answere for the childe, speaketh thus in the name of the Godfather. *Neque enim hoc ille ait, Ego pro puero abrenunciationes facio, aut fidei Sacramenta profiteor, sed ita puer renunciat & proficitur, id est, spondeo puerum inducturum, cum ad sacram intelligentiam venerit, sedulis adhortationibus meis, ut abrenuntiet contrarijs omnino, profiteaturq; & peragat diuina quae pollicetur.* Neyther doth he say this, I renounce for the childe, or professe the Sacraments of faith, but in this sort the childe doth renounce or professe, that is to say, I promise so to instruct the childe, vwhen he commeth to the yeares of discretion, vwith dayly exhortacions, that he shall renounce all contrary thinges, and professe and performe those heauenly thinges, vvhich he doth promise.

Interrogatories ministred to infantes. Dionysius Areopag.

T. C. Pag. 133. Sect. vlt. & Pag. 134. Sect. 1.

There followeth the interrogatories or demaunders ministred vnto the infantes in baptisme, for the prooofe whereof is brought, in the first place Dionysius Areopagita, a worthy couer for such a cup. For to let passe that M. Doctor alleageth the celestiall Hierarchie in steade that he should haue cited the ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, this testimonie beeing found in the one and in the other, dare M. Doctor be so bolde as to delude the worlde in so great light, with such bables as this: doth he thinke that the Authour of these bookes of Hierarchies, beeing so full of subtile speculations, bayne and idle fantasies, wicked blasphemies, making one order of Popes, an other of Prelates, the third of Sacrifices, and then of Monkes, (some of which orders came not many hundred yeares after that time wherein Denise the Areopagite liued) which mentioneth many foolish ceremonies and corruptions, (that no other Authour neyther Greeke nor Latine stories, nor other diuers hundred yeares after doth make mention of besides him) I say doth he thinke to abuse menne, and to giue them such dross in steade of Silver, such chaffe in steade of corne, as to make vs beleue, that he that wrote these bookes of Hierarchie, was S. Paulus scholler: for the better blasing of this Denise armes, I will sende the reader vnto that which Erasmus writeth of this Denise of M.

Ece. iij.

Doctors.



Doctors, upon the 17. of the Actes of the Apostles, where he also sheweth together with his owne iudgement, the iudgement of Laurentius Valla. I am not ignorant what Nicephorus a fabulous Historiographer and of no credite in such matters (in those matters especially which might like or mislike those times wherein he wrote) sayeth of S. Paulus communicating with Denis, and an other concerning the heavenly and ecclesiasticall hierarchie. But because I thinke M. Doctor be now ashamed of his Denis, I will follow it no further. 2. Lib. 20. cap.

By this it may appeare that M. Doctors Dionysius, being a counterfet and start vp, these Interrogatories and demaundes ministred vnto infantes haue not so many grape heares, as he would make vs beleue, although in deede the question lieth not in the antiquitie. As for reasons he hath none, but only as one which hath learned his equiollences very euill, he maketh it all one to say (I renounce) and to say (I will teach an other to renounce.)

### Io. Whitgiste.

Defense of  
the Apolog.  
Parte. 5.

I knowe there is contrary opinions of learned men touching the authoritie, and Authour of these booke. And yet it cannot be denied, but that they be very ancient, neyther is it any shame for me to alleage his authoritie, seeing the B. of Sarisburie is not ashamed to alleage the same booke against Harding, to proue reading of the Scriptures in the Church, with as great credite as I do. Howbeit, I wil not take vpon me the defense of them, neyther do I doubt, but that something may be thrust in vnto them, but of all other things this is the least to be suspected, that I haue in this place alleaged. Neyther am I any more ashamed of him, than you are of so often alleaging the Canons of the Apostles, Hyginus, &c. the which authorities are as much doubted of as the booke of Dionysius. His reason is to be considered, agreeing fully with the true meaning of this Church of Englande, but you wipe it away with a floute, as your manner is, when you are driuen to a pinche.

### Chap. 1. the. 2. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 106. Sect. 1.

& Pag. 107. Sect. 1.

Augustine.

An obiection  
made by Au-  
gustine.  
The Answer  
to the same.

Augustine also in his Epistle written ad Bonifacium, answering this Question, why, seeing we dare promise nothing of the infantes behauiour and manners when he cometh to mans state, yet when he is brought to baptisme, and the question is asked of those that offer him to be baptised, whether the infant beleue or no, they answered that he doth beleue, sayth on this sorte: *Nisi sacramenta quondam haberent similitudinem, &c.* Except Sacramentes had a certayne similitude, and likenesse of those things vwhereof they be Sacramentes, they vvere no Sacramentes at all, and by reason of this same similitude oftentimes they are called by the names of the thinges themselues, therefore as after a certayne manner of speaking, the Sacrament of the body of Christe is the body of Christe, the Sacrament of the blood of Christe is the blood of Christe, so the Sacrament of the fayth is fayth, neyther is it any thing els to beleue, than to haue fayth: and therefore vwhen answer is made, that the infant dothe beleue, not hauing as yet fayth in deede, it is answered that he doth beleue for the Sacrament of fayth, and that he doth conuert himselfe vnto God for the Sacrament of conuersion, because the answer it selfe doth pertain to the celebration of the Sacrament. And a litle after he sayeth: *Itaque parvulum, etsi nondum fides illa qua in credentium voluntate consistit, iam tamen ipsius fidei Sacramentum, fidelem facit. Nam sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur, non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei Sacramentum percipiendo.* Therefore although that faith vvhich consisteth



consisteth in the vwill of the beleeuers, dothe not make the chylde faythfull, yet dothe the Sacrament of that fayth make him faithfull: for euen as it is answered that he dothe beleue, so is he also called faithfull, not by signifying the thing it selfe in his minde, but by receyuing the Sacrament of the thing.

By these two authorities it is manifest that Interrogatories were ministred to infantes, at the time of their Baptisme, and that they had sureties, which we call godfathers, that answered for them and in their name.

T. C. Pag. 134. Sect. 1.

As for S. Augustines place (although I can (\*) not allow his reason that he maketh, nor the proportion that is betwene the sacrament of the body and bloude of our Saviour Christe, and his body and bloude it selfe of one side, and betwene the sacrament of Baptisme and fayth of the other side: saying that as the sacrament of the body of Christe, after a sorte is the body: so the baptism of the sacrament of fayth, is after a sorte fayth, (2) whereas he should haue sayd, that as the supper beynge the sacrament of the body of Christe, is after a sorte the body of Christe, so baptism beynge a sacrament of the bloude of Christe, is after a sorte the bloud of Christe. For fayth is not the subject of Baptisme, as the body and bloude of Christ is the matter of the supper.) Yet I say that S. Augustine hath no one worde to approue this abuse of answering in the childe's name, and in his person, but goeth about to establishe, an other abuse, which was, that it was lawfull for those that presented the chylde, to say, that it beleued, so that it is lyke, that the minister did aske those whiche presented the infant, whether they thought that it was faythfull, and did beleue, and those whiche presented it, sayde it was so: whereupon this question rose, whether it was lawfull to say, that the chylde beleued.

(\*) As though S. Augustines reason did rest vpon your allowing. (2) T. C. teacheth S. Augustine to speake.

Jo. Whitgiste.

I neuer hearde that any learned man as yet misliked this place of Augustine, but I knowe they haue vsed it as a mosse manifest testimonie, agaynst Transubstantiation, and the Reall presence, and as a true declaration wherefore the sacramentall breade and wyne be called the body and bloude of Christe, beynge, but the sacramentes of the bodie and bloude of Christe. And nowe you with vnwashed handes not vnderstanding the place, presume to giue a blinde and vnlearned censure, vpon so woorthie and learned a Father, euen there where he speaketh mosse soundly and learnedly: But howe should your arrogancie else appeare? The supper is a sacrament bothe of the body and bloud of Christe, the breade of the body and the wyne of the bloude, as S. Augustine there sayeth: and Baptisme is truly called by him the Sacrament of fayth, because it is *Signaculum iustitie fidei*, as Circumcision the figure of Baptisme was, accordyng to the worde of the Apostle *ad Rom. 4.* and therefore in reproving S. Augustine, for calling it the Sacrament of fayth, you seeme to be ignorant of this place of the Apostle. To this saying of Augustine, doth that of Tertullian in his booke *De Penitentia* very well agree, where he speakyng of Baptisme sayeth, *Lauacrum illud obsignatio est Fidei*, That washyng is the sealyng of faythe. And Chrysostome *opere imp. Homil. 5. in Matth.* sayeth also that Baptisme is the seale of fayth, neyther did ever any man befoze you mislike this kinde and phrase of speache, that baptism is the sacrament of fayth.

Baptisme the sacrament of fayth.

Rom. 4.

Tertull.

Chrysost.

S. Augustines wordes be euident, that there were questions in Baptisme moaned in the name of the infant, whiche coulde not be, vnlesse there were also answering to the same.

Chap.



Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.

Admonition.

Thydeley, they prophane holy Baptisme, in toying foolishly, for that they aske questions of an infante, whiche can not answere, and speake vnto them, as was wonte to be spoken vnto men, and vnto such as beyng conuerted, answered for themselves, and were Baptised. Whiche is but a mockerie (1) of God, and therefore agaynst the holy Scriptures.

I  
Gal. 6. 7.

Ansvver to the Admonition. Pag. 192. Sect. 1. 2.

Augustine alloweth questions to the infant.

To the thirde superstitious toy (as you call it) that is, the questions demaunded of the Infant, at the tyme of Baptisme, I haue also answered out of S. Augustine, in the firste parte: where it may also appeare, that this manner of questionyng was vbled in the Baptising of Infantes long before Augustines tyme, for Dionysius Areopagita maketh mention of them in like manner.

To proue that this questioning with the infant is a mocking of God, you quote Galat. 6. ver. 7. Be not deceyued, God is not mocked, for vvhatsoeuer a man soweth that shall he reape. Paule in this place taketh away excuses, which worldlinges vse to make for not nourishing theyr pastours, for no feyned excuse will serue bycause God is not mocked: But what is this to the questioning with infantes? howe followeth this? God is not mocked, Ergo, he that questioneth with Infantes mocketh God. Cruelly you mocke God when you so dally with his Scriptures, and seeke rather the glorie of quoting of many places of Scripture, than the true applying of any one.

T. C. Pag. 134. Sect. 2.

In the. 191. and. 192. pages he speaketh of this agayne, but he dothe nothing else, but reape, in bothe places that whiche is here, onely he sayeth that it is a mockyng of God to vse the place of the Galatians, (God is not mocked) agaynst this abuse, and his reason is, bycause S. Paule speaketh there agaynst those, that by feyned excuses seeke to defraude the Pastor of his living, as who shoulde saye S. Paule did not conclude that particular conclusion, thou shalt not by frivolous excuses defraude the minister, with this generall saying (God is not mocked) for his reason is, God is not mocked at all or in any matter, therefore he is not mocked in this, or as who shoulde say, bycause our Saviour Chylte saying that it is not lawfull to separate that whiche God hath ioyned speaking of diuorce, it is not lawfull to vse this sentence, beyng a generall rule, in other thinges, when as we knowe it is as well and properly vbled agaynst the Papistes, which seuer the cup from the breade, as agaynst the Jewes, which put away their wiues for euery small and triflyng cause.

Io. Whitgifte.

In dede it is a very mocking of God thus to abuse the Scriptures, for the Authors of the Admonition alleage this text to proue, that to question with Infantes is to mocke God, when there is not one worde in that place spoken of questioning with infantes, and therefore this terte is alleaged without purpose, except you will say that it is quoted onely for the Abuse and manner of speakyng. It is true that God is not mocked, but this proueth not that questioning in Baptisme is to mocke God, and therefore vayneely it is applied. Those which seuer the cuppe from the bread, in the Lordes Supper do separate that which God hath coupled, and therefore that terte may well be alleaged agaynst them, but suche as question in Baptisme, in the name of those that are to be baptised do not mocke God, and therefore that terte is in the Admonition altogither abused.

Chap.



## Chap. 1. the. 4. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 134. Sect. vlt.

And as for this questioning it can be little better termed, than a very tripping and toying, for first of all children haue not nor cannot haue any sayth, hauing no vnderstanding of the worde of God. I will not denie but children haue the spirite of God, whiche worketh in them after a wonderfull fashon. But I denie that they can haue sayth whiche cometh by hearing, and vnderstanding, which is not in them.

Secondarily, if children coulde haue sayth, yet they that present the childe, can not precisely tell whether that particular childe hath faith or no, and therefore can not so absolutely answer that it beleueth: Because it is comprehended in the covenant, and is the childe of faithfull parentes, or at least of one of the Parentes, there is warrant vnto the presenters to offer it vnto Baptisme, and to the minister for to baptise it. And further we haue to thinke charitably and to hope, that it is one of the Church. But it can be no more precisely sayde, that it hath sayth, than it may be sayde precisely elected. (\*) (for in deepe it is all one to say, that it is elect, and to say that it beleueth) and thus I thinke the Authours of the Admonition do meane, when they say, that they require a promise of the godfathers, which is not in them to performe.

(\*) An vntrute

## Jo. Whitgiste.

I haue tolde you before out of Dionysius and Augustine, in what sense the answer is made in the name of the infant, and therefore this is no reason: for though the infant haue not sayth that cometh by hearing and vnderstanding the worde of God, yet may the Godfathers promise, that they will endenour so much as lieth in them, that the infant may be instructed in that faith, that they haue professed in his name. Likewise as Augustine sayth, It may be sayde to beleue, *propter Sacramentum fidei*, For the Sacrament of sayth.

Your seconde reason is all one with the former reason, and therefore one answer would serue them bothe: sauing that you here adde a manifeste vntrute, for it is not all one to saye, that it is elect, and to say it beleueth: for the Scripture Act. 8. sayth that Simon Magus beleued, yet was he not elected.

Not al one to say it beleueth, and it is elected. Act. 8.

## Chap. 1. the. 5. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 135. Lin. 7.

Thirdly, if both those thinges were true, that is that Infantes had sayth, and that it might be precisely sayde that it beleueth, yet ought not the minister demaunde this of the childe, whome he knoweth cannot answer him, nor those that answer for the childe, ought to demaunde to be baptised, when they neither meane, nor may be, (beyng already baptised,) but it is meete, that all thinges shoulde be done grauely, simply and playnely in the Church. And so (if those other two thinges were lawfull) it ought to be done, as seemeth to haue bene done in S. Augustines tymes, when the minister asked those that presented the infante, and not the infant, whether it were faithfull, and those which presented answered in their owne persons, and not in the childes, that it was saythfull.

## Io. Whitgiste.

These be mere canilles and vnwoorthie the name of reasons. Those that shall reade the booke of Common prayer touching that matter, may easily perceiue that this reason might well haue bene blotted out of your booke. For the minister speaking to those that answer for the childe sayeth thus: Wherefore after this promise made by Christe, these infantes muste also saythfully for their parte, promise by you that be their sureties, that they will forsake the Deuill and al his workes, and constantly beleue Gods holy worde, and obediently keepe his commaundementes: whereby you may vnder-



understande, what is ment bothe by those questions, and answeres. But what will not malice quarrell with? and what is there so good and profitable, that may not be (by contentious persones) drawne into question: the question is asked in the name of the childe, the Godfathers answer in their owne persons, signifying thereby that they will labour and endenour so much as in them lieth, to bring that to passe in the childe, which they haue promised for it, and in the name of it.

And why is it not as lawfull for suche questions to be asked in the name of the childe, as it is for the childe to make a rehearfall of his sayth, and to desire to be baptised in the same, by the mouth of the Parent, or some other in the Parentes name, as the Admonition affirmeth fol. 109. in these wordes: That the parties to be Baptised, if they be of the yeares of discretion, by themselves and in theyr owne persons, or if they be Infantes by their parentes, (in whose roome if upon necessary occasion they be absent, some one of the congregation knowing the good behaviour and sounde sayth of the Parentes) may both make rehearfall of theyr faith, and also if theyr sayth be sounde, and agreeable to the holy Scriptures, desire to be in the same Baptised. Is it not as muche for the infant to professe his sayth (which you say he hath not) by his Parentes and by him also, to desire to be Baptised, as it is for the Godfather to answer interrogatories ministred unto him, in the name of the Childe?

## ¶ Of Godfathers and their promise.

### Chap. 2. the. 1. Division.

#### Admonition.

Secondly, they require a promise of the Godfathers and Godmothers, (as they terme them) which is not in (k) their powers to perfourme. We say nothing of those that are admitted to be witnesses, what ill choyce there is made of them.

k  
Rom. 7. 15.  
18. 21.  
Rom. 9. 16.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 191. Sect. 1. 2.

The promise of the Godfathers restrayned to theyr power.

The seconde thing you mislike is, that wee requyre a promise of the Godfathers, and Godmothers, which is not in theyr powers to perfourme: to this cavillation I haue answered before, and haue declared bothe out of Dionysius Areopagita, and August. why they answered so in the Infantes name, and why they make that promise, which I thinke they perfourme sufficiently, if they pretermitt nothing that lieth in them to the perfourmance thereof: and so sayeth Dionysius, for such promises are not made absolutely, but *Quantum in nobis est*. So much as lieth in vs.

Infirmities be in all men.

To proue that it is not in the Godfathers to perfourme that which they promise, you quote the saying of S. Paule to the Rom. cap. 7. vers. 15. I allow not that which I do, for what I woulde that I do not, but what I hate, that I do. And vers. 18. For I knowe that in me, that is, in my fleshe, dwelleth no good thing, for to vill is present with me, but I finde no meanes. &c. And vers. 21. I finde then by the lawe, that when I woulde do good, euill is present with me. In all these places the Apostle declareth, that infirmities remaine even in the saythfull by reason of the fleshe, and that they can not come to suche perfection



perfection in this lyfe, as they doe desyre. But howe doe these places proue, that Godfathers are not able to perfourme that which they promise for the infant? Truly these proofes are to farre fetched for my vnderstanding. In the ninth to the Romaines, the Apostle sayth, That it is not in him that vvilleth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercie. In the which wordes he sheweth, that the cause of our election is not in our selues, but in the mercie of God. But what is this to the promise of Godfathers made at the baptising of Infantes? If you woulde haue a man to promise nothing but that which is in his power to perfourme, then must you simplie condemne all promises made by man, for there is nothing in his power to perfourme, no not mouing of his foote, not comming to dinner or supper. &c. Therefore as all other promises be made with these secrete conditions, if God will, so muche as lyeth in mee, to the vttermoste of my power, if I lyue. &c. So is the promise in baptisme made, by the Godfathers likewise.

Conditionall  
promises.

### Io. Whitgifte.

There is nothing answered to this.

### Chap. 2. the. 2. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 107. Sect. 2.  
and Pag. 193. Sect. 1.

It is also manifest by these authorities, that Godfathers or sureties were required at the baptising of Infantes: which Tertullian also signifyeth in his booke de Baptismo. But you your selfe confesse Godfathers to be of great antiquitie in the Church of Christ, for you say that Higinus brought them in, and Higinus was the ninth Bishop of Rome, and liued. Anno. 141.

Of Godfa-  
thers.

Touching the last, which you Rhetorically say, you will speake nothing of, that is, the euill choyse of witnesses, I thinke in part it is true, but you speake that without the booke, and therefore without my compassse of defense: For I meane not to take vpon me the defense of any abuse within the booke (if there be any) muche lesse without the booke.

T. C. Pag. 135. Sect. 1.

For Godfathers there is no controuersie betweene the Admonition, and master Doctors booke, which appeareth not onely in their corrections, but plainly in the. 188. page, where they declare that they rather condemne the abuse, whilst it is dyed more than greater matters, and which are in deepe necessitie, this being a thing arbitrarie, and left to the discretion of the Church, and whilst there is so euill choyse for the most part of Godfathers, which is expessedly mentioned of the Admonition, and whilst it is vled almost for nothing else but as a meane for one friende to gratifie an other, without hauing any regarde to the solemne promise made before God and the congregation, of seeing the childe brought vp in the nurture and feare of the Lord. For the thing it selfe, considering that it is so generally receyued of all the Churches, they doe not mislike of it.

Godfathers al-  
lowed by T.C.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

Peraduenture they are better aduised nowe than they were when they wrote  
the



Godfathers  
allowed though  
brought in by  
Pope Higinus.

The Replyer  
unconflant.  
Pag. 18. Sect. 7

the Admonition. But it is good for the Reader to note that you make Godfathers a thing arbitrarie, and left to the discretion of the Church: and yet was it invented (as the Authours of the Admonition say) by Pope Higinus. So that some thing be like of the Popes inventions may remaine in the Church, though the same be not expessed in the word of God. Indeede this is the libertie that you challenge, to allowe what you list, and disallowe at your pleasure: all is perfect that you confirme of to whomsoever it was borrowed. And why may not I say the same for interrogatories ministered to the Infant: You adde this reason in the ende (Considering it is so generally receyued of all Churches) and yet page. 18. you disallowe Saint Augustines rule tending to the same effect, so that you may say and unsay at your pleasure, and no man say unto you, blacke is your eye: or *Domine cur ita facis?*

## Of Fontes, and crossing in Baptisme.

### Chap. 3. the. 1. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 107. Sect. vii.

Of fontes.  
The Apostles  
baptised not in  
Basons.

You may as well finde fault with Pulpit and Church, as with the Fontes, and the reason is all one. In the tyme of the Apostles they did not baptise in Basons, as you doe now, but in Riuers and other common waters, neyther was there in the Apostles time any Churches for Christians, or Pulpits to preache in, and therefore you had best to plucke downe Churches, and Pulpits, and to baptise in common riuers and waters.

T. C. Pag. 135. Sect. 2.

As for Fontes I haue spoken of before, both particularly, and in generall. But whereas the Doctor sayth, in the Apostles tymes they baptised in no Basons but in riuers, and common waters, I would know whether there was a riuer or common water in Cornelius, and in the Tapers houses, where Paule and Peter baptised.

### To Whitgiste.

The replyer  
put to the  
prose of his  
ceremonies.

And I would also gladly learne, howe you can proue that they did baptise in Basons there: I doe not say that they alwayes baptised in Riuers and common waters, but that they did so and that most commonly, which no man can denie. But I require one sillable in Scripture to proue that they did baptise in Basons, not that I disallowe it if tyme and place doe require, but because I would haue you to perforce, that in your Ceremonies, which you require in ours, that is, to proue them directly by the word of God.

### Chap. 3. the. 2. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 108. Sect. 1.

Of crossing in  
baptisme.  
Bucer.

Touching crossing in baptisme, I will onely recite vnto you the opinion of M. Bucer, which is this. *Signum hoc non tam quod est vsus in Ecclesijs antiquissimi, quam quod est admodum simplex, et presentis admonitionis crucis Christi, adhiberi, nec indecent, nec inutile existimo: si adhibeatur modo pure intellectum, et religiose excipiat, nulla nec superstitione adiuncta, nec elementis seruitute, nec lenitate, aut vulgari consuetudine.* I thinke it neyther vncomely nor vnprofitable to vse the signe of the Crosse, not onely because the vse therof is very auncient, but also because it hath



it hath an expresse signification of the passion of Christ : so that it be purely vnderstoode and religiously receyued without any superstition or seruitude of the element, or leuitie, or common custome.

T. C. Pag. 135. Sect. 3.

To proue crossing in Baptisme, M. Bucers authoritie is brought. I haue sayde before what iniurie it is to leaue the publike woordes of Bucer, and to stie vnto the Ipochrappas, where in also they might haue vs to vse the like, and to set downe likewise his woordes whiche we finde in his priuate letters. But it is first of all to be obserued of the reader, howe and with what name those notes are called, which are cyted of M. Doctor for the defense of these corruptions : they are called by M. Doctors owne confession (Censures) which worde signifieth and implieth, as much as corrections and controlments of the booke of seruite, and therefore we may take this for a generall rule throughout the whole booke of Seruite, that in whatsoeuer things in controuersie M. Doctor doth not bring Bucers authoritie, to confirme them that those things Bucer mulked of, as for example in priuate Baptisme, and Communions ministered in houses, for interrogatories ministered to Infants, and such lyke, for so much as they are not confirmed here by M. Bucers iudgement it may be thought that he mulked of them, and no doubt, if epyther M. Bucers notes had not either condemned or mulked of diuerse things in the Seruite booke, we shoulde haue had the notes printed and set forth to the full. This I thought in a worde to admonish the reader of.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

To your first cauill, I haue answered before, where you made the same. To your seconde of master Bucers Censures (though the booke be not so intituled) the answer is short and plaine, it was his iudgement vpon the first Communion booke, in the time of king Edward wherein he misliked some things : but alloweth both priuate Baptisme, and the Communion ministered to the sicke, as I before declared, and you might haue remembred, if your memoire had not fayled you.

M. Bucers Censures vpon the first booke in king Edwardes time.

*Chap. 3. the. 3. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 135. Sect. 4.

Vnto M. Bucers authoritie I could here oppose men of as great authoritie, yea the authoritie of all the reformed Churches, which shal also be done afterwarde. And if there were nothing to oppose but the worde of God, which will haue the Sacraments ministered simple, and in that sinceritie that they be left vnto vs, it is enough to make all men to couer their faces, and to be ashamed, if that which they shall speake be not agreeable to that simplicitie.

The reasons which M. Bucer bringeth I will answer, which in this matter of crossing are two : first that it is auncient, and so it is in dede : For Tertullian maketh mention of this vsage. And if this be sufficient to proue the goodnesse of it, then there is no cause, why we shoulde mulke of the other superstitions and corruptions which were likewise vsed in those tymes. For the same Tertullian sheweth that they vsed also at baptisme to taste of milke, and honie, and not to washe all the weeke after they had ministered baptisme.

Li. de resur-  
rect. carnis.  
Li. de coro-  
na militis.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

These be but woordes without proue, Crossing in that maner and forme, that we vse it, verie well agreeth with the simplicitie of the worde of God. If it doe not so, shewe any worde agaynst it.

Your answer to that reason is very base, for it is not onely auncient, but it hath continued, and bene generally receyued : which you allowed before as a sufficient reason for Godfathers. As for milke and honie, the vse of them was neyther continued long, nor yet generall : and therefore the reason of them, and of the other is not lyke.

¶ ff. 9.

Chap.



The defense of the answer  
*Chap. 3. the. 4. Division.*

T. C. Pag. 135 Sect. vlt.

But here I will note the cause, whereupon I suppose, this vse of crossing came vp in the Primitive Church, whereby shall appeare, howe there is no cause nowe why it should be receyued, if there were any why it should be vsed in the Primitive Church. It is knowne to all that haue read the Ecclesiasticall stories, that the Heathen did object to the Christians in tymes past in reproche, that the God which they beleued of was hanged vpon a Crosse. And they thought good to testifie that they were not ashamed therfore of the same God, by the often vying of the signe of the Crosse, which carefullnesse and good mynde to keepe amongst them an open profession of Christ crucified, although it be to be commended: yet is not this meanes so: for they might otherwise haue kept it, and with lesse daunger, than by this vse of crossing, and if they thought the vse of the Crosse to be the best meanes, yet they shoulde not haue bene so bolde, as to haue brought it into the holy Sacrament of Baptisme, and so mingle the ceremonies and inuentions of men, with the Sacramentes and institution of God. And as it was brought in vpon no good ground, so the Lord left a marke of his curse of it, and whereby it might be perceyued to come out of the forge of mans brayne, in that it beganne forthwith, while it was yet in the swadling cloutes to be superstitiously abused. For it appeareth by Certullian also in the same booke de Corona militis, that the Christians had such a superstition in it, that they woulde doe nothing, nor take nothing in hande, vntill they had crossed them, when they went out, when they came in, when they sat or lay downe, and when they rose, and as Superstition is alwayes strengthened, and spreadeth it selfe with the time, so it came from crossing of men vnto crossing of euery thing that they vsed. Whereupon Chrysostome commendeth the crossing of the Cuppe before a man drinke, and of the meate before it was eaten. But if it were graunted that vpon this consideration which I haue before mencioned, the auncient Christians did well, yet it followeth not, that wee shoulde so doe: for we liue not amongst those Nations whiche doe cast vs in the teeth or reproche vs with the Crosse of Christ. If we liued amongst the Turkes it were an other matter, and then there might peradventure some question be, whether we shoulde doe as they did, and haue the same soze, vnto the same playster. But nowe we liue among the Papistes, that doe not contemne the crosse of Christ, but which esteeme more of the wooden crosse, than of the true crosse of Christ, (which is his sufferings,) we ought nowe to doe cleane contrarie to the olde Christians, and abolishe all vse of these crosses; for contrarie diseases, must haue contrarie remedies: if therfore the olde Christians to deliuer the crosse of Christ from contempt, did often vse the crosse, the Christians nowe to take away the superstitious estimation of it, ought to take away the vse of it.

Vpon the  
1. Tim. 4.  
cap.*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I thinke your supposition in parte to be true: I am also perswaded that the originall cause of vsing this signe was lawfull and good, and yet the thing it selfe afterwarde abused, and the cause of vsing is cleane altered, and wholly conuerted to superstition: but the abuse being taken away, I see no cause why it may not be vsed in Baptisme, in that manner and soyme, as it is in this Church of Englande, that is, In token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confesse the fayth of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight vnder his banner, agaynst sinne, the worlde, and the deuill, and to continue Christes faythfull Souldiour and seruant vnto his lyues ende. And though there be no Turkes among vs or Iewes, yet is it lawfull to vse suche Christian ceremonies to put vs in minde of our dutie. And notwithstanding the same might be done by other meanes, yet it hath pleased the Church to thinke this meanes also conuenient, and therfore hath vsed hir libertie therein. As for Papistes, we are farre enough off from them, for they pictured the signe of the crosse and did worshippinge it, so doe not we: they vsed it to drive away spirites and diuels, so doe not we: they attributed power and vertue vnto it, so doe not we: they had it in theyr Churches, so haue not we: they vsed it dayly and nightly for religion sake, we onely in Baptisme for a signe and token, as I haue sayde before: so that their abusing of it is sufficiently corrected. Neyther is there any man that knoweth not to what ende and purpose we vse it.

Difference  
betwene cross-  
ing in Bap-  
tisme, and in  
our church.

Chap.



T.C. Pag. 136. somevvhat past the middest.

Concerning the other reason of the profitable signification of the Crosse, I haue shewed that that maketh the thing a great deale worse, and bringeth in a newe worde into the Church, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but onely our Saviour Christ. For if these significations be good, then the Papistes haue to answer vs, that they Ceremonies be not dumbe, whiche haue as likely and as glorious significations as these are, and so indeede they say that they Ceremonies are not dumbe ceremonies, for so much as they signifie so good things. But although it be the worde of God that we shoulde not be ashamed of the Crosse of Christ, is it not the worde of God, that we shoulde be kept in remembrance and obseruation of that, two lynes drawne a crosse, one ouer another in the childes foreheade, but a sonde toy, and ydle custome of mans brayne.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The signification of the Papisticall ceremonies, was onely knowne to themselves, being vsed in the Church without any declaration of suche signification, and therefore they might worthily be counted dumbe, and vnprofitable, but it is not so in this, for the signification is ioyned with the signe, & published in a tongue knowne. The Papisticall Ceremonies were in number many, and they had annexed vnto them an opinion of worship, and a necessitie vnto saluation, &c. whiche made them wicked, but all these be farre from this, and other Ceremonies vsed by vs, and for as much as there is no worde of God agaynst it, and it hath a profitable signification, the Church may vse it though it be not expessed in the worde, as it may doe other rites, according to that that I haue proued before intreating of the authoritie of the church in such matters.

Difference  
betwixt pap-  
sticall ceremo-  
nies and ours

Tract. 2.

## Chap. 3. the 6. Division.

## Admonition.

Fourthly, they doe superstitiously and wickedly institute a newe Sacrament, which is proper to Christ onely, marking the childe in the foreheade with a Crosse, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confesse the faith of Christ. We haue made mention before of that wicked deuise of the worde and Sacraments,

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 192. Sect. 3.

Concerning the fourth toy, that is Crossing the childe in the forehead, which you call wicked and superstitious, I haue before declared Maister Bucers opinion: It may be left, and it hath beene vsed in the Primitive Church, and maye bee so still, without eyther superstition or wickednesse. Neyther doth it any more make a Sacrament (because it is in token that hereafter hee shall not bee ashamed to confesse Christ crucified) than your sitting doth at the communion in token of rest, that is a full finishing through Christ of the Ceremoniall lawe. &c. I thinke you knowe that euerie Ceremonie betokening something, is not by and by a Sacrament, and therefore here is as yet no wicked deuise of the worde and Sacraments, except it be made by you.

Crossing no  
Sacrament.

Every signi-  
fying ceremo-  
nie is not a  
Sacrament.

T.C. Pag. 134. Sect. vii.

In the 192. page, vnto the Admonition objectiung that by this signification it is made a Sacrament.

ff. 14.

M. D. D.



(\*) A manifest  
truth.

M. Doctor answereth that euery ceremonie which betokeneth something is not a Sacrament. I woulde knowe what maketh a Sacrament, if a doctrine annexed vnto an outward signe doth not make a Sacrament. And I am sure there was no outward signe neyther in the olde Testament, nor in the newe which hath a doctrine ioyned with it, which is not a Sacrament. For if he will take the nature of the Sacrament so straightly as Augustine doth, and that there be no Sacraments but when as to the element, there cometh the word, (\*) the Circumcision can be no sacrament: besides that, seeing that master Doctor hath condemned the allegorie and signification of sytting at the Lordes supper, saying that it is Baptistieall, I maruell what priuledge he hath or speciall licence, that he may allow that in him selfe and in his owne assertions, which he sayth is vnlawfull and papistieall in others, especially seeing the allegorie of the sytting was neuer vied by the Baptists, but this of crossing is. And if the licence of allegories be allowed, I see not why Oyle may not be brought into the Sacrament, as well as crossing, both because it hath bene a Sacrament of God before, and for that the signification thereof (betokening the giftes of the holy Ghost, and shadowing out the power and efficacy of those giftes) carpeth as great a shewe of wisdom and Chastian instruction, as doth the crossing.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

What is re-  
quired to the  
making of a  
sacrament.

Circumcision  
a Sacrament  
according to  
Augustines  
rule.

Gen. 17.

The proper  
signification  
of sacraments

Euery signi-  
fying ceremo-  
nie is not a  
sacrament.

You are not ignorant, I am sure, that to the making of a Sacrament, besides the eternall element, there is required a commaundement of God in his worde, that it should be done, and a promise annexed vnto it, whereof the Sacrament is a seale: so it was in circumcision, and so it is in the Supper and Baptisme. And surely I maruell at this your saying, If we will take the nature of the sacrament straightly as Augustine doth, and that there be no sacraments, but where as to the element, there cometh the worde, the Circumcision can be no sacrament. I thinke you are not well advised, for what doth Saint Augustine require in a Sacrament? Doth he not require the worde, and an eternall element? And are not both these to bee founde in circumcision? The eternall element is the foreskinne: it is commaunded in Genesis .17. And there is the promise annexed, whereof it is a seale and a Sacrament: and what doth Saint Augustine requyre more in a Sacrament? But I will impute this saying of yours rather to some oversight or lacke of due consideration, than to ignorance; for I thinke it vnpossible that a man of your profession should be ignorant in the nature and definition of a Sacrament. A Sacrament, I meane not in the largest signification, but as it is properly vied, and as we call the Lordes Supper and Baptisme Sacramentes. For Sacramentes in the proper signification, be mysticall signes ordeyned by God himselfe, consisting in the worde of God, in figures and in things signified, whereby he keepeth in mannes memorie, and sometymes renueth his large benefites bestowed vpon his Church, whereby also he sealeth or assureth his promises, and sheweth outwardly, and as it were layeth before oure eyes those things to beholde which inwardly he worketh in vs: yea by them he strengthneth and increaseth our fayth, by the holy Ghost working in our heartes. And to be short, by his Sacramentes he separateth vs from all other people, from all other religions, consecrating vs and binding vs to him onely, and signifyeth what he requyeth of vs to be done. Nowe euery ceremonie signifying any thing, hath not these conditions and proper-tyes. Wherefore euery ceremonie signifying any thing, is not a Sacrament, and therefore crossing in Baptisme though it signifyeth some thing, yet it is no Sacrament.

The allegory of sitting is dumble and speaketh nothing: but to the signe of the crosse is added the signification in expresse wordes, as I haue before declared, wherefore there is more cause to condemne the one, than there is to condemne the other: Noe-uer sitting at the Lordes supper hath not bene vied in the Church that I can reade of, but crossing in baptising hath, wherefore that were to inuent a newe Ceremonie, and this is to retyne the olde, so that the reason of their allegorie and of this Ceremonie is not lyke.

Of refusing oyle in baptisme, the Church hath iust cause: and it vseth hir liber-tye in retyning crossing: neyther will it burden the Sacramentes with a multitude of vnnecessary and vnprofitable Ceremonies, and yet retyne such as shall be thought moste conuenient.

Chap.



Chap. 3. the. 7. Division.

T.C. Pag. 137. Lin. 3.

And to conclude, I see no cause why some crosses should be unlawful, and other some commendable: and why it should be a monument of Popery in woode and metall, and yet a Christian badge in the forehead of a man, why we should not like of it in streates and hyghwayes, and yet allowe of it in the church.

Io. Whitgifte.

As there is great difference betwixt the paynting of an Image, to sette forth an historie, and placing of it in the Church to be worshipped, so is there also as great difference, or more, betwixt crossing a childe in the forehead at the time of baptisme, with expressing the cause and vse of it, and the placing of crosses in Churches or highways and streates.

The crossing of the chilles forehead, is but for a moment, the crosse of wood and stone remaineth and continueth: the crosse in the chilles forehead is not made to be adored and worshipped, neyther was ever any man so madde, as to imagine any such thing of it: but the crosses in churches, streates, and highways, of mettall and woode, were erected to be worshipped, and were so accordingly, and therefore there is no like perill in the one, as there is in the other.

Of the parties that are to be Baptised.

Chap. 4. The first Division.

Admonition.

That the parties to be baptised, if they be of the yeares of discretion, by them selves and in their owne persones, or if they be infantes, by their parentes (in whose roome if upon necessary occasion they be absent, some one of the congregation, knowing the good behaviour and sounde saythe of the parentes) may both make reherfall if they saythe, and also if their saythe be sounde, & agreeable to holy scriptures, desyre to be in the same baptised. And finally, that nothing be done in this or any other thing, but that which you have the expresse warrant of Gods woide for.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. iii. Sect. 1. 2.

I muse what you meane to saye on this sorte: The parties to be baptised if they be of the yeares of discretion. Sec. You knowe that in this Church of England none tarry for baptisme so long, except it be in some secrete congregation of Anabaptistes. The place alledged out of the third of Matthew telleth how they that were baptised confessed their sinnes, it speaketh nothing of any confession of faith.

It is well that you admitte some to answer for the infant in the absence of the parent, and why not in his presence too: what scripture have you, that the Parent at the baptising of his childe should make a reherfall of his saythe, and desire that his childe should bee therein baptised: this I desire to knowe for myne owne learning, for I neither remember any such thing in scripture, neither yet in any auncient booke: I do herein but desire to be instructed.

T.C. Pag. 139. Lin. 6.

And because I would have all those thyngs together that touche this matter of baptisme, I come to that which he hath in the next Section and in. 111. page, where after his olde manner, hee

ff. 115.

Wangley

those that  
are to be bap-  
tised.

Of the parties  
answering for  
their children.



to anglereth and quarrelleth. For although the Admonition speaketh so playnly and so clearly, that as Hesiod. sayth, it myght *ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ μὴ* satissie Momus, yet M<sup>r</sup>. Doctor goeth about there, to bying it in suspicion of Anabaptisme, because allowing th playne wordes the baptisme of infantes, they adde that if the parties be of discretion and yeares, them selues in their own persons, should be maunde to be baptised. For sayth he in this Church they tary not for baptisme so long: But is ther no cause or may there not be, when they that be of age may be baptised? It may be there are Jewes in Englande, which understanding their blyndnes and confessing their synne, may desyre to be baptised, and there be dyuers Whores in noble mens & gentlemens houses, which are sometimes brought to the knowledge of Christe, whereby there is some ble and practise of this case.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Anabaptisme  
a crafty here-  
sie.

Anabaptisme being so crafty an heresy, that it dissembleth many things, untill it haue sufficient ayde, a man can not be so suspicious of it, especially in those that walke in steppes so lyke vnto it. And yet I speake nothing in that place, that may bying the Authours of the Admonition into suspicion of Anabaptisme, vnlesse they suspect them selues, or that you would haue them suspected: for you knowe the olde proverbe. *Consciens ipse sibi.* &c. It may be in dede that there be Jewes in Englande, & Whores, & Turkes also, and that some of them being conuerted to the fayth, be after wards baptised, and I thinke sometimes it is so, but the case is very rare, and there is no man that doubteth but they ought to be examined in their fayth befoze they be admitted to baptisme. This is against nothing that I haue sayde.

### Chap. 4. the. 2. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 111. Sect. 3. & Pag. 112. Sect. 1.

Of the faythe  
and good be-  
haviour of the  
Parentes, &c.

Whether the  
childe of a wic-  
ked man may  
be baptised.

I knowe not what you meane when you saye (That in the absence of the parentes some one of the congregation knowing the good behaviour and sound faith of the Parentes, may both make a rehearsal of their fayth: and also if their faith bee sounde and agreable to holy scriptures, desire in the same to be baptised) what if the parentes be of euill behaviour: what if it be the childe of a drunkard, or of an harlot: what if the parentes be Papistes, what if they be heretikes: what if they erre in some point or other, in matters of fayth: Shall not their chylde be baptised: herein you haue a further meaning than I can vnderstande, and I feare fewe do perceiue the poyson that lieth hid vnder these wordes: may not a wicked father haue a good childe: may not a Papiste or heretike haue a beleuing sonne: wil you seclude for the Parentes sake (being himselte baptised) his seede from baptisme: Surely your fantasies, naye your dangerous errors wyll burst out one daye in more playne manner.

This reformatio you seeke for and desire, were rather a deformation nay a confusion: and whylest you will nothing to bee done but that, for the whiche there is expresse warrant in Gods worde, you your selues prescribe that whiche is not to be founde in all Gods worde.

### Admonition.

Howe conuenient it were, seying the chylde of the faithfull onely are to be baptised, that the father should and myght, if conueniently, offer and present his chylde to be baptised, making an open confession of that fayth, wherein he would haue his chylde baptised, and how this is vsed in well ordered Churches.

Answer



Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 193. Sect. 2.

But I knowe not wherto this tendeth that followeth: that is, How couenient it were, seeing that the children of the faithfull only are to be baptised. Do you not comprehend those vnder the name of faithfull, which be baptised: for else it passeth mans vnderstanding, to knowe who bee saythfull in deede, because the vnbeleuers maye make a confession of saythe in wordes: and in this worlde it can not certainly by man be Determined, who among Christians be faithfull, who be vnfaithfull. I praye you answer me this one question: If a chylde bee founde whose father and mother be vnknown (as it hath happened some times in our remembrance) will you not baptise it because the Pa- rentes be not forth coming, to make a confession of their faith: or be- cause the sound faith of the Parentes is vnknown: but hereof I haue spoken in another place.

No man  
knoweth who  
is faithfull,  
who is not.

T. C. Pag. 137. Sect. 1.

After that M. Doctor hath cast him selfe in derision, at the feete of the authours of the Admo- nition, and desired to be taught of them whome he hath so contemptuously condemned as vnchar- ned, he doth by and by rayse vp himselfe into his chaire, and there sitteth doctozally, appoyning the au- thors of the Admonition, as if they were his schollers: and vpon occasion of the sounde saythe and good behauiour of y parentes of the infant, mentioned by y Admonit<sup>r</sup>, asketh first of al, what if the infant be the childe of a drunkarde: what if he be of a harlot: shall not sayth he, the infant be bapti- sed: If it were not that M. Doctor in asking these questions, doth also answer them, & answereth the farre otherwyle than y truth doth suffer, I would not be drawe from the causes which we haue in hande by these roging questions: nowe I can not leaue them vnaniswered, because I see that M. Doctor doth make of the holy Sacrament of baptisme (which is an entrie into the house of God) and whereby onely the family of God must enter, a common passage whereby he will haue cleane and vncleane, holy and prophane, as well those that are without the couenante, as those that bee within it, to passe by: and so maketh the churche no houtholde, but an Inne to receiue whosoener cometh.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

All this is but a declaration of your modestie, and a signification of the mildenesse of your spirite, and therefore I wyll passe it ouer and leaue it to the Reader to be con- sidered of. Whely I must tell you, that I make the holy Sacrament of baptisme no other kinde of passage, than God him selfe hath made it, and the Church of Christe hath euer vsed it. God and euill, cleane and vncleane, holy and prophane, must needs passe by it, excepte you will in deede in moze ample and large manner tye the grace of God vnto it, than euer did the Papistes, and saye that all that be baptised be also saued: or else ioyne with the Anabaptistes in this, that after baptisme a man cannot sinne.

Who can tell whether he be holy or vnholy, good or euill, cleane or vncleane, elect or reprobate, of the houtholde of the Church, or not of the Church, that is baptised, be he infant, or at the yeares of discretion: I tell you playne this assertion of yours sa- uoureth very strongly of heresy in my opinion: but let vs come to your reasons if you haue anye.

### Chap. 4. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. pag. 137. Sect. 1.

I will answer therefore almoste in as many wordes as the questions be asked. If one of the Parentes be neyther drunkarde nor adulterer, the chylde is holy by vertue of the couenante, for one of the Parents takes. If they be both, and yet not oblitinate in their synne, whereby the Church hath not proceeded to excommunication, (them selues beyng yet of the Church) they chylde can-  
not, nor



not, nor ought not to be refused. To the seconde question, wherein he asketh what if the chylde be of Papistes or heretikes. If both be Papistes or condemned heretikes (if so be I may distinguish Papistes from heretikes) and cut of from the church, their children cannot be receyued, because they are not in the couenant, if either of them be faythfull, I have answered before that it ought to be receyued.

To other questions wherein he asketh, what if they erre in some pointes of matters of fayth. If it be but an error, and be not in those pointes which raise the foundations of fayth, because they styll, notwithstanding their error, are to be counted amongst the faythfull, their children pertain vnto the promise, and therefore to the sacrament of the promise.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The presump-  
tion of the Re-  
plier.

Pag. 34. Sect. 1

Caluine.  
Bullinger.

The assertion  
of the Replier  
tendeth to re-  
baptisation.

Baptisme  
once ministred  
remaineth per-  
petuall.

Heretikes  
loose not their  
baptisme.

The Replier  
nere to Do-  
natisme.

Surely these be very shoyt answeres for so waighty questions, and so necessary pointes of doctrine: wyl you presume thus to determine in matters of saluation and damnation, the doctrine being so straunge and vheard of, without either scripture, reason, or other authoritie: are we now come to (*ipse dixit*): nay it may not be so, you haue no such authoritie or credite y I know. But let vs a little better consider your assertions, and marke your dycte, Page. 34. you saye that there are no whozemongers, nor drunkardes in the church that are knowen, because the church doth excommunicate them, wherby you seme to runne headlong into this heresye of the Anabaptistes, that, that is not the Church of Christe, in the whiche are knowen drunkardes and whozemongers, & no excommunication vsed against them. The whiche heresye is well and learnedlye confuted by M. Caluine in his booke against the Anabap. and by M. Bullinger likewise, Lib. 6. cap. 10. *aduersus Anabap.*

Howeouer this your assertion seemeth to bring in rebaptisation. For if whozemongers, drunkardes, and such lyke wycked persones by excommunication be so cut of from the Church, that their children may not be baptised, then must it followe that their baptisme is cut of also: which if it be true, howe can they vpon repentance be admitted againe except they be rebaptised: and what is this else but to make baptisme, to be iterated as the Lordes supper is, when as by the consent of all the Churches, there is but one baptisme, wherewith it is sufficient once to be Christened, seeing that baptisme once receyued both endure for euer, as a perpetuall signe of our adoption. And how can you allowe the baptisme of heretikes to be good, if you disallowe the baptising of their children that be excommunicated: may an heretike excommunicated baptise, and is that baptisme good, and may not the children of hym that is excommunicated receyue the sacrament of baptisme: can any faulte of the parentes, hauing once receyued the scale of the couenant, seclude their chyliden from receyuing the same scale: you haue neyther example nor precept in scripture to iustifie your assertion with: it is against the nature of the sacrament, the practise of the Church, and the whole consent of learned wyters (some fewe excepted which erred in rebaptisation) and yet you boldly here set it downe, without any further profe at all.

S. Augustine in his booke *Contra epist. Parme.* reasoneth wholly to the contrary, for there he proueth that heretikes whiche cut of them selues from the Church, do neyther *amittere baptismum*, nor *ius dandi baptismum*, that is, neither leese their baptisme, nor authoritie to baptise: and therevpon concludeth against rebaptisation, whiche must needes followe if eyther of the other be taken away. The Donatistes them selues were at the length compelled to confesse, that heretikes deuied from the church, did not *amittere baptismum*, leese their baptisme. And in the same booke August. bath this generall sentence, That the faulte of such heretikes, is in cutting of them selues from the church, which may be corrected by returning againe to the church, *non in sacramentis quae ubique sunt, ipsa vera sunt*, not in the sacramentes, which wheresoeuer they are, are true. This being so (as it is) then are you very nere to Donatisme, nay farre beyonde it, in saying that the chyliden of the heretikes, and suche as by excommunication are cut of from the Church, maye not be baptised. Surely if the Parentes beynge heretikes



likes and cut of from the Church, notwithstanding *Retinere baptismum*, keepe still their baptism, (as Saint Augustine sayeth) I see not howe by any meanes you can iustifie the secluding of theyr chyldren from being baptysed: or if other wyse I can not see howe a Papiste beyng conuerted, can be receyued into the Church, without he be anewe baptysed, or howe suche chyldren of known Papistes, and excommu- nicate persones, as haue bene baptised in this Church of Englande or else where, from the beginning of the Gospell to this daye, can be counted Christians, vntill they be rebaptised.

And concernyng Papistes, whome you haue denyed to be in the Church, and to whose chyldren also you here denye baptism, I wyl aske you but this one question, what you thynke of all those, whiche are not onelye chyldren to professed and known Papistes, but baptised also in the Romishe Church: for if the chyldren of known Papistes, may not be baptised, what shall we saye of our selues, and of our Parentes and predecessours, who all, or the moste of them were profes- sed Papistes: is not this the grounde of Rebaptisation, and Anabaptisme?

pag. 34. Siff.  
vlt.

But that the Reader maye the better vnderstande your erreure, and the rather beleue it to be an errour in dede, I wyl set downe M. Beza his opinion of this mat- ter, from whome you are lothe (I am sure) to be thought to dissent. In his booke of Epistles, Epist. 10. answering this question (whether the infantes of suche as are excom- municated may be baptised, and in whose fayth, when as they of whome they are begotten, are not members of the Church) determineth thus.

Beza li. Epist.  
Epist. 10.

God forbidde that we should iudge all one and a lyke of all suche as are not called the members of the Church, for there are foure kyndes of men farre differing among them selues. One is of them, whiche neyther by election, neyther in them selues are by anye meanes the members of Christe, whome we cal by the worde of God reprobate and the ves- sels of anger, and appointed to destruction, although many of them sometime in appa- rance, that is in outwarde profession, yea and a certayne semblance of faythe, continuing for a tyme, wherewith they mocke both them selues and other, are reckened among the mem- bers of the Church, of whome Iohn sayeth, if they had bene of vs, they would haue taryed with vs.

The seconde is of those, whiche are chosen in Christe by eternall election, and there- fore are the members of Christe, yet by purpose onelye not in dede: in whiche sense Paule sayth that he was seuered from his mothers wombe, when as notwithstanding, hee was a long tyme the member of Sathan persecuting Christ: and in an other place sayeth, that grace was giuen vs in Christe before euerlasting tymes: and agayne, that God loued vs when we were his enemies.

In the thyrde kynde wee counte them, that bothe by election and in dede are the sonnes of God, bycause as the Apostle sayth, they are ruled by the spirite of God.

Finally, in the fourth place wee reckon those, who whereas they appertayne to the e- lection of God, and be engrafted in Christ, yet bycause hauing fallen in some thing (as men often doe) they be an offence to the other members, therefore least the wound should bee deadlye, whiche Sathan and the fleshe hath gyuen them, neede a more sharpe remedye, and are therfore excommunicated or delyuered to Sathan, not that they should peryshe (for it is not possible that they should peryshe whiche are the members of Christe) But that god- ly sorowefulnesse may cause repentance, eyther that their fleshe (that is the olde man) dying, their spirite may be saued in the daye of the Lorde.

These therefore be they whome we call excommunicated, and who for two respectes are not members of the Church, one according to men, bycause they are excluded from the holy felowship of the faythfull: the other according to God, bycause that saying of Christe is sure, that, that is bounde in heauen, whiche is ryghtlye bounde of the Church in the earth.

But it is an other thyng truelye to be bounde in heauen, than to be cast out of that true kyngdome of heauen, whiche neuer happeneth to anye of the electe. For that say- ing of Christe standeth, that those shall neuer bee caste out whome the Father hath giuen  
the



the Sonne: and that of Iohn, if they had bene of vs, they woulde haue taried with vs: and that of the Apostle, the foundation of God standeth sure, hauing this seale, the Lorde knoweth who be his. Therefore as touching Christe, these are sayd not to be his, nor members of the Church, not as the firste whiche are reprobate and damned, but bycause for a tyme as concerning the force and efficacie of the spirite, they are without hym, as beyng so engrafted in hym, that they receyue not that lyuely nourishment of the spirite of Christe for a tyme, that is, tyll grace of repentaunce be gyuen them. To conclude, the difference betwixt these and the firste is such, as is betweene a legge of woode ioyned cunninglye to a true bodye (whiche notwithstanding is not a legge in deede, neyther is truly called a parte of that man) and betwixt a true legge, that yet for a tyme receyueth not nourishment in suche sorte, that vnles it be refreshed by the strengthe of some sharpe medicine, it wyll necessarily putrefie and cleane peryshe. VVherefore seeing these thinges be thus, and charitie byddeth vs to hope well of all, yea and also to take care for them, whiche are helde as captiues in the snare of the Deuyll: God forbydde that the Parentes beyng excommunicated, wee should conclude that theyr posteritie belongeth not to the kyngdome of God. Furthermore, there is great difference betweene those, whiche although they bee notorious offendours, neuerthelesse departe not from the Church, and betweene those that are manifeste rennegates, ioyning them selues with the enemies to oppresse the truthe of the Gospell. Further, it were vnreasonable to esteeme of Papistes, muche lesse Christians excommunicated, no otherwise than of Turkes: for although it bee vnpossible to serue the Pope and Christ togyther, yet it is certayne that Poperie is an erring of the Christian Church. VVherefore the Lorde hath in the midst of that goulfe of Papistrie preserued Baptisme, that is the first entering into the Church: whereby it appeareth (as also the thing it selfe proueth in vs) that although Papisme be not the Church, yet the Church hathe bene and is (as it were) drowned or couered in it: whiche can not by anie meanes bee sayde of the Turkes, whiche neuer gaue theyr names to Chryst. Lastly, for so muche as the goodnesse of God is extended to a thousande generations, that is (as it were) without ende, it were harde if wee shoulde iudge of the children, whether they belong to the couenant of God or no, by the profession of their last Parentes. Therefore of all these argumentes ioyned togyther, we conclude that the children of persons excommunicate, abyding yet in the Church of God, can by no right bee debarred from Baptisme, if in case a meete suretie bee had, whiche will make promyse to the Church that they shall be vertuously brought vp, which I thinke ought to be done of the Ministers them selues, and other Godly men, rather than theyr Baptisme shoulde anie longer be deferred. Yet it shall not be amisse, if the Minister before he baptise the infant, taking hereof occasion, earnestly exhort the father that is excommunicated being present, to repentance before the assemblie, whiche is oftentimes practised in oure Churches. *Hitherto Beza.*

### *Chap. 4. the. 4. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 137. Sect. 2.

And in the. 193. page, he asketh what if the Parentes of the childe be vnknownen, if it be, yet if godly men will present it to baptisme, with promyse of seing it brought vp in the feare of the Lorde, for so muche as it is founde in a place where the church is, and therefore by likelyhoode to apperteyne to some that was of the church, I thinke it may be baptised, if the church thynke it good in this last case.

### *Io. Whitgiste.*

And why shoulde you but thinke so? what reason is there why it should not be baptised? But yet this answere of yours dothe nothing iustifie the Admonition: *Whiche would, The parentes to presente their chyldren, if conueniently, making an open confession of that saythe, wherein he would haue his chyldre baptised: For this can not be done where the Parentes be vnknownen, neither is (in such case) any other man able to testifie of what saythe or behauiour the parentes were.*

*Chap.*



## Chap. 4. the 5. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 137. Sect. vlt.

Then he goeth forth in the. 111. Page to proue that the children of those, which he hath reckoned may be baptised, and demaunderth whether a wicked father may haue a good childe, a Papist or Heretike father a beleeuing chylde: yes verily may they. So may haue, and hath the Turke and the Iewe, and yet their children are not to be receyued vntill their sayth both firste appeare by confession. But you say the Papiste an Heretike be Baptised, and so are not the Iewes and Turkes. Their baptisme beyng cut of from the Church, maketh them as much straungers vnto it, as was Ismaell and Esau, whiche albeit they were circumcised, yet beyng caste out of the Church, they were no more to be accompted to be of the body of Gods people, then those whiche neuer were in the Church. Now you see (\*) the popson (as you terme it) which lieth hidde vnder these wordes, and if it be as you say popson, let vs haue some of your triacle. In all the reste of that section, there is nothing but that, which he spake of before, onely the Eldership is named, which commeth to be intreated of in the next section.

(\*) It is popson in deede, and the same whiche I suspected.

## Jo. Whitgiste.

If their baptisme be so cut of, that it also taketh away the priuiledge from their children, howe can they be admitted agayne into the Church without rebaptisation? S. Augustine in the place before recited, sayeth that Heretikes though they be cut of from the Church yet they do retayne their Baptisme, whiche beyng true, there is no reason to seclude their children fro it. I cannot learne but that the Sonnes of Ismaell were circumcised: for it is witten of the Egyptians (as P. Martyr doth note) that they circumcised at 14. yeares of age, because Ismael was then circumcised: Which tyme of circumcision the Arabians obserued in lyke manner. And therefore it is not vnlike but that the Posteritie of Ismael was circumcised. And as for the Sonnes of Esau it is not like that they were debarred from circumcision, seying Esau himselte receyued the signe of the couenant, notwithstanding he was before rejected. And that his posteritie were not so farre estraunged from the people of God as those that neuer were in the Church, it may appeare by that which is witten in Deutonomie, where the Israelites are willed to acknowledge them for their Brethren, and to admitte their children in the thirde Generation, into the congregation of the Lorde. And yet are not the Papistes like vnto Ismael and Esau: but rather the same with the Israelites vnder Ieroboam, &c. for as they professed the lawe of Moses, had circumcision, and were not in all poyntes straunge from the sayth of the Iewes: but yet ioynded therevnto Idolatrie, and the false worshipping of God: euen so the Papistes pretende the lawe of God, vse the Sacramentes, professe Christianitie, and are not in all poyntes straunge from Christian sayth, but yet haue corrupted the same with idolatrous worshipping, and diuerse other kindes of superstition, and errours. Therefore sayeth M. Beza very well in the wordes before recited, *Papismus est Ecclesia Christiana aberratio*. Papisme is the erring of the Christian Church: And *Ecclesia est velut immersa in Papatu, quod de Turcis dici nullo modo potest, qui nunquam Christo nomen dederunt*: the Church is as it were couered or drowned in Papisme, whiche can by no means be sayde of Turkes, whiche neuer gaue their names to Christe or professed Christianitie. Wherefore if you had made a right comparison, you should not haue compared them to Ismaell and Esau, but to the revolting Israelites, as P. Martyr dothe, saying thus expresse, *Quales olim Israelitae, &c.* Such are the Papistes at this day, if they be compared with the professours of the Gospell, as were the Israelites in respect of the Iewes. But full well you knewe that in so doing, your error would soone haue bene espied: for though the Israelites were separated from the true Church, yet were not their children cut of from the couenaunt, or debarred from the signe thereof.

P. Martyr. in  
4. Rom.

Rom. 9.

Deut. 23. vers.  
7. 8.

The papistes  
lyke to the  
Israelites  
vnder Ieros  
boam &c.

Beza Epist.

10.

Martyr. in. 3.  
cap. 1. Reg.



The poyson  
that is hidde  
in the Repl-  
ers doctrine.

The poyson which (you say) we nowe see, and that lieth hid vnder these wordes, is, the debarring of childzen from Baptisme for their parentes offences beyng baptised, and rebaptisation: Both which you do in more playne manner affirme than the Admonition doth, and therefore for triacle to cure these venemous diseases I sende you to the learned woorkes of S. August. *Contra epist. Parmeniani: de Baptis. contra Donatistas*: of M. Bullinger, Zuinglius, Caluine and others, which haue witten against these poysoned poynts of the Anabaptistes and Donatistes.

## ¶ Of the Seigniorie or gouernment by

Seniors. Tra9.17.

VWhether there vvere such as the Admonition calleth Seniors, in euery Congregation. Chap. 1. the. 1. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 138.. Sect. 1.

Of Seni-  
ors.

As though M. Doctor were at bitter defiance with all good order, and methode of writing, that which was giuen him orderly by the Admonition, he hath turned vpsidedowne. For where the Admonition speaketh first of the Elders, then of that which is annexed vnto them, which is the discipline (whereof excommunication is a part) considering that the subiect is in nature before that which is annexed vnto it, M. Doctor hath turned it cleane contrary, and first speaketh of excommunication, and then of the Elders. I will therefore (that the reader may the easelier vnderstand that which is sayd) follow the order of the Admonition, and first of all speake of the Elders or Seniors which ought to be in the Church, and in speaking of them, I muste call to remembrance that diuision which I made mention on before, that is, of those which haue care and gouerne the whole congregation, some there be which do bothe teach the worde and gouerne also: some which do not teach, but onely gouerne and be ayders in the gouernment, vnto those which do teach. This diuision is moste manifestly set forth in the Epistle vnto Timothe: where he sayeth, the Elders which rule well, are worthy of double honour, and especially those which labour in the worde and doctrine, where he maketh by playne and expresse wordes two sortes of Elders, the one which doth both gouerne and teach: the other which gouerneth onely. These therefore are the Seniors which are meant, whose office is in helping the Pastor or Bishop, in the gouernment of that particular Church, where they be placed Pastors and Elders.

1. Tim. 5.

## Io. Whitgifte.

It is no rare matter in handling any thing, first to entreate of that which is *natura posterius*: and we see it commonly so vled by Logicians, who firste treat of that parte which is called *Iudicium*, then of the other which is called *Inuentio*, notwithstanding *Inuentio* in nature is before *Iudicium*. But I will not spende incke and paper in answering so vayne a cauillation. The truth is, that I in mine Answer follow the order of the Admonition. For I proue that it was not the office of those Seniors to gouerne the Church, &c. because they had nothing to do with excommunication being the chiefe discipline in the Church, seing the execution therof was committed to the Minister of the worde onely. So that I first take away authoritie fro their Seniors, & then answer the places which they abuse for the establisshing of their authoritie.

My wordes be these: What Scripture haue you to proue that such Seniors as you meane, and Deacons had any thing to do in Ecclesiasticall discipline: but all this is from the purpose. Your diuision of Seniors, though I know that it hath learned Patrones, yet do I not vnderstande howe it agreeth with the worde of God: for if we consider the writings of the Apostles, it will evidently appeare that Presbyter is vsually taken for Episcopus, or Minister, or Pastor, as 1. Pet. 5. *Presbyteros qui inter vos sunt hortor, qui sum & ipse Presbyter: &c. pascite &c.* The Elders which are among you, I beseech, which am my selfe also an Elder. &c. Feede the flocke. &c. And in the Act. 14. Paule calleth the same men Seniors and Bishops: and by Seniors meaneth none other than Bishops and Pastors, as it is euident in that place. Likewise ad Titum. 1. he sayeth, that Titus was left at Creta, & son-

stituat

Presbyter vs-  
ually taken  
for a minister.  
1. Pet. 5.  
Act. 20.  
Tit. 1.



*stuat opidatim presbyteros*, That he should appoynt Elders in euery citie. And declaring what qualities they ought to haue, he addeth: *Oportet Episcopum immunem esse a crimine*. &c. A Bishop must be vnréproueable: &c. Whereby it is manifest that he taketh them bothe for one.

The onely place that hath any shewe for the p<sup>ro</sup>ofe of your distinction, is that, *Two kindes*  
*1. Tim. 5. Presbyteri qui bene presunt*, &c. The Elders that rule well are worthie double ho- of Presbyteri.  
 nour, specially they which labour in the worde and doctrine. Where although S. *1. Tim. 5.*  
 Paule maketh a distinction of Seniors, yet it is certayne, that vnder the name of Seniors, he doth comprehend such onely as be Ministers of the worde or Sacramentes. And I haue before sufficiently p<sup>ro</sup>oued that the administration of the Sacramentes may be committed to some, to whome the preaching of the worde of God is not committed. And this distinction of Ministers doth this place, *1. Tim. 5.*  
 very well iustifie: for vnl<sup>es</sup>se the Apostle S. Paule had ment, that of Ministers some preached, some onely ministred the Sacramentes, he woulde not haue sayde, *Maximè qui laborant sermone & doctrina* onely, but, *qui laborant sermone & administratione Sacramentorum*: for so shoulde he playnely haue declared that there were some Presbyteri whiche did neyther labour in Preaching, nor in the Administration of the Sacramentes. This same distinction of ministers is also iustified by that whiche the Apostle speaketh, *1. Cor. 1. Non misit me Christus vt Baptizarem*. &c. Meas- *1. Cor. 1.*  
 ning because the worde was the greater, therefore he might not leaue the greater for the lesse. Nowe if all they that baptized had the gifte of preaching also, why might not and ought not they in like manner to say, Christe sent vs not to baptize, but to preach?

S. Ambrose writing vpon these wordes: *Aduersus Presbyterum*, &c. Agaynst an Elder receyue no accusation. &c. Which immediately follow the other, doth vnderstand thereby Ministers and Priests onely, for he calleth them *Vicarios Christi*, Christes vicars, and *Antistes Dei*: Gods Prelates. So doth W. Caluine in like manner expound the same worde of Pastors, and Teachers. I know that in the exposition of this sentence, *Qui bene presunt presbyteri*, &c. he maketh two kindes of Seniors, but yet doth he Instit. Cap. 8. Sect. 52. (where he purposely speaketh of Seniors) say that they were all preachers. Neyther do I see any cause, why this worde Presbyter shoulde not in both these places be taken in one and the same signification. Chrysostome also (if his wordes be well marked) vpon this place of Timoth. *Presbyteri qui bene presunt*, &c. it will appeare that he doth not extende this worde Presbyter to any other, than to Ministers of the worde and Sacramentes.

The wordes of Jerome be playne, for expounding these wordes, *Maximè qui laborant* &c. He sayeth thus: *Non dixit omnium qui habent verbum, sed qui laborant in verbo: Caterum omnes habentes precipit ordinare*. He sayeth not of all that haue the worde, but that labour in the worde: But he commaunded him to ordeyne, all that haue the worde. And surely I haue not read this worde in any auncient Historie or Father, commonly taken in any other signification.

## Chap. 1. the. 2. Diuision.

### Admonition.

In steade of Chancelours, Archdeacons, Officialls, Commissaries, Proctors, Doctors, summoners, Churchwardens and such lyke, you haue to place in euery congregation a lawfull and godly Seigniorie.

Ansver to the Admonition. Pag. 125. Sect. 1.

But I pray you do thus much for me, first p<sup>ro</sup>ue that there was in euery cōgregation such as you call Seniors: when you haue done that, the shew me that that office & kind of regimēt ought to be per-

petuall,

Certaine questions demanded to be p<sup>ro</sup>ued,



petuall, and not rather to be altered according to the state and condition of the Church: last of all, that those Seniors were lay men as we call them, and not rather ministers of the worde, and Bishops. When you haue satisfied my request in these three pointes, then will I proceede further in this matter.

T. C. Pag. 138. In the midst.

Now that it is knowne what these Seniors be, in entreating of them I am content to answer. Doctor three requestes which he maketh in the. 125. page, where he desireth that one would be so much for him, as first to shewe that these Seniors were in euery congregation: secondarily, he will haue it proued that this regiment is perpetuall, and not to be altered: last of all, he desireth to know, whether these Seniors were lay men, and not rather ministers of the worde and Bishops. This last is a fonde request, and such as is already answered, but he muste be followed.

For the first therefore, which is that there were Seniors in euery congregation, although Mr. Doctor in the. 114. page, & in the. 132. page constrained by Ambrose authoritie, confesseth it in plaine wordes: yet because he requireth it to be shewed and maketh a iest at those places, which are alleaged out of the scripture to proue it, some thing must be spoken thereof.

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

You builde your platfozme vpon marueylous slender pzoofes, & except the Reader will beleue your bare wordes, he shal finde great scarcitie of any other argumentes. For where haue you as yet proued your opinion of Seniors to be true? The place of S. Paule. 1. Tim. 5 doth not helpe you, being other wise taken & expounded of the annicēt fathers: but I will follow your case. The last question you say is fonde & already answered: Answered as yet it is not, and the fondnesse of it will appeare, by the wisdoms of your answer hereafter.

in 1. Tim. 5.

The wordes of Ambrose be, that the Synagogue, & after the church, had Seniors. &c. but he sayeth not that euery seuerall congregation had Seniors: for it was not so among the Jewes. Therefore it cannot be gathered of Ambrose, that euery particular parish had Seniors. Neyther is there any annicēt Author that affirmeth it. Touching the hauing of Seniors in the Church, why it was then conuenient, and is not so now, I haue declared in the Answer to the Admonition.

### *Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 138. Somevvhat past the midst.

(\*) A counill.

The first place is in the Actes, which is that Paule & Barnabas did appoynt by election, Elders in euery congregation, but it is (\*) not like they did appoynt diuerse ministers or Bishops, which preached in euery congregation, which were not to be had for such a number of congregations as were then to be preached vnto: therefore in euery congregation there were besides those that preached, other Elders which did onely in gouernment assist the pastors which preached. And what should we follow coniectures here, when S. Paule doth in the place before alleaged declare, 1. Tim. 5. what these elders are?

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

The place Actes. 14. proueth nothing for Seniors.

If you haue no stronger place to cōfirme your Seniors by, than this, they will fall flat to the ground. For it is most certayne that Luke in this place by *Presbyteros*, doth only meane Pastors and Preachers of the worde, as he doth also through the whole Actes speaking of Christians: and it is a straunge matter that you dare be bolde to grounde any point of gouernment or doctrine vpon so simple & slender coniectures. For what reason call you this: Paule & Barnabas did appoynt by election elders in euery congregation, &c. but it is not lyke they did appoint diuerse ministers or Bishops which preached in euery congregation, &c. therefore in euery congregation there were besides those that preached, other elders, &c. First I say, that this argument doth consist only vpon a vaine cōiecture, for it might be that the number of Preachers were suche, that euery congregation where Paule & Barnabas had to do, might haue mo preachers than one. But Lorde what moueth you, to play the Sophister in so serious a cause: & so to dally in a matter so manifest? for how can you conclude by any thing here spoken, that Paule and Barnabas did ordeyne mo than one Pastor or Presbyter in one congregation: for this that is sayde, that they ordeyned Elders or ministers in euery congregation, doth not im-

porte



parte that they ordeyned no than one, in euery congregation, but that they ordeyned for diuers congregations, diuerse ministers, that is, for euery congregation a Pastor. Doth not the Apostle S. Paule ad Tit. 1. vse the like kinde of speache when he sayde Tit. 1. vnto him, For this cause I left thee at Creta, &c. *Ut constituas opidatim presbyteros, &c.* Where it is manifest, as I sayde before, that he meaneth Bishops and Pastors: and yet his intent was not that Titus should appoynt for euery congregation many Pastors. This is mere caulling: but to cut of all other doubt, M. Caluine is sufficient to determine this controuersie, who expounding this place of the 14. Act. doth vnderstand it of Pastors only & Preachers. His wordes be these: *Presbyteros hic vocari inter alios Caluine. preter, quibus iniunctum erat docendi munus.* I interprete those here to be called Presbyteros, vnto whome the office of preaching was committed. And a litle after: Now whereas Luke sayth that they were appoynted ouer seuerall churches, thereof may the difference betwene their office and the office of the Apostles be gathered, for the Apostles had in no place any certayne abiding, but went from place to place alwayes to found new churches: but Pastors were euery where addicted to their proper Churches. So saith Brentius likewise: *Constituuerunt per singulas Ecclesias Presbyteros, quos alia scriptura Episcopos, alia Pastores vocat.* They appoynted thorough euery congregation Elders, whom the scripture sometimes calleth Bishops, sometimes Pastors. So that this place of the Actes speaketh not one wynde of your Seniors. And therefore you cannot expound it by that in the 1. Tim. 5. though it serued your purpose, as it doth not. For Luke (to my remembrance) no where in the Actes, doth take this worde Presbyter for any other than such as haue authoritie, to preach the worde & minister the sacraments, except he meaneth y<sup>e</sup> elders of the Jewes.

### Chap. I. the 4. Division.

#### Admonition.

Let vs come now to the thirde part, which concerneth ecclesiasticall discipline: the officers that haue to deale in this charge, are chiefly three, Ministers, Preachers or Pastors, of whom before, Seniors or Elders and Deacons. Concerning Seniors, not only their office, but their name also is out of this English Church vnterly remoued. Their office was to (1) gouerne the church with the rest of the Ministers, to consulte, to admonish, to correct, and to order all thinges apperteyning to the state of the congregation.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 113. Somewhat past the midst.

To proue that the office of Seniors was to gouerne the Church with the rest of the ministers, to consulte, to admonish, to correct and to order all thinges apperteyning to the state of the congregation, you alleage Act. 14. & the 1. Corinth. 12. In the 14. of the Actes it is writtē that Paule & Barnabas ordeyned Elders at Antioche in euery Church, but there is not one worde spoken of their office, & therefore that text serueth not your purpose. You haue alleaged this selfe same place twice before, to proue that no minister of the worde ought to be placed in any congregation, but by consent of the people, & that the election of ministers ought to be by the congregation: now you alleage it to proue the office of your Seniors: can it both be meant of Seniors, and of the ministers of the worde, being as you say, distinct offices: will you thus dally with the scripture, and make it a nose of waxe (as the Papistes terme it) to worast and wryth it which way you list: here you must needes confesse rather contradiction in your selues, or falsification.

T. C. Pag. 138. Towwardes the ende.

But M. Doctor sayth that there is no mention made of the office of such an Elder: therefore that place maketh nothing to proue that there should be such Elders in euery congregation: so M. Doctor write, he careth not what he wryte. Welike he thinketh the credite of his degree of Doctorship, will giue waight to that which is light, and pith to that which is frothe, or else he woulde neuer answer thus. For then I will, if this be a good reason, say, that for so much as S. Luke doth not in that place, describe the office of the Pastor or Bishop which preacheth the worde, therefore that place proueth not that in euery congregation there should be a bishop or a Pastor. Besides



An vntruth,  
for he maketh  
no ſuch conclu-  
ſion.

that M. Doctor taketh by the Authours of the Admonition for reasoning negatively of the testi-  
monie of all the Scriptures, and yet he reasoneth negatively of one only ſentence in the Scripture.  
(\*) For he would conclude, that for ſo much as there is no duety of a Senioꝝ deſcribed in that place,  
therefore there is no duety at all, and conſequently no Senioꝝ.

### Jo. Whitgiſte.

The Authoꝝs of the Admonition Fol. 112. to proue that the office of the Senioꝝ  
was, to gouerne the Church with the reſt of the miniſters, to conſulte, to admoniſh, to correct and  
to order all thinges apperteyning to the ſtate of the congregation, alleage the. 14. of the Actes,  
verſ. 4. 1. Cor. 12. verſ. 28. I declare in mine Answer how vnaptly theſe places are al-  
leaged for that purpoſe, beyng not one worde there ſpoken of any ſuch office of Se-  
nioꝝ: as it may appeare in the wordes themſelues, beyng placed befoze. Nowe  
whether I make any ſuche reaſon as you frame in my name, or no, let the Reader  
iudge. The places be quoted in the Admonition to proue the office of Senioꝝs, and  
not to proue that there were Senioꝝs in euery congregation: and you being not able  
to ſaue that their unſkilfulneſſe, make M. Doctor ſpeake what you pleaſe, and ſhifte  
of the matter after your accuſtomed manner. I make not that concluſion you charge  
me with: if I do, let downe my wordes & conuince me: if I do not, who hath taught  
you to ſpeake vntruly: my wordes I haue expreſſed: lette the Reader conſider of  
them, and here alſo take a note of your truth and honeſtie.

### Chap. 2. the. 5. Diuiſion.

T. C. Pag. 139. Sect. 1.

Afterwardes he ſayeth, that for ſo much as this place hath bene vſed to proue a Paſtor or Bi-  
ſhop in euery church: therefore it cannot be vſed to proue theſe Elders, ſo that (ſayeth he) there  
muſt needes be eyther a contradiction, or elſe a falſification. The place is rightly alleaged for both,  
the one and the other, and yet neyther contradiction to themſelues, nor falſification of the place: but  
only a miſte befoze M. Doctors eyes, which will not let him ſee a playne and euident truth, which  
is, the worde (Elder) is generall and comprehendeth both thoſe Elders which teach and gouerne,  
and thoſe which gouerne onely, as hath bene ſhewed out of S. Paule.

### Io. Whitgiſte.

If it had theſe two ſignifications, (as I haue proued that it hath not) yet that it is  
ſo taken in the. 14. of the Actes, I cannot reade in any writer, and I haue ſhewed M.  
Caluines and M. Brentius iudgements to the contrary, whiche in any wiſe mans opi-  
nion are able to counterwaile your credite and bare deniall. And ſurely in that place  
it cannot be taken but in one and the ſelfe ſame ſignification, except you will ſay that  
the ſpirit of God ſpeaketh ambiguouſly, and vſeth equiuocations. Which were to de-  
rogate much from the ſimplicitie and plaineneſſe of the Scriptures. Wherefoze the  
Authoꝝs of the Admonition in alleaging that text in ſome place to proue the election  
of Paſtoꝝs, and in ſome other place to proue the office of Senioꝝs, ſpeake they know  
not what, and dally with the Scriptures, euen as you do in like manner, when you  
take vpon you the deſenſe of ſo manifeſt a contradiction.

### Chap. 1. the. 6. Diuiſion.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 114. Sect. 1.

Gouernours  
in the church.

In the. 1. Corin. 12. S. Paule ſayeth, that God hath ordcyned in the  
Church firſt Apoſtles, then Prophetes, thirdly teachers, then them that do  
miracles, after that the giſtes of healing, helpers, gouernours, diuerſities of  
tongues: here is not one worde of the office of Senioꝝs, neyther yet  
of their names: for this worde, gouernours, teacheth vs, that Chriſt  
hath ordcyned in his church, ſome to beare rule & gouerne, but whe-  
ther one in euery congregation or moe: whether miniſters of the  
worde or other: whether Magiſtrates or Senioꝝs, it is not here ex-  
preſſed: howſoever it is, it maketh nothing for your purpoſe.

T. C. Pag.



1. Co. 12.

And whereas M. Doctor sayth, that the place of the Corinthians may be understood of ciuill Magistrates, of preaching ministers, of gouernours of the (\*) whole Church, and not of euery particular Church, and finally any thing, rather than that whereof it is in deepe understood: I say first that he still stumbleth at one stone, whiche is, that he can not put a difference betwene the Church and common wealth: and so betwene the Church officers, whiche he there speaketh of, and the officers of the common wealth, those whiche are ecclesiasticall, and those whiche are ciuill. Then that he meaneth not the minister whiche preacheth, it may appeare, for that he had noted them before in the worde (teachers) and last of all he can not meane gouernour of the whole Church, onlesse he shoulde meane a Pope, & if he will say he meaneth an Archbishop whiche gouerneth a whole Diouince, besides that it is a bolde speeche without all warrant, I haue shewed before, that the worde of God alloweth of no suche office, and therefore it remaineth, that it must be understood of this office of Elders.

(\*) A manifest vntruth, for there is no such thing affirmed.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Here haue you manifestly falsified my booke, and greatly abused me. For I haue not these wordes, of gouernours of the whole Church, and not of euery particular Church: neyther any thing sounding that way: the Reader hath my wordes before his eyes, let him consider whether you haue reported them truly, or no. Surely if there were nothing else, your ofte leasings might sufficiently conuince your doctrine of more vanitie and forgerie.

But to returne to your Replie.

First, I can not put any suche difference betwixte the Church and a Christian common wealth, the Church officers and christian Magistrates, that they may not be comprehended vnder this worde used in this place by the Apostle. For I utterly renounce that distinction inuented by Papistes, and mainteyned by you, whiche is, that Christian Magistrates doe gouerne, not in the respect they be Christians, but in the respect they be men: and that they gouerne Christians, not in that they be Christians, but in that they be men. Whiche is, to giue no more authoritie to a Christian Magistrate in the Church of Christ, than to the great Turke. I am fully perswaded therefore, that there is no suche distinction betwixte the Church of Christ, and a Christian common wealth, as you and the Papistes dreame of. And therefore there is no cause why the Apostle maye not in this place, vnder this worde, Gouernours, comprehend as well ciuill Magistrates, as ecclesiasticall. The whiche notwithstanding, I doe not determinately affirme, as likewise I haue not done in myne Answer: for I would be glad to learne, and to heare some reason to the contrarie. Master Gualter seemeth to fauour this opinion, for expounding this place, he sayth: He comprehendeth seuenthly in this order, gouernours, vnder whome are conteyned ciuill persons, whiche in worldly matters dyd ayde all men, and had the hearing of causes, if any fell out amongst the Christians. And a little after: There is no neede of suche publikely nowe a dayes, seeing there are christian Magistrats, by whose authoritie all these thinges may be better provided for. Moreover the Apostle may meane in that place Bishops or Pastors, of whome he made no mention before. For you will not haue the office of a Pastor, & of a Doctor confounded, wherefore you forget your selfe in saying, that in this worde, teachers, he meaneth the minister that teacheth, that is, the Pastor, for of him I am sure you meane. Last of all, I haue no where sayde, that he meaneth one gouernour of the whole Church, neyther haue I written one worde tending to that ende, but this I say agayne, whether the Apostle meaneth one ruler in euery congregation, or no, is not here determined: and I see no cause, as I haue sayde, whye in this place of the Apostle, this word, Gouernours, may not eyther signifie the Christian Magistrates or Ecclesiasticall, as Archbishops, Bishops, or whatsoever other by lawfull authoritie are appoynted in the Church: neyther is there any reason to be shewed, why he shoulde rather meane your Seniors, than any other Magistrates. Sure I am that there be learned men whiche thinke that the Apostle in this worde dothe comprehend Ecclesie gubernatores, sum ciuiles, sum ecclesiasticos: The gouernours of the Church.

The Baptists opinion of christian Magistrates.

Gualter in. 1. Cor. 12.

Ggg. iiii.

as well



as well ciuill as ecclesiasticall. Howsoeuer it is, the place being doubtfull, it can not establish the office of your Seniors, as perpetuall.

### Chap. 1. the. 7. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

In steade of these Seniors in (r) every Church the Pope hath brought in, and yet we maynteyne the Lordship of one man ouer sundry churches, yea ouer many thynges.

Rom. 11. 8

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 115. Sect. vlc.

You alleage in the margent these words in the. 12. to the Rom. (He that exhorteth, let hym vwayte on exhortation: he that distributeth, let him do it with simplicitie: he that ruleth, with diligence: he that sheweth mercy, with cherefulness.) To proue that in steade of these Seniors in every Church, the Pope hath brought in, and we yet maynteyne the Lordship of one man ouer many Churches. &c. I know not how this geare hangeth together, or to what purpose you should alleage that place: it neyther proueth, that in every Church there was Elders, neyther that in place of them the Pope hath brought in the the Lordship of one man ouer many Churches.

T. C. Pag. 139. Sect. 1.

The same answer may be made vnto that which he sayth of the place to the Romanes, where speaking of the offices of the Church, after that he had set forth the office of the pastor, and of the Doctor, he addeth those other two offices of the Church, wherof one was occupied in the government only, the other in providing for the poore, and helping the sick. And if besides the manifest words of the Apostle in both these places, I should adde the sentences of the writers vpon those places, as M. Caluine, M. Beza, M. Martyr, M. Bucer, &c. It should easily appeare, what iust cause M. Doctor hath to say, that it is to dally with the scriptures, & to make them a nose of waxe, in alleaging of these to proue the Elders, that all men might vnderstande, what terrible outcries he maketh, as in this place, so almost in all other, when there is cause, that he should lay his hand vpon his mouth.

Cap. 12.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Caluine.

Martyr.

Beza.

Bucer.

The like answer do I make to that place also that I made to y<sup>e</sup> former M. Caluine sayth, that these words of the Apostle, *Qui praeest in diligentia*: he that ruleth with diligence, may generally be extended *ad praefecturas omne genus*: to all kind of rule or government. And M. Martyr vpon the same words, sayth, that he doubteth not, *multas fuisse in ecclesia praefecturas*: that there were many governments in the Church. M. Beza likewise although he sayth that the Apostle in this worde vnderstandeth *presbyteros*, yet he addeth, *qui & ipsi interdum doctrina verbo praeerant*: which also sometime dyd preach the word. M. Bucer sayth playnely, *Est praeterea qui praeest, qui pascendi & regendi ecclesiam munus accepit*: Furthermore he doth rule, whiche hath receyued the office of feeding and governing the Church. Wherby he must needs vnderstand the Pastor, & not any unpresiding Senior. But what kinde of argument call you this? he that ruleth, must do it with diligence, Ergo, there must be Seniors in every parish. You should rather conclude thus, therefore those to whome God hath committed any office of government, muste doe the same diligently and carefully.

The place  
Rom. 12. is  
generall,

So that although these learned men do vnderstand this place of Seniors, yet do they think, y<sup>t</sup> it may also be vnderstanded of other magistrates & gouernours: & therefore vpon their interpretations you can not conclude any certentie of your Seniors. And M. Beza seemeth by y<sup>e</sup> name of Seniors, to vnderstand the ministers of the word, that is, Bishops & pastors: and there is no doubt, but that y<sup>e</sup> Apostle in this place doth admonish all to be diligent in their office, that haue any kind of gouernment committed vnto the. Wherfore you may not restraine this to any one particular kind of gouernment, which y<sup>e</sup> Apostle hath generally spoken of all: for that were in daide to dally with the scriptures, & to abuse them as the Papists do, yea to make the a nose of waxe, as I haue sayd before.

Chap.



## Chap. 1. the 8. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 139. Sect. 2.

This I am compelled to write, not so much to proue that there were Seniors in euery Church (which is a thing confessed) as to redeeme those places from M. Do. 202s false and corrupt interpretations, for as for the prooue of Elders in euery congregation, besides his confession, I neede haue no more but his owne reason. For he sayth that the office of these Elders in euery Church was in that time wherein there were no christian Magistrates, and when there was persecution, but in the Apostles times there was bothe persecution, and no christian Magistrates, therefore in their time the office of these Elders was in euery congregation.

## Io. Whitgifte.

If this be a good argument, S. Paule *ad Rom. 12.* sayth, he that ruleth, must doe it diligently: *Ergo*, euery particular congregation muste of necessitie be gouerned by Seniors: M. Do. this, the Apostle. *1. Cor. 12.* sayth, that God hath placed in his Church gouernours, *Ergo*, euery parish must haue a Seigniorie: M. Do. this, Paule and Barnabas in euery Church ordeyned pastors, therefore in euery Church there must be a company of Seniors, to whome the whole gouernment of the parish is to be committed: If (I say) these be good & sure arguments, then haue I corruptly interpreted those places. But if these arguments be not sounde, if they haue no sequele in them, if they be agaynst the practise of the Church euer since it had christian Magistrates, and long before, especially for suche Elders as you meane, if this kinde of gouernment in many reformed Churches be not thought conuenient, if it spoyle the Christian Magistrate of the authoritie giuen vnto him by the worde of God, and finally, if it bring in confusion, then haue I truly interpreted those places, and according to my duetie and calling deliuered them from your corruptions. But the truthe of this matter shall more evidently appeare in that whiche followeth.

What whiche I haue sayde of the being of Seniors in euery Church, I saye still: neyther is that the questiō, for I aske y<sup>e</sup> question of your Seniors, not of Ministers, (whome I call Seniors) neyther dyd I meane that in euery particular parish, there was suche a Seigniorie, but in euery chiefe Citie, nor that it was at all tymes in persecution, and where there was no Christian Magistrate, but sometimes: neyther that this kinde of gouernment muste be in suche times, but that it may be. And therefore you had done well, if you had not bene so sparing of your p<sup>ro</sup>oues, for all my graunte.

## ¶ Whether the gouernment by Seniors ought to be perpetuall. Chap. 2. the first Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 139. Sect. 2.

I come therefore to the seconde poynte, wherein the question especially lyeth, whiche is, whether this function be perpetuall, and ought to remayne alwayes in the Church. And it is to be obserued by the waye, that whereas there are dyuers sorts of aduersaries to this discipline of the Church, M. Doctor is amongst the worst. For there be that saye, that thys order maye be bled or not bled now, at the libertie of the Churches: But M. Doctor sayth that thys order is not for these times, but onely for those tymes when there were no Christian Magistrates, and so dothe flatly pynche at those Churches, whiche hauing Christian Magistrates, yet notwithstanding reteyne this order still.

## Io. Whitgifte.

I say so still, and I am able to defende my saying, agaynst al that you haue shewed to the contrarie. And yet do I not pinche at any Church that vseth it (if there be any such) so that they haue the consent of the ciuill Magistrate, who may if he will depart from his right, & abridge himself of the authoritie committed vnto him by God. But he neede not so do except he list: and whether it be wel done or no, I will not determine: this I am well assured of, that in a Monarchie, & in a kingdome such as this Realme of England is, it can not be practised, without vntollerable contention, & extreme confusion: except you could deuise to make euery seueral parish a kingdome within it selfe, and



and exempt it from all ecclesiastical & ciuill iurisdiction, of Prince, Prelate, & whomsoever: which vndoubtedly may seme to be your seeking, as will appeare hereafter.

### Chap.2. the.2. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 139. Sect. vlt. & Pag. 140. Sect. 1.

And to the ende that the variance of this distinction, which is, that there ought to be Seniors or Auncients in the times of persecution, & not of peace: vnder tyrants, & not vnder christian Magistrates may appeare: the cause why these Seniors or auncients were appoynted in the Church, is to be considered, which must needs be graunted to be, for that the Pastor not being able to ouersee al himself, & to haue his eyes in euery corner of the church, & places where the Churches abode, might be helped of the Auncients. Wherin the wonderful loue of God towards his church doth manifestly appeare, that for the greater assurance of the saluation of his, did not content himselfe to appoynt one onely ouerseer of euery church, but many ouer euery church.

And therefore seeing that the Pastor is nowe in the tyme of peace, and vnder a christian Magistrate not able to ouersee al himselfe, nor his eyes can not be in euery place of the parish present to beholde the behaviour of the people, it followeth that as well nowe as in the tyme of persecution, as well vnder a christian Prince, as vnder a tyrant, the office of an Auncient or Senior is required. Onlesse you will say that God hath lesse care of his church, in the time of peace, and vnder a godly magistrate, than he hath in the time of persecution, and vnder a tyrante.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

I say there may be Seniors in the time of persecution, when there is no christian Magistrate, not that there ought of necessitie to be. God hath prouided the ciuill Magistrate, and other gouernours, to punishe and to correct vice and other disorders in the Church: who hath his officers and deputies in euery place for that purpose, neyther may the Pastor, nor any other, to whome that charge is not committed by the ciuill magistrate, vsurpe that office vnto them selues. Wherefore that cause by you alleged, is no cause at all why there should be any suche Seniors, where there are christian Magistrates, neyther is that kinde of government any parte of the Pastors charge.

The Pastor if he be a meeke man, is able to do al that, that is required of a Pastor, else might it be sayd (which you before denied) that God appoynted offices & functions, and gaue not sufficient gifts to execute & do them. Neyther can it be sayd, that God hath lesse care of his Church, when he placeth ciuill and Christian Magistrates in the stead of Seniors, than when he placeth Seniors, and leaueth it destitute of Christian Magistrates. For one of the most singular benefites that God bestoweth on his Church in this worlde is, that he giueth vnto it christian Kings & Princes, from whose office and authoritie, whosoever doth detract and withdraue any thing, iniurieth the ordinance of God, and sheweth him selfe vnthankfull for so great a benefite.

### Chap.2. the.3. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 140. Sect. 1.

In deepe if so be the Auncientes in the time of persecution, & vnder a tyrant, had medled with any office of a magistrate, or had supplied the roome of a godly magistrate, in handling of any of those things which belonged vnto him, then there had bene some cause why a godly magistrate being in the church, the office of the Senior, or at the least so muche as he exercised of the office of a magistrate, should haue ceased. But when as the auncient neyther dyd, nor by any manner might meddle with those things which belonged vnto a magistrate, no more vnder a tyrante, than vnder a godly magistrate, there is no reason why the magistrate entring into the church, the elder should be therefore thrust out. (\*) For the Elders office was to admonish seuerally, those that did amisse, to comforte those which he sawe weake and shaking, and to haue neede of comforte, to assist the Pastor in ecclesiasticall censures of reprehensions, sharper or milder, as the faultes required, also to assiste in the suspensions from the supper of the Lorde, vntill some triall were had of the repentance of that partie which had confessed him self to haue offended, or else if he remayned stubborne, to assist him in the excommunication. These were those things which the Elder dyd, which for so muche as they may do as well vnder a christian magistrate, as vnder a tyrant, as well in the time of peace, as in the time of persecution, it followeth that as touching the office of Elders, there is no distinction in the times of peace and persecution, of a christian Prince, and of a tyrant.

(\*) Where finde you this in all the scriptures



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I would gladly know by what place of scripture you can iustifie this office that you haere appoynt vnto Seniors. In so weightie a matter in my iudgement you shoulde haue done well to haue vled some authoritie of scripture, or other auncient wyter. The Admonition sayth, that the office of Seniors was to gouerne the Church with the rest of the ministers, to consult, to admonish, to correct, & to order all things apperteyning to the state of the congregation: Which if it be true, I pray you what authoritie remayneth to the ciuill Magistrate in ecclesiasticall and Church matters? In daede if you make such a distinction betwixt the Church & the comon wealth, the ciuill Magistrate & the ecclesiasticall, as you do throughout your whole booke, it is no maruell though you thinke the office of Seniors to be perpetuall. For you giue no more authoritie to a Christian Magistrate in ecclesiasticall gouernment, thā you would do to the Turke, if you were vnder him. And therfore according to your platfome, the gouernment of the Church is all one vnder a christian Magistrate, and vnder the great Turke. But to leaue the Admonition: what haue you spoken of the office of Seniors, which is not eyther proper to the Pastor, or comon to all Christians, or such as may be much better brought to passe, by the authoritie of the ciuill Magistrate, than by the ignorance, simplicitie, and rudenesse of the most of your Seniors? But first let vs heare more of your fantasies befoze we come to vtter the absurditie of your cause.

The office ascribed to Seniors, deppreth the Magistrate of his authoritie in ecclesiasticall matters.

No more authoritie graunted to a christian Magistrate, than to the Turke.

*Chap. 2. the 4. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 140. in the midst.

But I will yet come nearer. That without the which the principall offices of charitie cannot be exercised, is necessarie and alwayes to be kept in the Church: but the office of Ancients & Elders are such as without which the principall offices of charitie can not be exercised, therfore it followeth that this office is necessarie. That the principall offices of charitie cannot be exercised without this order of Ancients, it may appeare, for that he which hath sinned, and amēdeth not after he be admonished once priuately, and then befoze one witnesse or two, can not further be proceeded against, according to the commaundement of our sauour Christ, onlesse there be in the Church Ancients and Elders, therfore this principall office of charitie which tendeth to the amendement of him which hath not profitēd by those two former admonitions, can not be exercised without them. For it is commaunded of our sauour Christ, that in such a case when a brother doth not profite by these two warnings, it should be tolde the Church. Now I would aske who be ment by the Church here, if he say by the Church, are ment al y people, then I will aske how a man can conveniently complayne to all the whole congregation, or how can the whole congregation conveniently meete to decide of this matter. I do not denie but the people haue an interest in the excommunication, as shal be noted hereafter, but the matter is not so farre come, for he must first refuse to obey the admonition of the Church, or euer they can proceede so farre. Wel, if it be not the people that be ment by the Church, who is it? I heare M. Doctor say it is the Pastor, but if he will say so, & speake so straungely, he must warrant it with some other places of scripture, where the Church is take for one, which is as much to say as one man is many, one member is a body, one alone is a companie. And besides this strangenesse of speech, it is cleane contrary to the meaning of our sauour Christ, and destroyeth the soueraintie of the medicine which our sauour Christ prepared for such a festred soze, as would neyther be healed with priuate admonition, neyther by admonition befoze one or two witnesses. For as y fault groweth, so our sauour Christ would haue the nūber of those, befoze who he shuld be checked & rebuked likewise grow. Therfore from a priuate admonition he riseth vnto the admonition befoze two or thre, & from thē to the church, which if we should say it is but one, then to a dangerouser wound should be layd an easier plaster, & therfore our sauour doth not rise from two to one (for that were not to rise, but to fall, nor to proceede, but to go backward) but to many. Seeing then that the church here is neyther the whole congregation, nor the pastor alone, it followeth that by the church here he meaneth the pastor, with the Ancients or Elders. Or else whom can he meane? And as for this manner of speech wherein by the church is vnderstanded the chiefe gouernours and Elders of the church, it is oftentimes vled in the olde Testament, from the which our sauour borrowed this manner of speaking, as in Exodus it is sayd, that Moses wrought his miracles befoze y people, when mention is made befoze, onely of the Elders of the people, whome Moses had called together. And most manifestly in Josue, where it is sayd that he that killed a man at vnwares, shall returne vnto the citie vntill he stand befoze the congregation to be iudged. Where by the congregation, he meaneth the gouernours of the congregation, for it did not appertayne to all to iudge of this case. Likewise in the Cronicles, and diuers other places. And therfore I conclude, that for so muche as those be necessarie and perpetuall which are spoken of in those words (tell the Church) and that vnder those words are comprehended the Elders or Ancients, that the Elders & ancients be necessarie and perpetuall officers in the church.

Math. 18.

4. chap.

20. chap.

1. li. 13. cha.

Io. Whit.



## Io. Whitgifte.

*Die ecclesia  
interpreted.*

*Church, for  
the gouernours  
of the church.*

*Hom. 61. in  
Matth.*

*Musc. tit. de  
Magist. in lo.  
rom.*

*Matth. 5.*

There are many words without matter, & a great thing pretended to no purpose: for the principal offices of charitie, both hath bin & may be wel exercised without your Seniors: the place Mat. 18. both in no respect proue the contrarie. For it only teacheth an order howe to procede charitably in priuate offences, & not in publike, as I haue shewed before. Moreover to tel the Church, is eyther publikly to reprove those that haue bin priuately in that maner admonished, & wil not repent, or else to complayne vnto such as haue authoritie in the Church, according to that which I sayde before of this place, in my Answer to y<sup>e</sup> Admonition. And heerein you ioyne with me, in that you take the Church there, for the chief gouernours of the Church, though we differ in y<sup>e</sup> persons. For you will haue it onely ment of the Pastor & Seniors, and I thinke it signifieth more generally any, which are lawfully appoynted to gouerne the church. But whether it be one or more that hath this authoritie committed vnto him, it is more to tell him than it is to tell twentie besides: because he being in authoritie, doth beare the office of a publike Magistrate, who hath power publikly to correct that which was priuately committed: and therfore he that telleth one suche, may wel be sayd to tell the Church, because he telleth such a one as hath authoritie in the Church, and is a publike person. So that he riseth from priuate admonition to open complaint: from priuate witnesses, to a publike Magistrate: and therfore this is to rise, not to fall, to procede, not to goe backwarde.

But admit that mo than one is vnderstanded by the name of the Church (which I also confesse) yet doth it not followe, that it shoulde be your Seignorie, which you would haue in euery congregation to consist of the Pastor, and some other of his parishe, but rather suche as Chrysostome calleth Prelates and Presidents, which are Bishops & such other chiefe gouernours. But be it that this place admitted y<sup>e</sup> same sense, that you would haue it to do, yet do I answer you as M. Musculus answered y<sup>e</sup> Papists objecting these words in effect to the same ende that you do, that is, to spoyle the Christian Magistrate of his authoritie in ecclesiasticall matters. *Obijciunt illud Christi, dic ecclesie: Et si ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi velut Ethnicus & Publicanus. Respondeo, Ecclesie dei tum Magistratu pio ac fidei destituebantur. &c.* They object (sayth he) that place of Christ, *Dic ecclesie*: tell the Church: and if he heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an heathen and publicane. I answer, The Churches of God were then destitute of a godly and faythful Magistrate: wherfore the iudgements betweene brethren & brethren were exercised by Seniors in an ecclesiasticall assembly, as it was also vsual in christian Churches plated by the Apostles. But there is a far diuers condition of those Churches which by the benefite of God haue obteyned Princes and christian Magistrates, who haue the chieftie power, the making of lawes, and gouernment, not only in profane matters, but also in diuine. But that is a most pestilent error, whereby diuers men thinke no otherwise of the christian Magistrate, than of a profane gouernment, whose authoritie is to be acknowledged onely in profane matters. And surely you do not one iote in this poynt differ from the opinion of the Papists. Trueth it is, that the place of Matthew may be vnderstanded of Seniors: but it may as well be vnderstanded of any other that by the order of the church haue authoritie in the Church. And seeing that it admitteth diuers interpretations (as it dothe) there can no suche platfome of necessitie be grounded vpon it.

Moreover when Christe sayde, *Dic Ecclesie*, there was no christian Church established, but he speaketh according to the state of the Jewes Church that then was vnder the Heathenish Magistrates: as he also doth when he sayth: If thy brother trespass agaynst thee: &c. leaue thine offering before the alter. &c. And to this doth M. Calvin agree in his Harmonie expounding y<sup>e</sup> same place. And surely as of this place you may not conclude, that in the Church of Christ there ought to be suche offerings and alters, so may you not on the other place conclude, that there ought alwayes to be Seniors. Saye muche lesse this, than the other: for this is doubtfull, and the other is playne.



## Chap. 2. the. 5. Division.

T. C. Pag. 141. Lin. 11. &amp; Sect. 1. 2. 3. 4.

1. Tim. 6.

Furthermore S. Paule having entreated throughout the whole first epistle to Timothy, of those things which ought to be in the church of God, & of the government, as himselfe witnesseth in the third chapter of that Epistle, when he saith he wrote that Epistle to teach Timothy how he should be haue himselfe in the house of God) and having set forth both Bishop, & Elder, and Deacons, as ministers and officers of the Church, in the shutting up of his Epistle he for the obseruation of all the orders of that Epistle, aduise Timothy, & with the invocation of the name of God straightly charge him to obserue those things which he had prescribed in that epistle, I charge thee (saith he) before God which quickeneth all things, and before Iesus Christ which witnessed vnder Pontius Pilate a good profession, that thou keepe this commandment without spot or blemish, vntill the appearing of our Lord Iesus Christ. The weight of which sentence for the obseruing of those things which are mentioned in this epistle, that it may be the better understood, I will note the words severally.

First therefore it is to be noted, that he saith (I denounce or I charge) he doth not say (I exhort or give counsell) leaving it to the libertie of Timothy.

Secondarily it is to be noted, that he calleth (\*) the whole Epistle a commandment, and therefore it is no permission, so that it may be lawfull for the churches to leave it, or to keepe it.

Thirdly, when he maketh mention of the living God, & of Christ which witnessed a good profession vnder Pontius Pilate, he sheweth that the things contayned in this Epistle are such, as for the maintenance thereof we ought not to doubt to giue our liues, and that they be not such as we ought to keepe, so that we haue them without strife & without sweate, or easily, but such as for the keeping of them, if we haue them, and for the obteyning of them if we haue them not, I will not say vnto vs, for therefore doth he make mention of the confession of Christ vnto death that he might shew vs an example, and forthwith speaketh of God, which rayseth from the dead, that by this meanes he might comfort Timothy if he should be brought into any trouble for the defense of any of these things.

Fourthly, if we referre those words without spot or blemish vnto the commandment (as I for my part thinke they ought to be) then there is a waight in these words not to be passed over, which is, that the Apostle will not only haue the rules here contayned, not troden vnder the feete, or broken in peeces, but he will not haue them so much as in any one final point or specke neglected. But I see how M. Doctor will wipe away all this, and say that these things, or some of them were to be obserued thus necessarily and precisely vntill there were christian princes and peace in the church, but the point is deeper than that it will be so washed away, and therefore it is to be obserued. What he sayth in the latter end of the sentence, where he chargeth Timothy, and in him al, that he should keepe all these things, not vntill the time of peace, or to the times of christian princes, but even vntill the coming or appearing of our sauoure Christ, which is as long as the world lasteth. And therefore I conclude that the Seigniors or Elders of the Church (being a part of that order and government of the Church, which S. Paule appointeth in this Epistle) are necessary, perpetual, and by no meanes to be changed.

## Io. Whitgiste.

Al this is but to blind the eyes of the Reader, being indeede without all pith & greiv. For first wher hath the Apostle in al that Epistle spoke one word of the office of your Seniors, which you distinguish from a minister of the word? wher doth he giue any such commandment concerning his office? wher doth he prescribe any such forme or kind of government? if he keepe silence in this matter through the whole epistle, how dare you presume to say that to be commanded which is not mentioned, & to make so much ado about nothing? surely if this kind of government had bin so necessary, & for euer to be obserued, S. Paule wold not haue omitted it in this Epistle especially. You say that he hath set forth in that Epistle the office of an elder: if by an elder you meane a Bishop or a Pastor, it is true. If you meane your own elder, such as must govern only & neither preach nor minister the sacraments, it is very vnttrue: and you haue no conscience in speaking vnttruth: for he speaketh not one word of that senior or of his office. If you reply or obiekt that which is written. 1. Tim. 5. qui bene præsunt presbyteri. &c. I answer as I did before, that by presbyter in that place he meane such as be in the ministerie, and no other. If he do meane any other, yet doth he not describe the office of that Senior, neither giueth any precept of his continuance, or rule of any such kind of government: & therefore cannot be included in that precept which you so greatly amplify: for the words of the Apostle be these, *serues hoc preceptum*, so that you haue laboured much to proue a thing that is not, and therefore you haue laboured in vaine. Secondly, you cannot extend these words of the Apostle to the whole Epistle, as though it were giuen generally of the whole, and of euery thing therein contained: for then muste you of necessitie bring in widowes and their office into the Church mandement.

(\*) This cannot be true as shall be declared.

The office of Seniors not mentioned in the 1. Tim. much lesse commanded.

The whole epistle to Timothy. 1. is not that commandment.

Whh.

again:



again: because the Apostle doth not only describe their office in that epistle, but also giveth direct precepts of them, & so doth he not of your Seniors. Likewise his precepts of drinking wine, which he giveth there also, must of necessity be observed of all ministers, which have the like infirmity. These and such other grosse absurdities must of necessity followe, if you will have all things in that Epistle necessarily for ever to be observed, and the whole epistle to be that commandment, that the Apostle here enjoineth to Timothy. cap. 6.

Whereunto  
that commandment  
is referred.

Chrysostome.  
Caluine.

Neither can I perceiue that any learned interpreter doth referre this commandment to any other things contained in this Epistle, than to those only that do appertaine to the pastoral office of Timothy: and some there be, that restrayne it to those things onely which are before spoken of in this 6. chapter, & especially to y<sup>e</sup> precept against couetousnes. Chrysostome expounding this place sayth thus: Vhar is it to kepe the commandment pure? *Ut neq<sup>ue</sup> vita neq<sup>ue</sup> dogmatu gratia aliquid macule contrahat*. That neither in respect of lyfe or doctrine thou haue any spot. To conclude M. Caluine interpreting it, sayth on this sort: By this word commandment, he signifieth those things which he had hitherto spokē of the office of Timothy: wherof this is the sum, that he shuld shew himself a faithful minister to Christ & to the church. For what need is there to extēd this to the whole law, except peradventure some mā had rather to take this simplye for the function comitted vnto him: for whē we are appointed ministers of the church, God doth therewith prescribe vnto vs what he would haue vs to do. So that *seruare mandatum*, to keepe the commandment is nothing else, but faithfully to execute the office comitted vnto him: surely I do wholly refer it to the ministerie of Timothy. Wherby it is euident, that vnder this commandment euery thing in this epistle is not contained, but y<sup>e</sup> only which doth appertaine to y<sup>e</sup> office of Timothy. That which followeth (*immaculatus & irreprehensibilis*) according to the most and best interpreters, is referred to Timothy, & not to the commandment, contrary to your iudgement: wherfore I also conclude, that nothing in this Epistle maketh one tote for your Seniors.

### Chap. 2. the sixthe Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 141. Sect. vlc.

So that we haue not only now the exāples of al y<sup>e</sup> primitive churches (which ought to moue vs if there were no commandment) but we haue also a straight commandment, I say the only exāple ought to moue vs, for what way can we safely follow thā y<sup>e</sup> comon high way, beaten & trode by y<sup>e</sup> steps of al y<sup>e</sup> Apostles, & of al the churches? Things also grounded, & being preserved by the same meanes by the which they were ingendred, why should we thinke but y<sup>e</sup> the churches now wil prosper by y<sup>e</sup> government, wherby it first came vnto? But I say we haue not onely the exāples of the churches, but we haue also commandment & straight charge to kepe this office of elders and aunciens in the church, & therfore it is not onely rashnesse in leauing the way that the apostles, & churches by the apostles aduise haue gone, but disobedience also to depart from their commandment, & to mainteyn & defend that we may do so, I can almost giue it no gentler name than rebellion.

### Io. Whigifte.

Exāples of churches ther may be some, but not of your kind of Seniors. Precept & commandment for this kind of government, there is not one in y<sup>e</sup> whole scripture, or any other approued authoritie. For I haue before shewed how little y<sup>e</sup> authoritie serueth your purpose, y<sup>e</sup> which you would haue vs thinke to be so expresse a commandment. Wherfore it is no rebellion to disallow of your order in the tyme of Christian magistrates, but it is rebellion to contend for it, to the abiding of that authoritie that God hath to Christian Princes committed.

### Chap. 2. the seuenth Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 114. Sect. 2. &c.

I know y<sup>e</sup> in the primitive church they had in euery church certain Seniors, to whome the government of the congregation was committed, but that was before there was any Christian Prince or magistrate that openly professed the Gospell, and before there was anye Church by publike authoritie established, or vnder Ciuill govern-



gouernment: I told you befoze, that the diuersitie of tyme and state of the church, requirerh diuersitie of gouernment in the same. It can not be gouerned in tyme of prosperitie, as it is in tyme of persecution: It may not be gouerned vnder a Christian Prince, which doth nourish and maynteyne it, as it may be vnder a Tyrant, when it is constrained to flee and seeke corners. It can not be gouerned in a wol ole realme, as it may be in one little cite or towne: it cannot be gouerned when it is disperled thzough many places, as it may be when it is collected into some one narrow and certayne place: To be chozte, it can not be gouerned when it is ful of hypocrites, Papists, Atheists, and other wicked persons, as when it hath verie fewe or none such: as comonly it hath not in tyme of persecution, when the gold is as it were by fyre tried from the dross. He that accordyng to this diuersitie of the forme, state, & tyme of the church, doth not allowe a diuersitie of gouernment, doth confound and not edifie. I praye you what Seniors could you haue in most parishes in England fit for that office? But wise, not wilful men, haue to consider this: God hath giue the chief gouernment of his church, to the christian magistrate, who hath to consider what is most conuenient: and we must therewith be content, so that nothing be done against faith, and the commaundement of God.

Diuersitie of  
tyme & place  
requirerh a  
diuers go-  
uernment.

TC. Pag. 142. Sect. 1.

Nowe I will come to M. Doctors reasons which he hath in the hundreth & fourteene, and a hundred and fiftene pages, where he graunterh that there were elders in euery Church in tynes past, but saith that it ought not now so to be. For saith he, the times alter the gouernment, and it cannot be gouerned in the tyme of prosperitie, as in the tyme of persecution, vnder a christian prince as vnder a tyrant. Thus he sayth, but sheweth no reason, bringeth no prooffe, declareth not howe nor why prosperitie will not beare the elders, as well as persecution, neyther why they may not be vnder a godlie prince as well as vnder a tyrant, vlesse this be a reason, that because the godlie prince doth nourish the church as a ciuill Magistrate, therfore the Buncients may not nourish it as ecclesiasticall ouersers.

### Io. Whitgifte.

My reason why it may not be gouerned vnder a Christian Prince, as it maye vnder a tyrant, is this: God hath giuen the chiefe authoritie in the gouernment of his church to the Christian magistrate, which could not so be if your Seignorie might as wel retein their authoritie vnder a Christian Prince, and in the tyme of peace, as vnder a tyrant, and in the tyme of persecution. For tell me I pray you what authoritie ecclesiasticall remayneth to the ciuill Magistrate, where this Seignorie is established? But that the Reader may vnderstande this not to be my iudgement alone, but the iudgement also of famous learned men, & the practise of well reformed churches. I thought good in this place befoze I proceed any further, to report the opinions of Musculus and Gualter, touchyng this matter. Musculus in his common places, *titulo de Magistratibus*, affirmeth, that notwithstanding in the Apollles tyme, the churches were ruled by Seniors, yet they may not so be vnder christian rulers and Magistrates, who haue authoritie not in ciuill matters only, but in ecclesiasticall also. His wordes I haue recited befoze. M. Gualter in his comentaries vpon 1. Cor. 5. doth at large entreat of this matter: whose wordes because they haue pith in them, and proceede from him which is both learned and godlie, and of great experience, I will reherse them as I finde them.

The Church  
may not be  
gouerned vnder a  
Christian Prince  
as vnder a ty-  
rant.

Musculus.

Supra in the  
4. diuision.

There are also others which although they haue true christian princes, and want no lawes wherby licentious maners are corrected, yet they say they nede an ecclesiasticall senate, which might punish euery man, and haue authoritie also ouer Princes, that it might seclude them from the Lords supper (if they haue giue any publike offence) & not to admitte them againe vnto the felowship of the Church, but vpon their allowaice after publike satisfactio.

Hhh. ij.

And



And if any man do contrary them in their opinion, by and by they crie out vpon him as the enemy of all discipline, & as one vnwoorthy to haue any place in the Church: as though there could no other forme of discipline be appointed, but that whiche they haue inuented. But they must pardone vs, and let them not condemne vs rashly, which do dissent from them not without good reason. You see therefore how your Seignorie and kinde of gouernement is liked, euen of zelous and godly ministers of reformed churches. Neyther do I remember that I euer read any authoure that dothe of necessity require it: scripture (I know) you haue none for it.

### Chap. 2. the. 8. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 142. Sect. 2.

Howe being M. Doctor can shew vs no cause why they may not as well be now, as in the time of the Apostles, as well vnder a Christian prince as vnder a Tyrant, I will shewe him that although they be always necessary, yet there is better cause why they should rather be now, than in the Apostles times, greater necessity vnder a Christian prince, than vnder a tyrant. First of all in the Apostles times it is knowne that the gifts of the spirit of wisdom, discretion, knowledge, and during of trouble, were poured forth more plentifully, then euer they were eyther before, or shall be after. By reason whereof, the Pastors and ministers of the churches that were then, were (I speake generally, and of the estate of the whole Church) better furnished with the gifts needfull for their ministerie, than are the ministers of these days. Whereupon I conclude that if the ayde and assistance of the Pastor, by the Elders, was thought necessary by the Apostles in those times, when the ministers were so well, and so richly replenished with such gifts, much more is that ayde and assistance meete for the ministers of these days, wherein their gifts of discretion, & knowledge, and diligence are not so plentifull. For if they whose eye sight was so cleare to perceiue, whose hands so nimble to execute, had neede for their ayde, of other eyes and other hands, then the ministers now, whose eyes are dimmer, and hands heavier than theirs were, haue much more neede of this ayde than they had.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

The ciuill magistrateth a better help to the minister, than the Seniors.

This reason is answered two ways, and that briefly: The first is, because there is not at this time in euery congregation so meete men, for that office of Seniors, as there was then: for God hath not now so plentifully poured the gifts of the spirit of wisdom, discretion, knowledge, &c. vpon so many in euery congregation according to your owne confession, as he did then: and therefore nothing so easie to find in euery congregation meete men to gouerne, as it was then. Secondly, the ciuill and Christian Magistrateth hath that whole authoritie now, that Seniors had then, and much more, for he may punish with corporall punishment, and so could not they: he may compell and constrain, and so could not they: so that the Pastor may be much better ayded and assisted in doing his dutie, and in suppressing vice by the authoritie of the Christian Magistrateth, than he eyther was then or could be now by the Seniors. Wherefore this reason of yours is no reason at all, but maketh directly against you, if it be well considered.

### Chap. 2. the. 9. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 142. Sect. 3. 4.

The question is not of the ability to find Seniors, but of the necessity of hauing them.

Againe if S. Paule did charge the persecuted, and therefore poore churches, with the finding and prouiding for the Seniors in euery Church (as it appeareth in 1 Epistle to Timothy, where he sayth that Elders which rule well, are woorthy double honoure, whereby he signifieth a plentiful reward, and such as may be fully sufficient for them and their households, as when he bludgeth that the widow which serued the Church in attending vpon the sick, and vpon the strangers, should be honoured, that is, haue that wherewith she might honestly and soberly liue) if I say S. Paule would charge the churches then with mainteyning the Elders, whiche being poore, were not sometimes able to liue without some releefe from the Church, because they were compelled oftentimes to leaue their owne affaires to wait of the affaires of the Church, howe much more ought there now to be Seniors, when the churches be in peace, and therefore not so poore, & when there may be chosen such for the most part throughout the realme, as are able to liue without charging the Church any whit, as the practise of these days doth manifestly declare.

And if S. Paule that was so desirous to haue the Gospel *ἀνάπαυον*, that is free and without charges as much as is possible, and soloth to lay any burthen vpon the churches, especially those whiche were poore, did notwithstanding emoyne the maintenance of the Elders, vnto the churches poore and persecuted, how much more shall we thinke, that his mind was that the churches which liue in peace, and are rich, and may haue this office without charge, ought to receiue this order of auncients.

Jo. VVhitgiste.



## Io. Whitgiste.

This is a poore and feeble reason: the Church founde Seniors in the time of persecution, *Ergo*, there ought rather to be Seniors under a Christian prince than in the time of persecution. *Or* this: the Church is now better able to finde Seniors, *Ergo*, it ought now rather to be gouerned by Seniors. You may make the same reasons also for wyldowes and diaconesses, and as well induce the necessitie of them. But we aske not what the Church was able to do then, *or* what it is able to do now, but whether the same gouernment ought to be now that was then: and whether a Christian magistrate haue no more authoritie in the gouernment of the Church now, than the heathenish and persecuting magistrate had then. Although if you consider the abilitie of some Parishes, and the unwillingnesse of other some, you shall find that they be hardly able *or* willing to finde a fit Pastor, muche lesse would they be able *or* willing to sende a number of Seniors besydes their Pastor.

The place of S. Paule 1. Tim. 5. is vntuly alledged for your purpose, for the Apostle meaneth of the Minister in euery congregation, and not of any number of Seniors, as I haue before declared. Neither haue you one place of Scripture to warrant your interpretation, *or* application of that place.

God hath much better provided for his church, by placing in it ciuil and Christian magistrates, whose authoritie is so ample & large, than by placing Seniors: wherefore where Christian magistrates be, the gouernment of Seniors is superfluous, and the Church may not be burdened with vnnecessarie and vnprofitable charges: neyther may the authoritie which God hath giuen to the Christian magistrate, be withen out of his hand, by a rude companie of Seniors in seuerall parishes.

God hath provided better for his church by giuing christian magistrates, than by Seniors.

## Chap. 2. the tenth Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 142. the lastelyne. &c.

Whereouer those that be learned knowe, that the gouernment of the Church which was in the Apostles times, being partly in respect of the people that had to do in the elections & other things popular: partly in respect of the Pastors and Buncients Aristocraticall, that is the rule of the best: I say they knowe that these gouernmentes doe easly decline into their contraries, and by reason thereof both the gouernment of those which were most vertuous might easly be changed into the gouernment of few of the richest, *or* of greatest power, and the popular estate might easly passe to a confused tumult. Now this incommodie were they more subject vnto vnder a tyrant, than vnder a goodly prince. For they had no ciuile magistrate, which might correct and reforme those declinings when they happened. For the tyrants did not knowe of it, and if they had knowe of it, they would haue bene glad to see the churches goe to wracke: therefore now we haue a goodly ciuile magistrate which both will and oughte to remedie suche declinations and conuersions of good gouernment into euill, it followeth that this estate and gouernment by Buncients, is rather to be vled vnder a Christian prince than vnder a tyrant.

## Io. Whitgiste.

Those that be learned knowe, that the gouernment of the church is neither popular, nor Aristocraticall (as it is before declared where you haue affirmed the lyke) but a Monarchie. For in euery particular church where there is a Christian Magistrate, he is chiefe and principall ouer the rest: and you your selfe confesse, that the Pastor is the chiefe of the Seigniorie, whiche ought not to be if the state were epyther Popular, *or* Aristocraticall. Of the vniuersall church onely Christ is the head and chief, and therefore the state of it is Monarchicall. But of the state and kinde of gouernment of the church in euery kingdome *or* prouince, I haue particularly, and at large spoken in the treatise of Archbishops.

The gouernment of the church monar chieall.

Tract. 8.

I shal not need to will the Reader once againe to marke how you bend your force against a Monarchie. For your principle is, that the gouernment of the common wealthe must be framed according to the gouernment of the church: And therefore it maye not be a kingdome, but rather a Popular estate, *or* Aristocraticall, because the gouernment of the Church (as you say) is so. But be it as you woulde haue it: what then? Forsooth it maye easly decline from a popular estate to a confused tumult, and from an Aristocraticall state to the gouernment of a fewe, when there is no Christian Magistrate, than when there is a Christian magistrate, therefore it is more meete for the gouernment of the Church, to be popular *or* Aristocraticall vnder a Christian Magistrate, than vnder a tyrant.

C. C. bendeth his force against a monarchie.

Whb. iij.

First,



Firste, I deny your argument as being boyde of all sense and reason. Secondly, I saye that no Christian Magistrate is bound to suffer in his dominion, so manie several and distinct kindes of government: and to haue one kinde of government in the Church, and an other in the common wealth, seeing that God hath committed the chief care of them both to one and the selfsame person. Thirdly, I denie your antecedent: that is, that a popular or Aristocraticall kinde of governing the church doth more easily decline into their contraries vnder a tyrant than vnder a Christian magistrate: for men being in persecution, and in dayly expectation of death, are not so desirous to procure vnto themselves authoritie & dominion, as they be in the time of peace and prosperitie, sooner vnder a tyrant and in the tyme of persecution, those that be appointed gouernours of the Church, be but for a time only, and during the pleasure of such as appointed them, and therefore can not vsurpe any vnlawfull iurisdiction ouer the rest against their willes. In such times of the Church rather disobedience and subornesse in the common sort, than tyrannie or oppression in the gouernours, is to be feared. Surely you would sayne haue reason for your popular cause, if you could tell where to fynde it.

And lette the Reader note the myght of this your reason: the popular and Aristocraticall kind of government may more easily decline to their contraries vnder a tyrant than vnder a Christian magistrate: therfore y<sup>e</sup> gouernment of the church must be popular or Aristocraticall rather vnder a Christian magistrate, thā vnder a tyrant. Howsoeuer the antecedent is true, there is no sequele in the argument. For vnder a tyrant necessitie doth driue the Church oftentimes to one of these two kindes of gouernment, but when there is a Christian Magistrate, God hath appointed it to be subiect to him.

### Chap. 2. the eleuenth Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 143. Sect. 1.

Besides this, in the time of persecution all assemblies of diuers together were dangerous, & put them all in hazard of their life which did make those assemblies, & therfore if the pastor alone might haue chosen and determined of things pertaining to the church by himself, it had ben lesse danger to him, & more safe for others of the church. And therfore if the seniors were then thought meete to gouern the church, when they could not come together to exercise their functions without daunger, muche more ought they to be vnder a Christian prince, when they may meete together without danger.

### Io. Whitgiste.

These be the homeliest reasons that euer I hearde, & the lightest to be vsed in so weightie a matter. For first, the Seniors might as safely meet together in the tyme of persecution, to exercise discipline, as the whole church to heare the word of God & to pray. Secondly, it was not so daungerous for foure or fve to meet together. Thirdly, no daunger ought to be feared when a man seeketh to do his dutie. Fourthly, what kind of reason cal you this? the Seniors may with lesse daunger meet together to execute their functions vnder a Christian Prince than vnder a tyrant: therfore there ought rather to be Seniors vnder a Christian prince than vnder a tyrant. I flatly denie the argument. For vnder a tyrant the church must haue that kinde of gouernment, that it may most conueniently enioy, with what daunger so euer it be ioyned: vnder a Christian Magistrate it must be subiecte to his authoritie, and gouerned by him, seeing that God hath committed vnto him the chief care & government therof: therfore the office of Seniors is nothing necessarie where ther is a Christian magistrate, but it is vsurpation rather of the office of the Magistrate, and a detracting from his authoritie: neyther hath God in any place of the Scriptures commaunded obedience to those your Seniors, or described their office: but he hath done both expressely, touching the ciuill Magistrate.

### Chap. 2. the. 12. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 143. Sect. 2.

My Doctor proceedeth and sayth, it cannot be gouerned in a whole realme, as it may be in a citie



of towne. This gouernment by Seniors is not only in one citie, but also hath bin of late thorough-  
out the whole realme of Fraunce, where there were any churches: and M. Doctor confesseth,  
that it was in all the primitive Churches, and therfore not onely in one realme, but almost thro-  
roughout the whole worlde: and therfore the large spreading of the Church, can not hynder it.  
So that the difference lyeth stil in the peace and persecution of the church, and not in the capa-  
citie and largenesse of the place where the churches abyde. So myghte one reason agaynst the  
lawfull estate of a Monarchie: for he might say that although the rule of one be needful and conue-  
nient in a household, yet it is not conuenient in a towne, and although it be conuenient in a towne,  
yet it is not in a citie, and although in a citie, yet not in a realme.

### Io. Whitgiste.

If you will so deuide these seuerall cities, and Churches in one kingdome, that  
they be not vnder one gouernoure, ruled by the same lawes, members of one king-  
dome, but every one of them as it were a common wealth within it selfe, (as it is in  
seuerall Churches within one kingdome in the time of persecution) then it is true  
that you say, and in this case were the primitive Churches, and so were the Church-  
es in Fraunce. But when as all the Townes and Churches in one kingdome, be  
subiect as wel in causes Ecclesiastical as civil, to one prince, ruled by the same lawes  
etc. then can you not establish this your Seignorie without great confusion, and in-  
tolerable iniurie to the minister of God: I meane the Christian Magistrate.

Seniors  
spoile & prince  
of his iuris-  
diction.

The authoritie of the Master of the household ouer his family derogate nothing  
from the authoritie of the Prince, but doth confirme and establish it rather. But the  
authoritie of your Seniors in euery congregation, spoyleth the prince of his Juris-  
diction, and maketh him subiect where he ought to be ruler, and therfore your rea-  
son is not like.

### Chap. 2. the. 13. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 143. Sect. 3.

To be short saith he, when he can say no more, it cannot be gouerned when it is full of hypo-  
crites Papists, Atheists, and other wicked persons, as in the times of persecution when there were  
few or none such. I haue shewed before how great want of knowledge it bewrayeth, to saye that  
Papists and Atheists be of the Church, and I loue not as M. Doctor doth to vse often repetiti-  
on, but if there be now moe hypocrites and other wicked and vniuersal persons in the Church, than  
there were in the time of persecution (which I will not deny) then there is greater cause now why  
there should be Seniors in euery Church, than there was then when there were fewer. For the  
more naughty persons, and the greater disorders there be, the more ayde and help hath the pastor  
need to haue both to find out their disorders, and also when they haue found them out, to iudge of  
the qualitie of them, and also to correct them with the censures of the Church, which standeth  
in such reprehensions priuate and open, and excommunication, as I haue before rehearsed.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

What M. Doctor was able to say more, was vnknewne to you. If he would al-  
ledge as vaine reasons as you do, and spende paper in vitering his owne fantasies  
without eyther scripture or other authorities, as your vsuall manner is, he would at  
the least haue seemed to say much, as you do, who indeede say nothing at all.

I say againe that there be in the Church, that is, in the externall societie of the  
Church, both Papists, Atheists, drunkards, etc. and your deniall of it I haue shewed  
before to be vaine. I say further that those and such like offenders, may best be re-  
formed by the civil Magistrate, and by corporall punishment: as for your Seniors  
they will not set a straw by them. For as M. Gualter sayth: They which cannot be  
brought into order by the authoritie of a lawfull magistrate, and by lawes, will much lesse  
suffer themselves to be punished by the commandement of Seniors, or of an Ecclesiasti-  
call senate, whome with all their solemnitie they will laugh to scorne.

Tract. 3 cap. 6  
diuisi. 2. & 4.  
The Magi-  
strate may  
better reforme  
offenders, than  
the Seniors.  
Gual. 1. cor. 5.

### Chap. 2. the. 14. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 143. Sect. 4. & vlt.

Afterwarde he asketh what Seniors may be had in most of the parishe in Englands for  
that



that office: he asketh the same question in the 133. page, wher he also addeth Pastors, asking where may be gotten such Pastors as the authoꝛs of the Admonition require, when as they require no other than those which the word of God requireth. Well then if this be a good reason why there should be no Elders in any Church, because fit men are not to be gotten in all parishes: it followeth by M. Doctors reason, that for asmuch as we have not fit and able Pastors for every Church, that therefore we ought to have no able Pastor in any Church.

And if he will graunt that we ought to have able Pastors in as many places as they may be gotten: how can he denie that we should have Elders in those Churches where fitte men may be had.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Difference  
betweene the  
necessitie of  
Pastors and  
of Seniors.

The question is necessarie and cannot be so shifted of: But you are still like unto your selfe. The reason of hauing Pastors & of hauing Seniors is nothing like: For the office of a Pastor is perpetuall, so is not the office of your Senior. Pastors be necessarie in the Church of Christ, as well for the administration of the sacraments, as for the preaching of the word, and other Ecclesiasticall functions: so be not Seniors. The office of a Pastor is not only described in the scriptures, but commaunded also: shew where the office of your Senior is so. The office of a Pastor derogateth nothing from the authoritie of the Christian Magistrate: but the office of your Seniors spoyleth him of the one halfe, and in a manner of the whole, as shall hereafter more plainly appeare. Wherefore this may well be true, that although suche Pastors as are to be wished cannot be provided for every place, yet there must be suche as may be conveniently come by. But the same is not true in Seniors, being neyther necessary, nor (where a Christian Magistrate is) profitable, but the contrary.

And these reasons will serue to denie that of Seniors, which we graunt of Pastors, seeing the office of a Pastor is commaunded as necessarie and perpetuall: and not the office of a Senior.

### Chap. 2. the. 15. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 144. Lin. 2.

And I say further, where we haue an expresse commaundement layd vpon vs to do a thing, there all disputations must cease, of hardnesse, of impossibilitie, of profyte, or else of peace. For first God hath not commaunded any orders in his Church, which are impossible, and if they seeme hard, it must be remembred, that the best and excellentest things are hardest, and that there is nothing so hard, which diligence and trauaile to bring it to passe, will not overcome: which thing if it be proued true in worldly affaires, the truth thereof will much more appeare in the matters pertaining vnto God, considering that if God with his blessing do surmount all the difficulties in worldly matters, which are otherwise hard to be compassed, he will in his owne matters and matters pertaining to his glory, fill vp the valleys, although they be neuer so low, bring downe the hills, although they be neuer so high, playne the wayes, & they neuer so rough, so that he will make of a way not passable in the eyes of flesh, a way tracked and easy to go in, and to walke towardes that kingdome, wherevnto he calleth vs.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

The office of  
Seniors no  
where com-  
maunded.

Iohn. 13.

Act. 15.

1. Tim. 5.

These be but words of course to no purpose. For firste you should haue proued that the office of your Seniors is commaunded, which I utterly denie. When should you haue declared that the same commaundement is perpetuall: for many thinges are commaunded in the new testament, which be not perpetuall, as the washing of feete, Iohn. 13. to abstayne a sanguine & suffocate, Act. 15. to elect and chuse wydowes, to minister in the Church. 1. Timo. 5. and suche lyke. So that you haue craftily passed ouer two principall poyntes, and those which ought to be the groundes of your cause. Forste therefore I denie that thys office of Seniors is commaunded any where in the new Testament: then I say that if it were commaunded, yet is it but a temporall commaundement. Those two poyntes not being by you proued, the words you utter are but in vaine.

Chap.



## Chap. 2. the. 16. Division.

T.C. Pag. 144. Lin. 15.

Besides that, I answer wheresoever there is a Church, there are the riches of the spirit of God, there is with knowledge, discretion, and wisdom, and there are such as S. Paule calleth wise and can discern and iudge. And wee see that when men are called to a lawfull and profit-  
 1, Sam. 10. his calling, and especially to a publike calling, God doth poure on his giftes of that person which is so called so plentifully that he is as it were suddenly made a newe man, whych if he doe in the wicked as Saule was, there is no doubt but he will doe it in those which are with the testimonie of the church, & with experience of their former godlie behaviour, chosen to such offices of weight. So that there is not nor can not be any want to obey Gods commaundement, and to establish the order in the Church which God hath appointed, but our owne eyther negligence and slothfulness, or fearefulness or ambition, or some other leaven which we nourish within our selues.

## Io. Whitgifte.

This lacketh p<sup>ro</sup>ofe: for sometymes the church of God is, where there is ney-  
 ther good Pastor, nor meete gouernour, as in the tyme of Elias. And though God  
 sometymes bestow his gifts vpon y person that is called to a lawfull and a publike function as he  
 did vpon Saule, yet doth he not alway so. God doth not of necessitie geue his graces to  
 offices: for as he in the beginning of his church miraculously bestowed his giftes: God bestow  
 so doth he now leaue the same, by outward meanes in parte to be obteyned, as by  
 education, learning, instruction, reading, studying, &c. which meanes being neglec-  
 ted, God doth of his iustice permitte euill Magistrates and officers, which he also  
 sometymes doth for the offences of the people, as may be seene in the most parte of  
 the kings of Iuda, and of Ierusalem, and almost in all christian princes and gou-  
 nours vnder the Popes tyzannie: For I suppose you meane such giftes as be profit-  
 able for the Church.

God bestow  
 with his gifts  
 by meanes.

Surely if this were true that you here so boldly withoute p<sup>ro</sup>ofe affirme, then  
 should it not much skill what kind of men wer chosen to be either Pastors, or Magi-  
 strates, for howsoeuer they were before furnished with gifts, yet when they be once  
 called, God will miraculously poure vpon them gifts necessary, though they be the  
 rudest and ignorantest men in a whole countrey. Is not this to boast of the spirit as  
 the Anabaptists doe but I thinke the Reader vnderstandeth, that God now worketh  
 by ordinarie meanes, not by miracles. And though it be certaine that God dothe en-  
 due magistrates, such as feare him with singular gifts, yet doth he it by meanes as  
 is said, and it is not at all times so, nor in all persons, but whē, where, and in whome  
 it pleaseth him. Therefore to ground any generall doctrine vpon singular examples:  
 or to stablish an external kind of government vpon Gods inward and secret work-  
 ing: to bind God vnto that of necessitie, that he doth bestow of grace and mercy: to  
 make that common to al, which he of his infinite wisdom bestoweth vpon some:  
 is not the part of a skilfull diuine.

The absurditie  
 of the Re-  
 p<sup>re</sup>sent.

But to let all this passe: you do still *petere principium*, and take that as graunted,  
 which you cannot p<sup>ro</sup>ue, that is, that the office of Seniors is an office established in  
 the Church by the commaundement of God, and not to be altered: whiche I for my  
 part can neuer graunt vnto you, except you haue moze pithie reasons to p<sup>ro</sup>ue it,  
 than any that you haue as yet offered.

## Chap. 2. the. 17. Division.

T.C. Pag. 144. Lin. 26. &amp; Sect. 1. 2.

It is true, that we ought to be obedient vnto the ciuill magistrate, which gouerneth the church  
 of God in that office which is committed vnto him, and according to that calling. But it muste  
 be remembred, that ciuill magistrates must gouerne it according to the rules of God prescribed  
 in his worde, and that as they are nourishes, so they be seruantes vnto the church, and as they  
 rule in the church, so they must remember to subiect themselves vnto the church, to submit their  
 scepters, to throwe downe their crownes, before the church: yea as the prophet speaketh, to like  
 the dust of the feete of the church. (Wherin I meane not, that the church doth eyther taking the  
 scepters oute of princes handes, or taketh their crownes from their heades, or that it requyeth  
 princes to like the dust of her feete (as the pope vnder this pretence hath done) but I meane as  
 the prophete meaneth, that what soeuer magnificence or excellencie, or pompe, is eyther in them,  
 or



or in their estates and common wealthes, whiche dothe not agree with the simplicitie and (in the iudgement of the world) poore and contemptible estate of the Church, that that they will be content to lay downe.

(\*) A dangerous doctrine.

And here cometh to my minde, that wherewith the worlde is nowe deceived, and wherewith M. Doctor goeth about both to deceiue himselfe & others too, in that he thinketh that the Church must be framed according to the common wealth, and the Church gouernment according to the ciuill gouernment, (\*) which is as much to say, as if a man should fashion his house according to his hangings, when as indeede it is cleane contrary, that as the hangings are made fit for the house, so the common wealth must be made to agree with the Church, and the gouernment thereof with hir gouernment. For as the house is before the hangings, and therefore the hangings which come after, must be framed to the house which was before: so the Church being before there was any common wealth, and the common wealth coming after, must be fashioned and made suteable vnto the Church. Otherwise God is made to giue place to men, heauen to earth, and religion is made (as it were) a rule of Lesbia, to be applyed vnto any estate of common wealth whatsoeuer.

(\*) An obscure, and deformed argument.

Being (\*) that good men, that is to say, the Church are as it were the foundation of the world, it is meete that the common wealth which is builded vpon that foundation, should be framed according to the Church, and therefore those voyces ought not to be heard, this order will not agree with our common wealth, that law of God is not for our state, this forme of gouernment will not match with the policie of this realme.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

The overthrow of the princes authoritie contained in the Reply.

These words would be well considered, for they containe the ouerthrow of the princes authoritie both in ecclesiasticall and ciuill matters. But I will only giue a breefe note of them in this place, meaning to set forth this matter more at large elsewhere. When he saith that the ciuill magistrate must gouerne according to his calling, and according to the rules of God prescribed in his word, &c. al. though the wordes be true, yet if you marke vpon what occasion they be spoken, you shall perceiue the benome that lyeth hid vnder them: for he doth thereby insinuate, that the ciuill Magistrate may not intermedle with the office of the Seniors, that is, with ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, for he taketh Seniors to be the officers appointed by God for that purpose: which is to bereaue the ciuill Magistrate of his authoritie, and to giue that to Seniors whiche the Pope vnder the like pretence doth arrogate vnto himselfe. And therefore will and truly sayth M. Gualter in the place before recited. Those men (meaning such as call for Seniors when they haue a Christian Magistrate) do distinguish betweene the Ecclesiasticall and ciuill iurisdiction in respect of the punishment of sinnes, and the discipline of manners. But this distinction is taken out of the Popes shoppe, and in the holy scriptures it is no where to be found. For there is the same reason of the magistrate in the new Testament, that was in times past in the old, for so much as Christ hath sayde that he came not to breake the law, but to fulfill it: But in times past the Iudges and kings, had power to punish those that offended, neyther did the priestes or prophets thrust themselves into that busines, but so farre forth as perteyned to admonitions and reprehensions, which they applyed out of the word of God according to the qualitie of the offences: Therefore the same must be obserued in the new Testament, neyther is it needefull that the ministers of the word should haue a peculiar senate, or that they should challenge vnto themselves by any meanes those things that belong to the ciuill Magistrate. M. Gualters meaning is, that the ministers of the word cannot challenge the authoritie of punishing vice (otherwise than by admonitions and reprehensions, that is, that they cannot challenge this kinde of gouernment of a Seigniorie) by the word of God, because all such authoritie is committed to the ciuill Magistrate: So that if Bishops haue it, they must haue it from him, as it is in this Church of England. And therefore will sayth M. Gualter in the same place: there may be appoynted such as shall haue the correction of manners in such countries where the ordinarie magistrates cannot do all themselves, but those must be appoynted by the magistrate, and do all at his commaundement: and not vsurp any distinct Iurisdiction from the ordinarie magistrate.

The prince made subject to Seniors by the Replyer.

The second pointe to be noted is, when he sayth that Christian princes must subiect themselves to the Church, submitte their scepters, throw downe their crownes before the Church, &c. the whiche kind of speech, the Pope himselfe bleth, and vnder the same pretence hath troden kings vnder his fete. And although E. C. seeme to mislike this excessive



excessive blessing of authoritie by the Pope, yet would he haue the same iurisdiction to remaine to his Seniors ill, whome he vnderstandeth by the name of the Church, as appeareth in that which he spake befoze of these words of Christ *Die Ecclesia*: so that he would haue the Prince, subiect his selfe to the Seniors of the Church, and throw downe his crowne befoze them, that is, to be content to be ruled and gouerned, to be punished and corrected, to be excommunicated and absolved by their discretion, and at their pleasure. This no doubt is his meaning, neyther can it otherwise be: for if this kind of government be once admitted, the Prince must needs be of some peculiar Church and congregation, and therefore subiect to the Seigniorie of that Church, except it please master Pastor (who is the cheefe) and the rest of his neighbours the parishioners, to elect the Prince into the Seigniorie, and make hym one of them: and yet must the Pastor be his superiour, and haue authoritie to cal him to consultations, and to direct him in matters of discipline, and whether he will or no he must be ordered and ruled by the Pastor and most part of the Seniors. And yet now I remember my selfe, the Prince cannot be of the Seigniorie, for *E. C.* a little after graunteth that his Seniors be no lay men but Ecclesiasticall: so that in dede the Prince must be a servant no master, a subiect no Prince, vnder government no gouernour in matters pertainyng to the Church.

Page. 140. in the latter end.

Pa. 146. sect. 1.

And least any man should thinke that this is but my collection, (though it be most true, and I will iustify it so to be) I haue shewed befoze that whiche M. Gualter affirmeth vpon the. 1. Coz. 5. as he also doth vpon the. 12. Chapter of the same Epistle saying, there be some which according to the example of the old and primitiue Church wold haue Seniors, and an Ecclesiasticall senate, that should haue authoritie ouer magistrates, if they at any time do not their duty. And in dede this is one of the chiefe causes why our men would so gladly haue a Seigniorie: for they would gladly be in hand with magistrates to make them stoupe and bow downe vnto them.

Gualter.

The third point is in this, that he would haue, the government of the common wealth and the common wealth it selfe, framed to the Church, and the government thereof, as the hangings are made fit for the house. Whereby as it may seeme he would haue all monarchies ouerthrowen and reduced eyther to a popular or an Aristocraticall estate: for these two kinds of government he only alloweth of, in the Church, as it appeareth by that which he hath thereof oftener than once or twice spoken befoze.

The Replier seeketh the overthrow of monarchies.

Now the lawes of man will beare this, I knowe not, but I am well assured the law of God will not suffer it. For Christe came not to ouerthrow kinds of government, and ciuill policie, neyther doth the Gospel dissolve kingdomes, for *S. Peter* sayth. 1. Epist. 2. *Proinde subditi estote cuius ordinationi humane propter dominum, siue Regi. et Submit yourselves vnto all manner ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be vnto the king, as to the superior. And so Paule. 1. Tim. 2. to the exhorteth him to pray for kings, which he would not haue done if the state of a kingdome could not agree with the state of the Church.*

Christ & the Gospel no enemies to kingdomes. 1. Pet. 2.

1. Timo. 2.

But I will not amplify this matter. Let such consider of it, to whome it doth specially pertaine. This is your reason to proue that the government of the common wealth, ought to be framed according to the government of the Church: because there was a Church befoze there was a common wealth: but I denie the argument: and your similitude (of house and hangings) doth not proue it. All the Examples in the Scripture of common wealthes, being also the Churches of God, declare the contrary, neyther can you shewe any state altered in this manner, but only among the Anabaptists.

Of like weyght is your other reason, which is this: Good men, that is the Church, are as it were the foundation of the world, the common wealth is builded vpon that foundation, therefore the government of the common wealth must be framed according to the government of the Church. This geue is to subtille for euery body to vnderstand: but the argument is without all fashion, and it is neyther true in matter nor forme. For how proue you that

that



that good menne are the foundation of the worlde: The fyfte menne were greivous transgressours, the mosse of them. The evyll menne in multitude and worldevely prosperitie, have from tyme to tyme in the worlde overgrown them. Moreover, the Church visible conteyneth bothe good and badde: and so doth the common wealth, and therefore it can not be sayde to be buylded of good menne moze than of evill men. To conclude, if all this were true, yet dothe not the argumente followe. For the foundation giueth strength, but it giueth not the whole forme or fashion to that whiche is buylded vpon it. For a man maye make alterations in his house, though he doe not once move or stirre the foundation. And surely holmesouer you will dallie off these Collections vpon your manifest wordes, similitudes, and reasons, with some devised interpretation and diste (so) it will stande you in hande (so to doe) yet what occasion you have given thereby to the common people, and other that be contentions, to mislike of this present state and government, wyle men can consider. And to tell you playne, excepte you have some mysticall sense in them, (whiche I can not conceiue) I see not howe they can stande with your alleagiance. I speake of the wordes as you haue vttered them: I wil not enter into the depth of your meaning: And I will hope the best vntil I vnderstand further of your mynde.

### *Chap. 2. the. 18. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 133. Lin. 1.

Neither is there any authoritie in the whole Bible, that enforceth or prescribeth that kinde of government as necessarie or conuenient for all tymes: no moze than there is to proue that in the Church there must be alwayes such as haue power to work miracles, or that haue the gift of healing and such like: whiche offices notwithstanding are mentioned as well as gouernours in the first to the Cor. 12.

T.C. Pag. 144. Sect. vii.

Nowe to come agayn to M. Doctors reasons, he sayeth in the. 133. page, that if they bide gouernours because they are spoken of in the. 12. to the Cor. then they may aswell bide the power to work miracles, the gift of healing, &c. for that they are likewise reckned vpon in the same place. But doth not M. Doctor know, th it although some things be extraordinarie, and for a time, yet other some things are ordinarie and to endure alwayes: wil he say for that the gifts of miracles and of healing are extraordinarie, therefore the teachers which are there reckned together with the gifts of working miracles and of healing are extraordinarie: hath he forgotten that he (indeed vntuly) made before the office of Apostles & prophetes and euangelistes, a perpetual office, and yet they are there ioyned with these gifts which were but for a time, and therefore it is a verfaburd argument to say, that for that some thing reckned with gouernours, is for a tyme, and extraordinarie, therefore the gouernours also be so.

### *Jo. Whitgifte.*

And howe proue you, that the office of Seniors is moze ordinarie, or of longer continuance than the office of Apostles, Prophetes, the power of working miracles, and of healing, which be in that place recited as well as those gouernours be, whome you call Seniors? You ought to haue proued the office of Seniors to be perpetuall: for that I denye and shewe my reason, that it cannot be proued out of that place by cause other offices mentioned in that place to the Corinthians be temporall. But this being mosse materiall, you passe it ouer, because you are not able to proue it. I haue tolde you before in what sense there may be both Apostles, Prophets, and Euangelistes. And if I can not necessarily conclude, y the office of Seniors is temporall, because it is reherfed among those offices & gifts y be temporall, much lesse can you conclude that



that it is perpetuall, the moſte of the offices and giſtes with it expreſſed, being tempoꝛall.

### Chap. 2. the. 19. Diuiſion.

Anſwere to the Admonition. Pag. 133. Lin. 9.

Well ſayth Muſculus in his common places, *tit. de Magiſt. Si renocas tempoꝛum illorum mores, primū conditiones & ſtatum quoꝛum illorum renoca.* If thou wilt vſe the maners of that time, firſt cal agayne the condition and ſtate of that time: That is, let vs be without chriſtian Magiſtrates, as they were: let vs be vnder Tyrants and perſecutoꝛs as they were. &c.

T.C. Page. 145. Lin. 11.

As for Muſculus authoritie, which is, that the times doe chaunge the orders, beſides that I haue answered befoꝛe, & beſides that he doth not ſpeake it of the Elders, I haue proued that it can haue no place here, ſoꝛ ſomuch as the Elders are neceſſarie, and commaunded in the ſcripture.

### Jo. Whitgiſte.

Muſculus in that place ſpeaketh of the gouernment of the Church, and of the authoritie of the ciuill Magiſtrate in matters eccleſiaſticall: And proueth that the gouernment of the Church may not be now, as it was in the Apoſtles time.

And a little befoꝛe ſpeaking of the Seignioꝛie, he affirmeth as much, as it appeareth in his words befoꝛe recited. You haue not as yet proued, eyther the office of Senioꝛs now to be neceſſarie, oꝛ the ſame to be commaunded in the ſcripture.

### Chap. 2. the. 20. Diuiſion.

Anſwere to the Admonition. Pag. 133. in the midſt.

You ſay it is moze eaſie foꝛ the wicked by bribing to peruert and corrupt one man, than to peruert and ouerthrowe the ſayth and pietie of a zelous and godly companie: and therefore better the gouernment of the Church to be committed to many, than to one. If this reason be good, then the moze there be that rule, the better is the gouernment, and ſo *popularis ſtatus erit optimus reipublice ſtatus*: agaynſt all both Diuinitie and Philoſophie: foꝛ we ſee that God him ſelfe in his common weale of Iſraell, did alwayes allowe the gouernment and ſuperioꝛitie of one ouer the reſt, bothe in the time of Iudges, and after in the time of the Kings. And in the newe Teſtament we may alſo ſee that kind of gouernment moſt allowed of. 1. Pet. 2. But I will not heere reaſon with you in this matter, and call that into queſtion, which hath bin by ſo many learned men determined, and by the examples of all good common weales confirmed.

Retortion by  
abſurditie.

T.C. Pag. 145. Sect. i.

Unto the Authors of ſ Admonition, ſaying ſ it is eaſier to overthrow by bribing one mā, than the ſayth & pietie of a godly companie, he anſwereth, that ſo it ſhould come to paſſe, that the moꝛe ſ ruled the better eſtate it ſhould be, and ſo the popular eſtate ſhould be the beſt. But where do the authors of the Admonition ſay, that the moze that rule, the better it is? Is it all one to ſaye, that the gouernment of a fewe of the beſt is better than the gouernment of one, and to ſaye, the moze that rule the better? If it were to the purpoſe, it might be ſhewed bothe by Diuinitie and by Philoſophie, which M. Doctor ſpeaketh of, that that eſtate which he meaneth is not the beſt, and I haue in a

It.

word.



woorde before spoken of, where I declared that the mixed estate is best, bothe by the example of the kingdome of Christ, and also of this our realme.

### Io. Whitgifte.

But if this be a good reason agaynst the rule and gouernment of one, that the Admonition vseth, then the moe that rule the better it is, and this is all that I charge the with. Wherunto you answered not one worde, but dally off the matter, by asking Where do the authors of the Admonition say, that the moe that rule the better it is. I might dally with you in like maner, & say: where doth any man charge them with so saying: yet doth the same necessarily follow vpon their reason. They say not, the gouernment of a fewe of the best, but of a companie: which signifieth many: and why should not this argument be good: if the gouernment of a fewe godly men be better than the gouernment of one, because one is easier ouerthrowne by bribing than moe, then is also the gouernment of many godly men, better than the gouernment of a few, because a few may sooner be corrupted than many: and consequently by the same reason, the moe that gouerne the better. This reason you haue glaunced by, and not touched: and yet it enforceth a manifest absurditie, agaynst the Authors of the Admonition. For it is too absurde to saye that a Popular estate is the best state: neyther will any affirme it, but those which woulde be Popular.

There are no more lawfull kinds of gouernment than three.

The gouernment of this realme a true Monarchie.

You are neuer able to shew eyther by Diuinitie or Philosophie, that there are more lawfull kindes of gouernment than thre: that is, Democraticall, Aristocraticall, and Monarchicall, and of these, bothe the Scripture and Philosophie alloweth of the Monarchie, as simply the best.

The gouernment of this kingdome is a right and true Monarchie. Neither do you know what a Monarchie is, when you call it a mixt estate: for that is called a Monarchie, where the chiefe care and gouernment of the common wealth is committed to one, as it is in this kingdome in every respect.

### Chap. 2. the. 21. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 145. Sect. 1.

It is sufficient now to admonish you, that although it be graunted that the gouernment of one be the best in the common wealth, yet it can not be in the Church: for the Prince may wel be Monarche immediatly betwene God and the common wealth, but no man can be Monarch betwene God and his Church but Christ, which is the onely head thereof. Therefore the Monarchie ouer the whole Church, and ouer euery particular Church, and ouer euery singular member in the Church, is in Christ alone.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Christ the onely head of his vniuersall church.

The Prince head of a particular church

T. C. glaunceth at the magistrate.

If you meane of the vniuersall Church, onely Christ is the head, neyther hath he any Vicegerent to supply that vniuersall care ouer the whole Church. But if you speake of particular Churches, as the Church of Englande, the Church of Denmarke, &c. then as the Prince is chiefe gouernour and head of the common wealth vnder God, so is he of the Church likewise. For it is certayne that the christian Magistrate vnder Christ, hath as great authoritie, as the Magistrate had vnder law: But then the ciuill Magistrates had chiefe authoritie bothe in matters of the common wealth, and of the Church also (as hereafter it shall more playnely appeare) therefore the Magistrate ought to haue the same nowe in like maner. T. C. doth but glaunce at the Magistrate, because he dare not speake playnly: but suche licentious speeches (though they be of all reason and ground) may peraduenture sinke deeper into the heart of the subiects, especially of the Papist (who hath already conceived the same opinion of the ciuill Magistrate) than will be rooted out in shorte time: so carefull are these men in procuring to the Prince due obedience, and so saythfull are they in mainteyning his authoritie, according to their othe and due tie.



## Chap. 2. the. 22. Diuision.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 114. Sect. 2. & Pag. 132. Sect. 3.

Both the names & offices of Seniors were extinguished before Ambrose tyme, as he himselfe dothe testifie, writing vpon the fyfth of the fyft to Timothie.

In deede as Ambrose sayth, writing vpon the fyfth of the fyft to Timothie, The Synagogue, and after, the Church had Seniors, without whose counsell nothing was done in the Church, but that was before hys time, and before there was any christian Magistrates, or any Church established.

T. C. Pag. 145. Sect. 2.

Last of al (\*) to proue that there ought to be no Seniors in the church vnder a christian Prince, he citeth Ambrose authoritie both in the. 114. and. 132. pages, which sayth that the Synagogue or Church of the Jewes, and after that the Church of the Christians had Seniors, without whose counsell nothing was done in the Church: wher vpon he concludeth, that for as much as they were not in Ambrose tyme, therefore they were not vnder a christian Prince.

(\*) Vntreue, for it is not alleaged for that purpose

## Io. Whitgifte.

This is most vntreue. I alleage not Ambrose in eyther of those places to proue that Seniors ought not to be vnder a christian Prince, as the Reader may vnderstande evidently by my words. Only I confesse that there was Seniors, and I alleage Ambrose partly for that purpose, partly to shewe that both their names and offices were extinguished before his time: no man living can gather any other sense out of my words. Wherfore that conclusion vpon Ambrose words is yours, it is not myne: and I am sory that malice hath throwne you so deepe into y pit of vntreuth, that you can not be gotten out of it. No cloake or shadow can couer this deformitie of yours.

## Chap. 2. the. 23. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 145. Sect. 2.

And here M. Doctor hathe in one sentence praclaymed bothe his great ignorance in the whole storie of the Church, and withall eyther a maruelous abusion, and suaring him selfe to be mislead by some vnadvised, prompter, or subtile fore, that thought to deceyue him, or else a notable euill conscience, which wrastleth agaynst the truthe. His ignorance dothe appeare, partly in that he sayth, that because there were no Seniors in Ambrose Church, and in those Churches about him, therefore there was none at all: but most manifestly in that he sayth, for so muche as there were no Seniors in Ambrose tyme, therefore there was none vnder a christian Prince, as though there were not many yeres before Ambrose tyme christian Emperours, when as betwene the time of S. Ambrose being Bishop, & the time of Philip, the sonne of Gordias the first christian Emperour, there is more than. 150. yeres, and betwene the time of Constantine the Emperour, and the time of Ambrose being Bishop, there be aboue. 80. yeres. And if M. Doctor had euer read the Ecclesiasticall stories, he mought haue (\*) found easily the Eldership more flourishing in Constantines time, and other times, when as the peace of the Christians was greatest.

(\*) An vntreue, else name your stories.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

Except it were to set forth your owne knowledge, & to leaue a publike testimonie of your great humilitie and modestie, you would not so immodestly accuse M. Doctor of ignorance, though you had couinced him of it, as you neyther haue done, nor are able to doe, in that that he professeth. Likewise except your selfe vfed prompters, & patched your booke with other mens collectiones, you would neuer so offe charge me with y same.

I did not say, as I told you before, that because there was no Seniors in Ambrose tyme, therefore there was none vnder a christian Prince, but this I say, that y Seniors which Ambrose speaketh of, were extinguished before Ambrose tyme, and were not in the time of christian Princes.

To what purpose do you account y time betwixt Philip & Ambrose, or Constantine and Ambrose: you should rather proue that this kind of gouernment by Seniors was in Philips dominio, if he were christened (which may be doubted) or vnder Constantine.



You say, if I had ever read the ecclesiastical stories, I might have found easily the Eldership most flourishing in Constantinus time, and other times, when as the peace of the Christians was greatest. You have read the Ecclesiastical stories, how chauce that you shew it not. It is your parte to proue: you holde the affirmative. Bring forth one Ecclesiastical historie that affirmeth this kind of government to have bin vnder Constantinus. You might at the least have quoted the Autho<sup>r</sup> (with the booke and chapter) that so sayth; though you had disdayned to set downe his wordes. I demie not but it might be so in some time, and in some place vnder a christian Prince (and yet I know not how you will be able to proue it) but that is not the question. For our contention is, whether this kind of government ought of necessitie to be vnder a christian Prince, or not, and whether it be conuenient so to be, though it be not necessarie, and not whether it hath bin (which notwithstanding can not be proued) or may be.

### Chap. 2. the. 24. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 145. Sect. 3.

It is in the 5.  
tom. not in the 4.

And that the Presbyterie or Eldership endured in the Church after Ambrose time, and in the time of peace, and as it is very like in Ambrose time, although not where he was, it may be shewed playnly by Hierome (which followed Ambrose immediatly) who in his third chapter vpon *Isay* sayth, that they had also the Presbyterie or Eldership in the church.

4. Tom. 2.  
lib. in *Isai.*

### Io. Whitgifte.

Hier. 2. lib.  
in *Isaiam.*

What Pres-  
byterie Hiero  
meaneth.

Duarenus.

Jerome speaketh not one word of your Presbyterie, his words be these: *Et nos habemus in ecclesia senatū nostrū, ceterū presbyterorū*. And we haue in the Church our Senate, a company of Elders. Which he meaneth of Priests, and of Colledges of Cathedrall Churches, that were then in euery citie, and not of a Seigniozie in euery congregation, wherby euery seuerall parish was gouerned. That this was Jeromes meaning, it appeareth in the same place vpo these words, *Hariolum & senem*, where he interpreteth the word *Presbyter*, sayth they be suche as S. Paule describeth in his Epistle to Tim. and those be ministers of the word and sacraments. So may we say that we haue *senatum & ceterum presbyterorum* in this Church of England, whether you will meane it of Synodes and conuocations, or of Cathedrall & Collegiate Churches, which consist *ex cetera presbyterorū*: of a companie of ministers. And therfore Duarenus a learned writer speaking of this Seigniozie, sayth thus: And it is to be noted that there was a certayne Colledge of those Elders (he meaneth Priests, as it is euident in that which goeth before) in euery citie, ouer whom the Bishop had rule, suche as is at this day the Colledge of Canons, which seeme to haue succeeded into their place. And this company of Priests dothe Jerome call the senate of the Church.

Difference be-  
twixte Je-  
romes presby-  
terie, and that  
the Replier  
would esta-  
blish.

This Senate consisteth of Priests: yours of me in no degree of the ministerie: This Senate was only in euery citie, & the Bishop was the chiefe, yours must be in euery parish, & directed by y<sup>e</sup> Pastor. We reade not of any such iurisdiction that this Senate had ouer any, but ouer the Cleargie, yours must haue authoritie both ouer cleargie and laytie: wherfore this place of Jerome doth not helpe you one whit. But be it that this Seigniozie was y<sup>e</sup> same that you meane of, and that it was in Jeromes church, yet for as much as it was not in Ambrose his church also, it manifestly appeareth to be a thing indifferent, and not of necessitie to be vrged.

### Chap. 2. the. 25. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 145. Sect. vlt.

The same might be shewed by diuers other testimonies, which I omit, because that it may appeare by the former treatise touching the election of the minister, that this order of Eldership continued in the Church diuers hundred yeres after Ambrose tyme, euery as long almost as there was any scunde parte of the church, from the head to the heele.

### Io. Whitgifte.

But seeing that you haue hitherto brought forth so few testimonies, *scil.* one only, and that to smal purpose, it had bin wel if you had not passed the rest ouer so lightly.

For



For it is some sayde, that others other testimonies might haue bin shewed: but it had bin much for your credite if you had recited but one more, that we might at the least haue had two witnesses, but in deede you are not able. In your treatise of the election of ministers no such thing appeareth, except you will haue whole parishes of the Seigniorie, and the same to be without a Pastor, who should be the guide. For parishes do not usually chuse their Pastor untill they be destitute. Neyther is there any mention made by you, or prooue in that treatise, that there was a Seigniorie in euery parish, to whome the election was committed, and therefore you doe but speake this, *proferre*

### Chap. 2. the. 26. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 145. Sect. vlt.

Nowe I haue shewed the ignorance, it remaineth to shew how that eyther M. Doctor was inuicellously himself abused, or else desired to abuse other. For if where as he tooke halfe Ambrose sentence, he had taken the other halfe with him, and had not suddenly stopped his breath, that he should speake no more, in stead of a false witness agaynst the Eldership, he should haue brought forth as cleare and as flat a witness for the prooue of them, as a man could desire out of an ancient writer. The whole sentence is this: speaking of this office of Elders (although not vpon so good occasion) thus he sayth: Wher vpon the Synagogue, and after the Church had Elders, without whose counsell nothing was done in the Church, which Elders I know not by what negligence they are sworne out, onlesse it be through the slouthfulness of the Doctors, or rather through their pride, whylest they onely would seeme to be somewhat.

### Io. Whitgiste.

But if you be not able to alleage one place to proue that your Seigniorie was in the time of christian Princes, except onely that place of Hierome, M. Doctors ignorance is not so great, especially seeing that Ambrose, Hieronis ancient denieth the same to haue bin in his tyme. But if hauing one onely testimonie, and that making nothing for your purpose, but agaynst you rather (because it establissheth Collegiate Churches, which you would gladly throwe downe) then M. Doctors knowledge in this matter, is more than you can with all your loftie speeches & immodest words obscure.

I haue alleaged so muche of Ambrose saythfully and truly, as proueth that which I alleage him for: Neyther haue I left out one worde that maketh agaynst that my purpose: for if you remember your selfe, you can not but see and vnderstande that I only alleage Ambrose to proue, that there was sometime a Seigniorie, but yet dissolved and abrogated before his time. If that whiche followeth in Ambrose disproue this, then in deede you may say, that eyther I am abused, or desire to abuse other. But if it nothing derogate from my intent and purpose, then why do you falsely charge me, or why picke you a quarrel agaynst me for omitting that which neyther doth me harme nor good. Disproue any thing by any words of Ambrose that I haue alleaged Ambrose for, if you can: if you can not, then temper your immoderate speeches, & frame them according to the truth.

If Ambrose is misliked & abrogating of this Seigniorie, why did he not labour to restore it agayne: surely if it had bin a matter so necessarie, he being so godly and zealous a Bishop, would neuer haue suffered his Church to be spoiled of it, but it is euident by his words that it had not bin in practise long time before.

### Chap. 2. the. 27. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 146. Sect. i.

Now that I haue shewed the place, I will say no more, I will leaue it to M. Doctor to chuse of it in his chamber by himselfe, and so will conclude this question: that for so much as this order is such, as without which the principall offices of charitie can not be exercised, and that whiche is commanded by the scriptures, approued and receyued by all the Churches in the Apostles tymes, and many hundred yeres after in the most flourishing churches, both in time of peace, and in time of persecution, and that there are greater causes why it should be in the time of peace, than in time of persecution, why rather vnder a christian prince, than vnder a tyrant, why rather nowe, than in the Apostles tymes, that in consideration of these things the Eldership is necessarie, and such an order as the Church ought not be without.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

It forceth not greatly whether you say any more of it, or no: for as if nothing hind-  
ereth my purpose, so winneth it no credite vnto yours. And for asmuch as the Church  
may muche better be gouerned, and the principall offices of charitie much better exer-  
cised, by the ciuil Magistrate, than by these Seniors: and seeing that this kinde of go-  
uernment is neyther commaunded in the scriptures, nor practised in the Church as a  
kinde of gouernment not to be altered, seeing also that it bringeth in confusion, de-  
rogateth from that authoritie that God hath giuen to the ciuil Magistrate, howsoeuer it  
hath heretofore bin vsed, yet is there no cause, why it should now, or at any tyme  
vnder Christian Princes, be of necessitie reteyned.

*Chap. 2. the. 28. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 146. Sect. 1.

(a) The place  
Heb. 13. is quo-  
red only for the  
phrase, for it pro-  
ueth nothing in  
question.

And so also is answered the thirde question, that for so muche as they were Church officers  
and ouer the people in matters pertainyng to God, and such as watched ouer the soules of men  
that therfore although they were not Pastors to preache the word, yet were they no lay men (as  
they terme them) but ecclesiasticall persons.

(2) Heb. 13.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

Beza.

Caluine.

M. Beza in an Epistle, that is prefixed befoze the confession of the Churches in  
Helvetia, speaking of the Seigniorie, sayth, that there must be a great consideration had,  
that Princes and noble men, and suche as haue authoritie and preheminance in the  
Church, be chosen to be of the Seigniorie: and will you make noble men and Prin-  
ces ecclesiasticall persons, and suche as must wathe ouer the soules of men: in deede  
those that be called Presbyteri, in the Scriptures be Ecclesiasticall persons, for they  
be ministers of the worde and Sacraments. And M. Caluine *Institut. cap. 8. sect. 52.*  
sayth, that all the Seniors were ministers of the worde. His wordes be these: *Habe-  
bant ergo singula Ciuitates Presbyterorum collegium, qui pastores erant & Doctores: nam & apud  
populum manus docendi, exhortandi & corrigendi, quod Paulus Episcopis iniungit, OMNES obis  
bant*: for euery Citie had a Colledge of Seniors, which were Pastors and teachers: for they  
dyd all exercise among the people, the offyce of teaching, exhorting, and correcting, which  
Paule dothe inioyne to Bishops. But howe can you make your Seniors ecclesiasticall,  
seeing your Seigniorie must consist of noble men, gentlemen, marchaintmen, bus-  
bandmen, handycraftsmen, as Taylors, Shomakers, Carpenters, &c. euery such  
as the most part of the Parish will choose?

*Chap. 2. the. 29. Diuision.*

Admonition.

Then the sentence was tempered accordyng (h) to the notoriousnesse of the fact. Howe on the  
one side either hatred agaynst some persons carrieth men headlong into rash and cruell iudgement:  
or else fauour, affection or money mitigateth the rigour of the same, and all this commeth to passe  
bicause the regiment lefte of Christ (i) to his Church, is committed into one mans hands, whome  
alone it shall be more easie for the wicked by bribing to peruert, than to overthrow the sayth & pietie  
of a zelous and godly companie, for suche maner of men in deede (k) should the Seniors be.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 130. Sect. vlt. &amp; Pag. 131. 132.

&amp; Pag. 133. Lin. vlt. &amp; Pag. 134. Sect. 1.

You say, all this commeth to passe bicause the regiment lefte of Christ to his Church,  
is committed vnto one mans hands: and for the prooofe of this, you note in the  
margent the. 18. of Mat. the. 12. of the first to the Corin. the. 12. to the  
Rom. the. 5. of the first to Timoth. the. 15. of the Acts, whiche places  
beeing examined, let the discrete Reader iudge howe aptly they  
serue for your purpose.

In

h  
1. Ti. 1. 10.  
i  
Mat. 18. 7.  
1. Co. 12. 18.  
Rom. 12. 8.  
1. Ti. 5. 17.  
Act. 15. 24.  
6. 22. 23.  
k  
Exod. 18. 11.  
Deut. 1. 13.



In the .18. of Math. Christ sayeth on this sort: If thy brother trespass agaynst thee, go and tell him his fault betweene him and thee alone, &c. In the which place it is by the consent of all interpreters manifest, that Christe prescribeth a rule of correcting priuate and secrete sinnes, and not of such as be open and knowne to others. For he would not haue priuate and secrete sinnes blased abroad & publike-ly reprehended, before the partie offending be in this order first priuately admonished: this maketh nothing for your purpose, it taketh away authoritie of iudging and condemning from priuate men, and not from publike magistrates.

In the .12. of the first to the Corinth. verse. 28. these be the wordes of the Apostle: And God hath ordeyned some in the Church: as first Apostles, secondly Prophetes, thirdly teachers, then them that do miracles, after that the gifte of healing, helpers, gouernours, diuersitie of tounges. Now can you gather of these wordes, that all this commeth to passe (that is, hatred, fauour, corruption by money, and affection in iudgement) bycause the regiment leste of Christe to his Church, is committed to one mans hands: In these wordes the Apostle declareth that Christ hath leste in his Church gouernours, and thereof you may well conclude, that in the Church there muste be some whiche shoulde haue authoritie ouer the reste. The Apostle dothe not here say that in euery particular congregation Christ hath left many gouernours, no more than he sayeth that he hath left many pastors for one flocke: but in his Church he hath ordeyned gouernours.

An imperfect reason.

The gouernement of the whole vniuersall Church, is not by Christe committed to one Bishop, or one Prince, nor the gouernment of the whole worlde, to one Emperour: for no one man can discharge such a cure, and therefore he hath appoynted in his Church diuers Bishops, diuers Princes, many gouernours. But one Prince may suffice to gouerne one kingdome, and one Archbishop one Province, as chiefe and principall ouer the reste, one Bishop one Diocesse, one Pastor one parische, neyther doth the Apostle speake any thing to the contrarie.

In the .12. to the Romaines it is thus written: he that ruleth vvith diligence. What maketh this for your purpose, or how ca you wzing it to your assertion?

In the .5. of the .1. to Timothie. The Elders that rule vvell are vvorthy of double honour. &c. Paule sheweth in these wordes that such are worthy theyr skpende & reward, which rule well in the Church, and do their duties diligently: But what is that to your assertion?

The places alledged out of the fiftenth of the Actes, be of the like sorte. Wheresoeuer mention is made in the Scriptures of gouernours or Elders, that you alledge to improue the gouernment of one man, wherein you shewe a great wante of iudgement. And yet there is no one person in this Realme (the Prince only excepted) which hath such absolute iurisdiction, as you would make your disciples beleue. But your meaning is, that Christe leste the whole gouernment of his Church to the Pastor, and to some foure or fife of

Lacke of discretion in al-  
leging of scrip-  
tures.



the Parish besides, which you are not able to proue, & your places of scripture alleged signifie no such matter. In those places & be gouerned by many, do you not see what contention there is: what enimitie? what factios: what partes taking: what confusion: what little good order obserued: what carelesnesse & dissolutnesse in al manner of behaviour: I could make this manifest by examples, if I were disposed.

In the .18. of Exodus, which (place you quote to proue that Seniors ought to be zelous and godly) Jethro giueth Moses counsell not to weary himselfe in hearing all matters that be brought vnto him, but rather to commit the hearing and determining of smaller matters to others: And therefore verse .21. he sayeth: Prouide thou among all the people, men of courage, fearing God, men dealing truly, hauing couetousnesse, and appoynt suche ouer them to be rulers ouer thousands, rulers ouer hundredes, rulers ouer fifties, and rulers ouer tennes. &c. This maketh nothing for Seniors: Moses here was chiefe, these were but his vnder officers placed by himselfe. This place serueth well for the gouernment of one Prince ouer one whole realme, and giueth him good counsell what vnder officers he ought to choose. To the same effect and purpose is that spoken and written whiche you cite out of the first of Deuterion. verse .13.

T.C. Pag. 146. Sect. 1.

The rest comprehended in these sections, is answered before, beyng matter whiche perteyneth vnto the Archbishop.

### *Io. Whitgiste.*

Very little of it perteyneth to the Archbishop. The Authors of y<sup>e</sup> Admonitiō bring in all these places of Scripture, to proue the gouernment of your Seniors, but how aptly it appeareth, in that you cannot salue their follies in so vnapt allegatiōs. There be other thinges that require answer, but you haue shifted of all in saying, that they perteyne to the Archbishop & be answered before: when as neyther of both is true: for they perteyne to your Seniors and be no where as yet answered. But I leaue it to the Reader here to consider, why you haue not set downe my booke in your Replie.

### ¶ The inconuenience of the Seignorie in the

tyrne of Christian Princes, especially in the state of this Church. Chap. 3.

Nowe that you haue spoken all that you can for your Seniors, giue me leaue a litle to declare the absurdities and inconueniences that must of necessitie follow, that kinde of gouernment.

1. Difference & disagreement in orders and religion.

First, euery seuerall parish must be as it were a seuerall Church, gouerned by seuerall orders, & ceremonies, yea and peradventure professe seuerall points of doctrine: for there muste be equalitie among ministers, and one of them muste not haue to do with anothers parische. The whole gouernment of the Parish must remayne in the minister and certayne Seniors, who shall haue authoritie to correct vice, abolishe ceremonies, appoynt orders, abrogate customes, make Ecclesiasticall lawes, as they shall thinke good for that congregation. So that whatsoeuer the Pastor and his Seniors deuise and agree vpon, be it good or euill, common or singular, it must be obeyed vnder the payne of Excommunication.

2. Confusion of states.

Secodly, that Seignorie being chosen by the Pastor & the parish, if the Prince or any other noble man be of that congregation & chosen to that office by the most parte, he must not refuse it, but attende vpon it, be at y<sup>e</sup> Pastors calling who is the chiefe of the Seignorie, & in that respect aboue Earle, Duke, King, or whosoever: mozeouer he



he must be contented to be lincked & ioyned in commission, with the basest sort of the people, if it please the parish to appoynt to him suche Collage, as it is like they will: Yea and if they be in matters of discipline and gouernment by such simple Seniors ouerruled, (as it is most like they shall) they must therewith be contented.

Thirdly, it burdeneth the parish more than they are able to beare, for whereas now they repine at the finding of their Pastors, then they must be enforced besides the Pastor to nourish Deacons, and six or seven Seniors with widowes also.

3. Burden and charge of parishes.

Fourthly, it bringeth in a new Dopedome, & tyrannie into the Church, for it giueth to the Pastor & his fellow Seniors authoritie to exercise discipline, by Excommunication, or otherwise against Prince, Nobles, & whosoever being of that congregation. So that vlesse the Prince and Nobles be (as it were) at theyr becke, and ready at all times to accomplish their desire, they will sende out their thunderboltes of Excommunication agaynst them, euen as the Pope was wonte to do, after he had gotten that Iurisdiction into his hande that this Seigniorie claymeth.

4. Tyranny.

Fifthly, it smelleth of Anabaptisme, as M. Gualter noteth. 1. Cor. 11. in these wordes, The Donatists of our tyme ought to consider these things more diligently, which do ouer rashly condemne whole cities and countries wherein the worde of God is preached, Sacraments rightly administred, publike prayer celebrated, the poore sufficiently provided for, and finally where vice is by good and holy lawes forbidden and punished. All these thinges they esteeme as nothing, except there be a certayn new Magistracie appointed, which shuld haue authoritie ouer Princes also, not only to reprove, but also to excommunicate them.

5. It smelleth of Anabaptisme. Gualter.

It taketh from the Prince al authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters, & it giueth vnto him onely *potestatem facti*, not *iuris*, as the Papists do: for the Prince must maintaine & see executed, such lawes, orders, & ceremonies, as his Pastor with his Seniors make and decre: But in making and appointing orders & ceremonies, he may in no case meddle, as will hereafter more plainly appeare.

6. Supplanting the Prince of his authoritie in cases Ecclesiasticall.

It transfor meth the state and gouernment of the comon wealth into a mere popularitie, for they say in their second Admonition Pag. 55. that some muste be gouerned by all, & not all by some, wher vnto if that be ioyned which T. C. so ofte repeateth, that is, the gouernment of the common wealth muste be framed to the gouernment of the church, as the hangings to the house, it may be easily contoured what they shote at.

7. Subversion of the state & gouernment of the common wealth.

The deciding of matters in cotrouersie, by this Seigniorie, will be a great occasiō of partiall & affectionate dealing: of contention and discorde, while some shall incline one way, and some another. For it cannot be vnknowne, that there are many light headed and vncōstant ministers, & that the common sorte of people are not muche better affected, so that alteratiōs in doctrine, partiall dealing in discipline, vndiscrete exhortations, and admonitions, would trouble the whole Church, & set all the lande togither by the eares.

Second Admonition. Pag. 144.

8. Contention & parcialitie.

How contemptible in the end this kinde of gouernment would be, & how litle esteemed, wise men can consider. And M. Gualter well setteth out this inconuenience in these wordes: For they which canot be brought into good order by the authoritie of a lawfull magistrate, & by lawes, much lesse will suffer theselues to be punished, by the comaūdemēt of Seniors, and of an Ecclesiasticall senate, whom with all their solemnitie they will laugh to scorne. On the other side, they which among the magistrates were remisse in executing the discipline of māners, and were too fauourable, will now be glad that this burden is transferred from them to others, and will wholly neglect it. And what will the Seniors do, when these men will not meddle? surely they wilbe a laughing stocke to a great many.

9. It will in the end be contemned, & so good order neglected. Gualter in. 1. Cor. 5.

Whyles Hares will prescribe to Lions a lawe,

And weaklinges would keepe fierce tyrantes in awe. as the Poete recordeth.

Many also of the magistrates wil not only wineke at this, but wil laugh in their sleeues at the weake and ridiculous Domination of the new Senate. It will therfore so come to passe, that whereas before there was at the least some discipline, & sometimes some were terrified by mulctes and examples of punishments, now (that also beyng taken away) impunitie will begin to reygne, with a great and publike contempt of the sacred ministerie. Neyther do I speake these things vnaduisedly, for examples do teach vs that these things are done, which are so notoriously knowne to all men, that I neede not to speake any more of these thinges.

But



But if in this immoderate licentiousnesse, those Seniors should proceede to excommunicate all those, which set themselves against them, it is to be feared least at the length there be a greater number of excommunicated persons, than of those which do communicate with the church. Wherefore let the Seniors tell me what they thinke meete then to be done: I suppose they will answer: it shall be needefull to haue the authoritie of the magistrates that he might correct those wicked men, which by their malepertnesse and rashnesse do overthrow the Church. I agree also to this counsaile: But if this thing ought then to be done, where as it can scarce be without publike danger, why is not the authoritie left wholly vnto the magistrate, & the whole government of publike discipline committed to him before the matter come to this extremitie? Hitherto Qualter.

10.  
Double punishment for one fault.

Qualter in 1. Cor. 5.

11.  
Alteration in this time dangerous, &c.

It would bring in, too great extremitie of punishment: for whereas neither God nor man, nor any law doth punish one man twice for one & y<sup>e</sup> self same fact, & it is against y<sup>e</sup> libertie of well ordered countries, to be subiect to the punishment of two diuers magistrates: by establishing this Seigniorie, this burden muste be layde vpon the peoples neckes. For let the Magistrate punish according to the lawes as seuerely as he can, yet y<sup>e</sup> Seigniorie will remit nothing of their censures, but proceede according to their manner, as it may be seene in the 2. Admonition: fol. 47. And surely as M. Qualter sayeth speaking of this inconuenience of the Seigniorie in the former place: It seemeth to vs altogether very dangerous, to appoint two magistrates ouer one people: neyther see we any example whereby this may be proued: and surely I willingly and freely confesse that I cannot perceyue how profitable it would be.

I omit to put you in minde how dangerous (namely in these dayes) alterations of government & chaunge of states is in established common wealths: likewise how unreasonable a thing it is, to enforce the ciuill Magistrate to suffer in his dominion so many seuerall kindes of governments, orders, ceremonies, &c. in the Church, as there be parishes. Also how vnseemely it is, to deliuer his sword out of his owne handes & to commit it to the discretion of the common sort & multitude in euery seuerall parish, to displace noble men, gentlemen, wise, learned, and discrete men, & commit the whole government of the Church to M. Pastors & his ignorant neighbours. The absurditie & inconueniences that of necessity must ensue of this kinde of government, where there is a Christian magistrate, be infinite, & wise men may easily conceyue the rest, by that which I haue here already spoken. Yet would I not haue any man to thinke that I condemne any churches, where this government is lawfully & without danger receyued, onely I haue regarde to whole kingdomes, especially this Realme, where it cannot but be dangerous.

¶ That there is no one certaine kinde of Government in the Church which must of necessity be perpetually obserued. Chap. 4.

I know it wilbe objected that y<sup>e</sup> ordinance of God must take place, whatsoever inconueniences follow, & that this kinde of government is the ordinance of God, & therefore may not for any respect be omitted. But I haue denied, & sufficiently declared before, y<sup>e</sup> this kind of Government is no where in scripture commanded, & that it neither is, nor can be perpetuall. And although I haue sufficiently proued this, in one, or two places before (& the contrary is yet vnproued) as I had occasion to speake of it, yet I trust it shall not be grieuous to the Reader, if in a worde or two, I here knit vp the matter.

1.  
No commandment hereof in scripture.

Chap. 1. the 1. Division.

2.

The govern-

First, I affirme that there is not one sentence in the whole scripture, wherevnto y<sup>e</sup> perpetuallie or the necessity of this kinde of government, may be grounded. For the place in 1. Tim. 5. doth neither command any such kinde of government, nor prescribe any forme or manner of it: besides, the place is doubtfull & diuersly expounded: and therefore no such perpetual rule can be gathered of it. Moreover y<sup>e</sup> Apostle only in that place sheweth, that such as rule wel are worthy of double honour, &c. so that I maruaile how any man can of those wordes conclude either such a Seigniorie as now is imagined, or any perpetuallie of it. But of this place I haue spoken before.

Secondly, it is wel known, that the manner & forme of government used in the Apostolical time, & expressed in the scriptures, neither is now, nor can or ought to be obserued,



No cer-  
tayne go-  
uernment  
perpetuall.  
ment in the  
Apostles time  
cannot more  
be exercised.

ued, either touching the persons or the functions: for we haue neither Apostles, Pro-  
phets, workers of miracles, giftes of healing, diuersitie of tounges, widowes, or such  
like, all which perteyned to the gouernment of the Church in the Apostles time, and  
were partes of it, as appeareth. 1. Cor. 12. Eph. 4. 1. Tim. 5. And seeing that the Church is  
not bound to this forme, so plainly expessed in these places of scripture, I see not how  
you can binde it, to the selfe same forme of gouernment vsed in the Apostles time.

Thirdly, this worde *gubernationes* mentioned, 1. Cor. 12. wherupon you would ground  
your Seigniorie, may (as some learned men think) signifie any kind of gouernment:  
eue the ciuil Magistrate. Certayne it is, that only by mere coniectures it is drawne to  
signifie this new deuised Seigniorie, & therfore cannot inferre any necessary conclusiō.  
Furthermore it is by the spirite of God placed among those functions y be tempozall,  
and by the iudgement of all learned men ceased: for thus the Apostle sayeth: *Deinde  
potestates, deinde dona sanationum opitulationes, gubernationes, genera linguarum*: now it were  
a very strange matter, that all the rest should be tempozall, and onely *gubernationes*  
perpetuall: sure I am that the argument which so concludeth, may easily be denied,  
and by no probabilitie proued.

3.  
The worde  
(*gubernatio-  
nes*) implieth  
not the Seig-  
niorie, but by  
coniecture,  
1. Cor. 12.

Fourthly, we see manifestly, that in sundrie poynts, the gouernment of y Church,  
vsed in the Apostles time, is, and hath bene of necessitie altered, & that it neither may  
nor can be reuoked: whereby it is playne, that any one certayne forme or kinde of ex-  
ternall gouernment perpetuall to be obserued, is no where in the Scripture pre-  
scribed to the Church: but the charge thereof is left to the Chyilian Magistrate, so  
that nothing be done contrarie to the worde of God.

4.  
The Aposto-  
licall govern-  
ment hath of  
necessitie bene  
altered.

This is the opinion of the best writers, neyther do I know any learned man of a  
contrarie iudgement. M. Musculus speaking of those Seniors sayth that they were v-  
sed in those Churches only, that were destitute of Chyilian Magistrates: which haue  
the chieftie and power, &c. not only in prophane, but in diuine matters. And after answer-  
ring an obiection of 1. Cor. 6. he sayeth: that we must needs distinguish betwene the state  
of the Church in those dayes, and that which is now. I haue before declared M. Gualters  
iudgement of this matter in his Commentaries vpon the. 1. Cor. 5. And vpon the. 11. chapt.  
speaking generally of the gouernment of the Church, he sayeth thus: VWherefore as  
concerning the doctrine of fayth and saluation, we acknowledge no traditions of the Apo-  
stles, but those whiche are conteyned in the creede, &c. But as concerning the externall  
forme of the Church, wee denie not that they haue taught euery where, many thinges of  
the order of Ecclesiastical assemblies, of the administration of Sacraments, and of the whole  
gouernment of the Church. VWhereof bicause there cannot be one forme in  
euery place obserued, they did in suche sorte appoynt them, as they sawe  
to be requisite for the condition of any Citie or Countrie. And it is cer-  
taine that the Churches in all ages haue vsed their libertie in these thinges:  
& therfore they are to miurious which at this day eyther vnder the name of the traditiōs of  
the Apostles, or for any other pretence, go about to binde all Churches to one and the selfe  
same forme. And vpon the. 12. chapter, where he againe speaketh of the Seigniorie, he  
sayeth, There be diuers which will needes institute Elders, or an Ecclesiastical senate accor-  
ding to the exāple of the old & primitiue Church, which also should haue authoritie, ouer  
the Magistrates theselues, if at any time they did not their dutie. But it behoueth them first  
to shew that those their Seniors haue this power, wherof Paule doth presētly speake, which  
thing seeing it doth by no meānes appeare, and yet notwithstanding they deliuer vnto Satan  
whom they wil, they do like as if some would go about to cense the leprous, raise the dead,  
& worke other miracles bicause these thinges were vsually done in the primitiue Church.  
And y which he speaketh touching this matter also vpon the. 14. chapt. of y same Epi-  
stle is not vnworthie y noting: whereof I haue before made mention, That their am-  
bition is (there) reprobued which go about to bring all churches, to the forme of their disci-  
pline & gouernment, & crie out that there is no discipline there, where al thinges are not agre-  
able to their traditiōs & orders: But these mē receiue a iust reward of their arrogacie, when  
a; they that come frō the to other cōtries, do go beyond all mē in saucinesse, neither bring  
they any thing with the from home, but a wayne & intollerable contempt of all good men,  
neyther can they abide to be corrected by any admonition of others.

5.  
The generall  
opinion of the  
best writers.  
Musculus. loc.  
Com. tit. de  
Magist.  
Gualter. lom.  
56. in. 1. Cor.

Idem.

Idem.

M.



No cer-  
tayne go-  
uernment  
perpetuall.

Caluine.

Beza.

660

## The defense of the answere

Tract. 17

Idem.

Idem.

6.

The iurisdic-  
tion of the  
christian ma-  
gistrate im-  
plieth a charge  
of the firste  
kinde of go-  
uernment.

The grounde  
of the Reple.

M. Caluine speaking of the government of the Church *Instit. Cap. 8. Sect. 120.* sayeth thus: *Scimus politicum pro varietate temporū recipere, imo exigere, varias mutationes.* VVe know that the pollicie (of the Church) doth receiue, nay rather doth require diuerse alterations. M. Beza likewise *Lib. confess. Cap. 5. Sect. 17.* is of the same minde touching the gouernment of the Church: There was another cause of the Ecclesiasticall assemblies, that they might ordeyne canons of Ecclesiasticall discipline, and (that I may cōprehende many things in few wordes) that they might appoynt ecclesiasticall policie, for the diuerse circūstances of times, places, and persones. For it is necessarie all thinges should be donne orderly in the house of God: of the vvhich order there is one generall reason to be taken out of the worde of God, but not one and the same forme agreable to all circūstances. And *Sect. 32.* speaking of this Seigniorie, he sheweth that it was necessarie in the Church, whilst there was no Christian magistrate. For so he writeth: But there were Elders chosen by suffrages, or at least by the approbation of the whole cōpanie, as it is very euident out of Ambrose, which complayneth, that certayne men had transferred this authoritie to themselves: and out of Cyprian likewise, by whom we may also vnderstand, that the Bishop did rule ouer the colledge of Elders, not that he should there reygne, but that by their cōsent he might rule the Policie of the church, especially for so much as at that time the Churches of Affrica were not helped of the Magistrate, but were rather cruelly vexed of them. And *Sect. 35.* speaking generally of the government of the Church, he sayeth: Neyther must we simply looke what was done of the Apostles in the Gouernment of the church, seying there are most diuerse circūstances, and therefore vvith- out preposterous zeale, all thinges cannot in all places and times be called to one and the same forme: but rather the end and invariable purpose of them must be looked vnto, and that manner and forme of doing thinges is to be chosen, which doth direct- ly tende therevnto. This is the iudgement of these learned men, neyther do I know any that thinketh the contrarie, except such as make posse haste to that bzaunch of Anabaptisme.

Sixtly, either we must admitte another forme now of gouerning the Church than was in the Apostles time, or els we must seclude the Christian magistrate, from all authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters, & attribute no moze to him therein, than was attributed to Peter in the Apostles time: for in those dayes there was no Christian Prince to gouerne the church. But Christian Princes haue & must haue, & chief care & government of the Church next vnder God: Ergo, the same forme of government cannot be now, nor ought to be, that was in the Apostles time.

Thus it is euident that the grounde whereof T. C. hath buylded his whole booke, is a false ground, contrarie to the Scriptures, the practise of the Church, the opinions of learned men, and the lawfull and iust authoritie of christian Princes, and there- fore the building is ruinous and cannot stande.

## ¶ Of certayne matters concerning discipline

in the Church. Tract. 18.

Of Excommunication, and in vvhom the execution thereof  
doth consist. Chap. 1. the 1. Diuision.

Admonition.

Let vs come now to the third part, which concerneth ecclesiasticall discipline: the officers that haue to deale in this charge, are chiefly three, Ministers, Preachers, or Pastours, of whome be- fore, Seniors or Elders, and Deacons. Concerning Seniors, not only their office, but their name also is out of this English Church vnterly removed. Their office was to (q) gouerne the church with the reste of the Ministers, to consulte, to admonish, to correcte, and to order all thinges apper- tynning to the state of the congregation. Act. 14. 4.  
1. Cor. 11.  
28.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 112. Sect. 3.

What Scripture haue you to proue that such Seniors as you  
meane, & Deacons had any thing to do in Ecclesiasticall Discipline?

I



I thinke the only discipline that we haue in the whole new testamēt (except you will make admonition & exhortation a part of it) is Exco-  
munication: and the execution of that is only committed to the mini-  
sters of the worde. Math. 16. John. 20. Examples hereof wee haue  
1. Cor. 5. 1. Tim. 1. & ad Titum. 3.

Onely mini-  
sters may  
excommunicate.

T.C. Pag. 146. Sect. 2.

Now I retorne back againe to excommunication, which M. Doctor thinketh to be y<sup>e</sup> only disci-  
pline in the church; but he should vnderstande, that beside y<sup>e</sup> part of priuate discipline (which is ordi-  
narily & daily to be exercised by euery one of y<sup>e</sup> pastors & elders, as admonition & reprehension) there  
are thre principal partes which are exercised of the ioyntly & together, wherof the first is the election  
or choise, & the abdication or putting out of ecclesiastical officers. The seconde is in excommunication  
of the stubborne or absolution of the repentant. The thirde is the decision of all such matters as doe  
rise in the church, either touching corrupt manners or peruerse doctrine.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I speake of y<sup>e</sup> publike discipline of y<sup>e</sup> church, not of priuate admonition & reprehension, which may be called by y<sup>e</sup> name of Discipline, but neither are they properly, nor  
vsually so called, except you wil also say y<sup>e</sup> publike preaching & reading of y<sup>e</sup> scriptures  
is discipline: these be things annexed to discipline, but vnproperly termed by y<sup>e</sup> name  
of discipline. Your partition of discipline into those thre parts, in my poore iudgemēt,  
is very vnskillful: for discipline consisteth in punishing & correcting of vice: neither yet  
is the deciding of controuersies in matters doubtfull, properly called discipline, for dis-  
cipline is exercised in punishing & correcting y<sup>e</sup> persons, not deciding y<sup>e</sup> causes. Where-  
fore I thinke you haue forgottē your self, & in steade of y<sup>e</sup> part, haue deuided y<sup>e</sup> whole,  
that is, you haue made a diuision of government, wheras you tooke vpon you to deuide  
discipline, which is but a part of ecclesiasticall pollicie or government.

Wherin disci-  
pline consisteth

Reade the generall confession, of y<sup>e</sup> Christian churches in Heluetia, & tell me what it  
differeth from any thing y<sup>e</sup> I haue said. Call to your remēbrance that which your selfe  
haue spoken, pag. 14. where you call other censures of the church, but forerunners to excommu-  
nication, but this is a contention only about words, & therfore inough is said of it.

Pag. 14. lin. 9

### Chap. 1. the. 2. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 146. Sect. 3.

As touching the election, & consequently y<sup>e</sup> throwing out, it hath bene shewed before, that together  
with the church, the Eldership hath the principal swaye. For y<sup>e</sup> decision of controuersies when they  
rise, it may appeare in the. 15. of the Actes, y<sup>e</sup> the Presbyterie or Eldership of the church hath to deter-  
mine of that also. Now it remaineth here, that wheras M. Doctor saith, that the excommunication  
and consequently the absolution or restoring to the church again, doth pertaine only to the minister, y<sup>e</sup>  
I shew that the presbyterie or eldership, & the whole church also, hath interest in the excommunica-  
tion, & consequently in the absolution or restoring vnto the church. But here by the waye it is to be  
(\*) noted, that in saying that it belongeth to y<sup>e</sup> minister, he confesseth y<sup>e</sup> disorder in our church, wher-  
in this power is taken away from the minister and giuen to the Bishop and his officers.

(\*) A note not  
worthy the no-  
ting.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Of Election of ministers, & so of their reiection, & throwing out, sufficient hath bin spo-  
ken before, & your manner of electing by better reasons confuted, than it was by you  
proued: for the decisions of controuersies when they arise, it may appeare in the. 15. of y<sup>e</sup> Actes,  
that the best way is to call Synodes & Councils of learned mē, as it was there practi-  
sed, & not to commit such matters to the pastor of euery seuerall parish, & certaine of his  
neighbours whom you call the Seigniorie: for if it had bin so, what needed Paule and  
Barnabas haue takē so long a iourney frō Antioche to Ierusalem for y<sup>e</sup> deciding of their  
controuersies, seeing y<sup>e</sup> they & the Seigniorie (if there had bin any such) might haue en-  
ded the same at home in Antioche: This place vndoubtedly ouerthroweth your Seig-  
niorie, except now you wil take it (as it is in ecclesiastical writers oftentimes takē) for  
a Synode or cōuocatiō of bishops & priests: so y<sup>e</sup> not your Seigniorie which is in euery  
parish, but general or prouincial Councils & Synodes must haue y<sup>e</sup> deciding of cōtro-  
uersies: else as I sayd before, why should Paule and Barnabas come from Antioche  
to Ierusalem to haue their controuersies determined?

Tract. 3.

Your note by the way, is not worth a rushe, for when I say y<sup>e</sup> the execution of disci-  
pline



pline is onely committed to the ministers of the word, you cannot thereupon conclude, that every minister hath authoritie to exercise it in the church. It is one thing to saye, only ministers haue authoritie to excommunicate, & to saye that all ministers haue authoritie so to do: only ministers may be Bishops, & yet all ministers be not Bishops: only Lawyers may be Judges, & yet all Lawyers be not Judges: only citizens may be Aldermen, Sherifes, & Maiors, & yet all be not so: wherfore by the waye here you overshoot your selfe. And yet I thinke that all ministers haue power to excommunicate, if the Church thinke it good, to committe that authoritie vnto them.

### Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. Page. 146. Sect. 4.

Now that this charge of excommunication belongeth not vnto one, or to the minister, but chiefly to the Eldership and Pastor, it appeareth by that which the authozs of the Admonition alleage out of S. Mathew, which place I haue proued before to be necessarily vnderstanded of the elders of the church. 18. Chap.

### Io. Whitgifte.

I haue tolde you before, how that place of Mathew is to be vnderstanded, & what it is, to tell the Church, namely either to reprove the partie openly before the congregation, or else to complaine to such as haue authoritie in the church, & to whome exercising of discipline is committed, which is by the order of the church of Englande, the Bishop. And therefore the Bishop alone both by the lawes of God, and of this church of England (which hath giuen vnto him by consent in Parliament that authoritie) may exercise this discipline.

### Chap. 1. the. 4. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

Then it was sayd tel (1) the church: now it is spoken, complaine to my Lordes grace, Bishope and Metropolitane of all Englande, or to his inferiour, my Lorde Bishop of the Diocese, if not to hym, shewe the Chauncellour, or Officiall, or Commissarie, or Doctour. Math. 18. 17.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 135. Sect. 1.

Church signifieth those that haue authoritie in the church.

As it was saide then, so ought you and may you say now: in priuate offences, yf priuate admonitions wyll not serue, then muste you declare them to the church, either by reprehending of them publikely, before the whole congregation (if you be called therevnto) for that is one kynde of telling the church, or else by complaining to suche as haue authoritie in the church, for in that place of Mathew (as all learned interpretours both olde and newe do determine) the church signifieth such as haue authoritie in the church. Therefore when you complaine to my Lordes grace, Lorde Bishop of the Dioces, or their Chauncellores, Commissaries, &c. You tell the church, that is, suche as be appointed to be publike Magistrates in the church, according to the very true sense and interpretation of that place.

T. C. Pag. 146. Sect. vlt.

It is moste absurdly sayd of M. Doctour in the. 135. page, that by the church is vnderstanded either my Lordes grace, or the Bishop of the Dioces, or the Chauncellor or Commissarie. And that when a man complaineth vnto one of these, he may be well sayde to complaine vnto the church, whiche is the more vntollerable, for that being so straunge a saying, and suche as may astonyshe all that heare it, he neyther confirmeth it by no reason, by no lyke phrase of scripture, by no authoritie of any Godly or approued wyter, olde or newe, whiche notwithstanding he seeketh for so diligently, and turneth the commentaries in his studie so paynefully, whē he can haue but one against twenty, and but a syllable where he cannot haue a sentence.

Io. Whitgifte



Io. Whitgiste.

I haue shewed sufficient authoritie for my saying, euen the consent of all learned interpreters: who by the church in that place vnderstande such as haue chiefe authoritie in the church, which in this church of Englad (as I haue sayd) are bishops. Chry- Crysost.  
sostome sayth as much as I do, so that it neede not to seeme so straunge that it should also- Hom. 61. in  
nise all that heare it, his wordes be these: *Dic ecclesia, Presulibus scilicet, & Presidentibus.* Tell Matb.  
the church, that is, the Prelates, and Presidents. But you thinke to ouerlode me with vn-  
seemely wordes, howbeit that will not carry away the cause: I am so vsed to them by  
you and yours, both in speache and wyting, that I esteeme them now (I thanke God)  
as I do the dust of my fete. If I seeke the wyters so diligently, and tourne the commentaries  
in my studie so painfully, why do you so oft accuse me of ignorance, & wante of reading, &  
taking my pleasure? *Ex ore tuo te iudico, &c. & mendacem memorem esse oportet.*

## Chap. I. the .5. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 146. Sect. vlt. &amp;c.

Cap. 5.

Cap. 9.

It may be the clerke vnderstanded, that the presbyterie or eldership, had the chiefe stroke in  
this excommunication, if it be obserued that this was the pollicie and discipline of the Jewes, and  
of the Synagogue from whence our sauour Christ tooke this, & translated it vnto his church, that  
when any man had done any thing that they helde for a faulte, that then the same was punished and  
censured by the elders of the church, according to the qualitie of the faulte, as it may appeare in S.  
Mathew, for although it be of some, and those very learned expounded of the ciuill iudgement, yet for  
so much as the Jewes had nothing to do with ciuill iudgements, (the same being altogether in the  
handes of the Romaines) and that the worde *Sanedrīm*, corrupted of the Greeke worde *συνέδριον*  
which S. Mathew vseth, is known by those that haue skill in the Rabbinnes, and especially the  
Jewes Talmud to signifie the ecclesiasticall gouernours, there can be no doubt but he meaneth the  
ecclesiasticall censures. And if the fault were iudged very great, then the sentence of excommunica-  
tion was awarded by the same Elders as appeareth in S. John. And this was the cause why our  
sauour Christe spake so shortly without noting the circumstances more at large, for that he spake of  
a thing which was wel known and vfed amongst the Jewes whome he spake vnto.

Io. Whitgiste.

It is very vnlike that our sauour Christ would bozow any such manner or forme  
of government from the Jewes: seeing the same was neither before prescribed vnto  
them by God, nor yet at that time rightly vfed, but moste shamefully abused: and yet  
(if it were so) it quite ouerthroweth your purpose. For the Jewes Seignorie was on-  
ly at Ierusalem, yours must be in euery parishe: besides that, there is a great differēce  
in the persons.

Howbeit I do not vnderstand how you can draue the place in the .5. of Mathew to  
your purpose, for if you meane these wordes (*Quicumq; dixerit fratri suo Racha, obnoxius*  
*erit concilio*: He that calleth his brother Racha, shalbe in daunger of a counsell) as I am  
sure you do, Christ doth not there prescribe any forme of government or order of pu-  
nishing, but he declareth the degrees of vncharitable dealing towards our brethren, &  
the increase of punishmentes according to the same.

Matb. 5.

M. Bullinger in his Commentaries vpon that place saith, that the word *συνέδριον*, *συνέδριον*  
doth signifie *confessum iudicium* & *huiusmodi confessum qualis apud Græcos erat Amphictyonum* Bullinger.  
*qui de granissimis solebant consultare causis.* And he addeth, that Christ hereby signifieth, that  
as the faulte increaseth, so doth the punishment also.

M. Caluine likewise in his harmony vpon the Gospel saith that Christ in this place, Caluine.  
alluding to earthly iudgements doth testifie, that God wilbe iudge euen of secret anger to  
punishe it. And bicause he proceedeth further, which vttereth his anger in bitter speache, he  
saith that he is gilty, *coram toto cælesti confesso*, before the celestially assembly, that he may su-  
staine the greater punishment.

Noua Glossa saith, that *συνέδριον* doth signifie an assemblie of iudges, and that in suche  
assemblies as at Athens in the court of Mars, weightier causes were wont to be handeled,  
and punishmentes for offenders, consulted vpon. There, saith that commentarie, Christe  
by the name of a counsell, alluding to the manners and customes of men, teacheth that those  
are more greuously to be punished, which more vtter and expresse their anger.

Noua Glossa.

Beza sayth, that *συνέδριον* signifieth that kinde of government, wherein there was .23. Beza.  
Iudges, to whome did apperteine the hearing of waighy causes. And the marginall note

lxxxv.

of the



of the Geneva bible upon this place is this: Like iudgement almoste, the Romans obserued, for *Triumviri* had the examinatio of small matters, the Councell of 23. of greater causes, and finally great matters of importance were decided by the senate of 71. iudges, whiche here is compared to the iudgement of God, or to be punished with hel fire. Which fully agreeth with M. Beza his interpretation, who sayeth also: that it is according to the Hebrew commentaries.

Now how you can pul this to your Seigniorie, or to Ecclesiastical gouernours only, and especially to excommunication, I cannot learne or reade in any wyter: & these whome I haue here named, teache a farre other sense and meaning of the wordes of Christe than you do.

### Chap. 1. the. 6. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 147. Lin. 15.

And that this was the meaning of our saviour Christ in those wordes it may appeare by practice which is set forth in the Epistles to the Corinthians. For it is certaine that S. Paule did both vnderstande and obserue the rule of our Saviour Christe. But he communiceth this power of excommunication with the church, and therefore it must needs bee the meaning of our Saviour Christ, that the excommunication should be by many, & not by one, and by the church and not by the minister of the church alone. For he biddeth the church of Corinth twice in the first Epistle, once by a metaphore, another time in plaine wordes, that they should excommunicate the incestuous persone. By metaphore, saying: purge out your olde leauen, in plaine & flat wordes when he sayth, take away that wicked man from amongst you. And in the second Epistle vnderstanding of the repentance of that man, he entreateth them that they would receiue him in again, shewing that he was content to release the bond & chaine of his excommunication, so that they would do the same, & therefore considering the absolution or reconciliation of the excommunicate, both pertaine vnto the church, it followeth that the excommunication both in like manner appertaine vnto it.

1. Cor. 5.

2. Cor. 2.

(\*) This is not  
ment of the in-  
cestuous persone

### Io. Whitgiste.

M. Caluine speaking of the wordes of Christ, Math. 18. wherein I am sure you will haue the same order of gouernment to be expressed, that is in this place of Math. 5. doth make great difference betwixt the order there prescribed by Christ, & that practised by the Apostle. 1. Cor. 5. because in that place, Christ committeth the matter to a few, & in this place the Apostle seemeth to commit it to the whole multitude. M. Caluines wordes be these, A question may be asked what he meaneth by the name of the Church: for Paule commaundeth the incestuous Corinthian to be excommunicated not of any chosen number, but of the whole company of the godly: wherefore it is probable that here the iudgement is committed to the whole people: But because then as yet there was no church which professed Christ, neither any such order appointed, and the Lord speaketh according to the vsuall and receiued custome: There is no doubt, but that he alludeth vnto the order of the olde church, as also in other places, he frameth his talke according to the knowen and vsuall manner. So that, that excommunication vfed in the church of the Corinthians, can in no respect be the practice of the rule of Christ in either of the places, neither yet according vnto it: wherefore you write without iudgement, you wote not what.

Caluine in. 18.  
Math.

S. Paule did publickly excommunicate in the presence of the whole church, and vfed them as witnesses of his iust dealing: but his wordes be playne that the right & power of excommunication remained in him selfe.

When S. Paule sayth vnto the Corinthians, *Expurgate vetus fermentum.* &c. purge out the olde leauen, he speaketh not of the incestuous Corinthian, but exhorteth them to newnes of life: you shall heare howe M. Caluine expoundeth that place: Because he had borrowed a similitude of leauen, he reteyneth it still: although he doth digresse from the matter which he hath in hande vnto a generall doctrine, for he speaketh no more of the incestuous persone, but generally exhorteth them vnto puritie of life. &c.

1. Cor. 5.

Calui. 1. Cor. 5.

Lo, howe carelesse you are in peruertering the true sense and meaning of the scripture, that you may violently draue them to your purpose.

When he sayth: Put away that wicked man from among you, he doth not will them to excommunicate him, but to shunne and auoyde his company, and not to suffer him to come among them because he was excommunicate. And as he in this place moueth them to a detestation of him, so in that place of the second Cor. 2. after his repentance & receiuing



receiuing again into the church, he exhorteeth them to embrace him and to loue him. This may and ought to be done, the authoritie of excommunication resting in one, for the people without such exhortations will hardly conceiue a good opinion of hym whom they haue knowen to be so greuous an offendour.

Wherefore the Apostle here moueth them to forgiue him, & to loue him: he doth not giue them any authoritie to deliuer him from the bonde of excommunication, for that he did himselfe, as it may evidently appeare by the circumstance of the place.

### Chap. 1. the. 7. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 113. Lin. 10.

I reade in the fift chapter of the first to the Corinthians, that the incestuous Corinthian was excommunicated publikely in the presence of the whole congregation. But I reade neither of Senior, nor Deacon, called as officers to the same. S. Paule himselfe sayeth: *Ego quidem ut absens corpore, presens spiritu, iam decreui tanquam presens, ut &c.* I truly as absent in the bodye, but present in spirite, haue determined as present, that he. &c. Which manifestly argueth, that *hunc excommunicandi*, was in Paule & not in the rest. But all is scripture that you speake, howefarre soeuer it is from the true meaning and sense of the scripture.

Paule alone  
had ius exco-  
municandi.  
1. Corin. 5.

T. C. pag. 147. Sect. 1.

Nowe, whereas M. Doctor vpon those wordes of S. Paule, that he being absent in body, and present in spirite, had determined. &c. concludeth that the right of excommunication was in S. Paule, and not in the rest, it is as much as if he should saye, S. Paule (\*) as muche as laye in hym excommunicated, therefore S. Paule excommunicated; or S. Paule excommunicated, therefore the church did not. For what if S. Paule did excommunicate him so muche as laye in hym, should he therefore haue bene excommunicated, if the church of Corinth & the minister there, would haue admitted hym to the supper, and not abstayne from familiar companying with him? You will saye he should haue bene bounde in heauen and belo, & God, although the church of Corinth had not put him forth. It is true that the Apostles denunciation of Gods vengeance vpon the impenitent vnder, is ratified in heauen, and so should he also haue bene, if S. Paule had sayde nothing, and yet S. Paule did not excommunicate the incestuous person, but so much as laye in him, and as farre as his ryght stretched: not being therefore yet excommunicated by S. Paule, it followeth that the church had a stroke in the excommunication.

(\*) Maledicta  
glosa que cor-  
rumpit textum.

### Jo. Whitgife.

S. Paule did excommunicate him, & if the church of Corinth had kept him in amongst them notwithstanding, yet had he bene excommunicated before God: and they should haue shewed the selues, to haue bene a stubborne & rebellious people: In deede, if you take excommunication for excludung from the eternall societie of the church only, then the people if they be stubborne & wilful, may stoppe & hinder the executiō of that discipline, but in so doing they forget their dutie. But if by excommunication you vnderstande bynding in heauen (as you ought to do) then had the incestuous person bene truly excommunicated, though both the minister and the people had sayde the contrary. Wherefore it is true that the right of excommunicating remayned in Paule, though the people did giue their consent vnto it, by secluding hym from their company, and from the sacramentes.

Excommuni-  
cation is more  
than excludung  
from the ete-  
rnall societie.

### Chap. 1. the. 8. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 147. towards the end.

Againe to proue that the church doth nothing to do with excommunication it is not enough to say, that S. Paule had the right of excommunication: But you should haue shewed that he ought to haue it.

Exk. liij.



opinions shoulde no otherwise be put to silence, than by excommunication, and ought no further to be punished, doe not reason sufficiently and aptly. For there is one dutie of the Bishop, and another of the Magistrate. Paule wryting vnto Titus doth not intreat of the office of a magistrate, but sheweth what is conuenient for a Bishop. Although a moderate meane is alwayes best: that they which are not past care, be not so much kept in order by force, as by ecclesiasticall discipline. But you thinke your owne worde to be a sufficient warrant agaynst all men. You may well studie the wordes of the Scripture, but me thinke you do not greatly passe for the right vnderstanding of them.

### Chap. 1. the. 11. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 113. Lin. 4.

Basilus Magnus in his seconde booke de Officijs. cap. 27. testifieth the same.

T. C. Pag. 148. Lin. 32.

A touching Basilus place in the seconde booke of Offices, when the booke commeth forth and is printed, then it shall be answered, as for me I know of none such that is extant now.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

In his Epistle  
Sect. 8.

Pag. 97. Sect. 3.  
Ambrose.

I confesse the name to be mistaken: it is an oversight, and yet no greater than yours is in alledging Iosias for Ezechias. And both this, and that which followeth of Theodorete for Theodosius, were corrected as well in the booke of the first edition, as in the seconde, before I had your warning. The placing of one name for another is not so great an oversight, but that it may sometime happen to those which are verie circumspect, and euen vnto your selfe, as Iosias for Ezechias, in the beginning, (\*) and Gregorie for George, afterwarde: so that herein you are not inferiour to me, and the one may well be set agaynst the other. But let these tryles go: it is Ambrose in his booke de Officijs cap. 27. whose wordes be these: Let the Bishop vse the Clarke, and especially the Ministers which are indeede his sonnes, as his owne members: let him assigne euerie one to that office whereunto he shall see him to be meete. The part also of the bodie which puttifieth is with griefe cut off, and it is long looked vnto, if it can be cured with medicine: but if it cannot, the is it cut away by a good Phisition. So it is the properie of a good Bishop, that he be desirous to heale the weake, to take away sores that creepe on, to burne some, and not to cut them away: last, to cut away with griefe that which cannot be cured.

### Chap. 1. the. 12. Diuision.

T. C. Page 148. in the ende of the. 1. Sect.

To the rest I will answer with this protestation, that if all men shoulde doe contrary to the order of God, yet their authoritie or example ought not to haue the weight of a feather, which I haue sayd before, and do vnderstand it in all places, where I do not expresse it, and with this I come to master Doctores authorities.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

This I acknowledge to be true, but why do you make this protestation before there be cause? What any authoritie is contrary to the order of God, reled it and spare not; but yet you must see in vs that order of God, to the which it is contrary.

### Chap. 1. the. 13. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 113. Lin. 5.

Theodore Bishop of Laodicea, did by himselfe alone excommunicate

Theodore  
alone excom-  
municated.



municate both Appolinaris for keeping companie with that wicked  
Sophister Epiphanius, as Sozomenus writeth Lib. 6. cap. 25.

T. C. Pag. 148. Sect. 2.

As for Theodoretus Bishop of Laodicea, which Sozomene maketh mention of, in his sixth booke, I finde none such, but there is mentioned of one Theodotus, who is sayde to haue separated or excommunicated Apollinaris, but it doth not appeare there that he alone of his owne authority did excommunicate him. And there be great reasons in that Chapter, to proue that he did it not of his owne authority, for immediately after his heresie was knowne, Damasus bishop of Rome, and Peter Bishop of Alexandria, caused a Synode to be gathered at Rome, where his heresie was condemned. Now for so much as the custome of Synodes and Councelles is, when they condemne the heresies, to excommunicate the heretikes, (\*) it is to be thought that that Councell did excommunicate him, and that Theodotus Bishop of Laodicea, did execute that decree and excommunication. And in deed Sozomene doth so expound himselfe, when immediately after he had sayd that he did excommunicate him, (a) he addeth ἀνομιώντων αὐτὸν ἀποπαύει, which is that he declared him excommunicate, which indeede properly belongeth to the Minister, when the excommunication is decreed by those to whome it apperteyneth, which thing may yet better appeare by the manner of speech, which is vsed in another place, where speaking of Victor excommunicating Theodotus, he uttereth it by this ἀπεκλήρωσε which is to promulgate or pronounce the sentence which was decreed by others.

(\*) You vnderstand not the storie: for at this time Apollinaris was not fallen into his heresie.

(a) Vntruth, for these wordes are not spoken of Theodotus, but of Georgius his successor, who excommunicated Apollinaris the seconde time.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Sozomene in that Chapter doth plainly declare that both the Apollinaris were excommunicated by Theodotus, not for any heresie, but because they kept companie with Epiphanius that wicked Sophister. Neyther was Apollinaris as yet fallen to his heresie, as it is manifest in the storie: for being vpon repentance absolued by Theodotus, he was afterwarde againe excommunicated by one George, the successor of Theodotus in his Bishoprike, because he kept companie with Athanasius, whome George being an Arrian coulde not abide. In this time of his excommunication, because he could not by any intreatie perswade George to receyue him into the Church againe, of purpose he published an heresie, for the which he was afterwarde condemned in a Synode at Rome. And therefore sayth the storie: If George had receyued Apollinaris being repentant, like as Theodotus had done before, I suppose that this heresie had not bene rayfed of him. So that you are farre wyde, and giue great suspicion that eyther you haue not read the storie, or else of purpose meane to delude the Reader.

Both the Apollinaris excommunicated by Theodotus.

Sozom. lib. 6. Cap. 25.

The wordes that the storie bleth to signifie, Theodotus excommunicating them, be these, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπέσπασεν: did separate them from the Church. The wordes which you haue recyted be not spoken of Theodotus, but of George his successor, who also did excommunicate Apollinaris, not both the father and the sonne, as Theodotus did, but onely the sonne (as I haue sayde) before he fell into his heresie, and therefore before he was condemned at Rome. So that he did not (as you say) execute the decree of that Councell, but did himselfe excommunicate.

Neyther doe the wordes helpe you one whitte by any meanes, for what other thing can you gather thereof, but that he pronounced the sentence of excommunication agaynst him: enen as it is the maner in our Church, though he be excommunicated by the same person onely, which pronounceth the sentence. And if that the right of excommunication had not bene in George onely, why is there mention that hee woulde by no meanes be intreated to absolue him? For I am sure that you will graunt (and indeede you haue before so affirmed) that absolution is of the same quality in this respect with excommunication: and it is there witnessed, that Apollinaris did oftentimes desire him to receyue him againe into the felowship of the Church. So that it is manifest, that in those dayes, the Bishop alone did excommunicate.

Pag. 147. lin. 29.

### Chap. 1. the. 14. Diuision.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 113. Lin. 9.

So did Ambrose excommunicate Theodosius the Emperour, and

Ambrose excommunicated.



is therefore in all storiez greatly commended.

T. C. Pag. 148. in the ende.

As for Ambrose although he be greatly commended for excommunicating the Emperour, yet he was neuer commended for that he did excommunicate him himselfe alone, and if he did excommunicate him himselfe alone, yet his fault was the lesse, forsomuch as he being desirous of an Eldership, could not as it seemeth by his complaint which I haue spoken of before obteyne one. And although the storiez do not make mention that there were others whose authoritie came into this excommunication, yet it followeth not, that there were no other. And howe often will you stumble at that which you do so sharply reprove in others, which is in making of argumentes of authoritie negatiuely? And if you will not graunt this manner of reasoning in the Scripture, in matters pertaining to the gouernment of the Church, which are all comprehended in the scripture, howe would you reason of a common storie, which neyther can nor doth professe to speake all those things, which fall into that matter which it wryteth of? But what if so be it be proued, that Ambrose did not this of his owne authoritie, but by the authoritie also of others, will you then confesse that he is commended of all those which wryte storiez for so doing, and confesse that the vse and practise of the primitive Church was farre from this that is now? For prooue whereof I will giue you a place which Ambrose the best witnesse of this matter hath in one of his Epistles, where he sheweth that as soone as the murther which Theodosius had caused to be done at the Citie of Thessalonica was heard, by & by the Bishops of Fraunce came, and there was holden a Synode, where also Ambrose sayeth, that his communicating with Theodosius coule not absolue him, for that as it may appeare, the Bishoppes in that Synode had in excommunicating him, ordeyned that he shoulde not be absolued, vntill such time as he had done repentance, which he did afterwarde with confession of his fault before the Congregation, and asking forgiveness of it. So it appeareth that that which he did, he did it by the sentence of the Synode, and not of his owne authoritis alone.

Ambrose falsified.

Epist. 38.

Amb. li. de  
obitu Theo.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

It is not to be read in any storie, or other wryter, that Ambrose euer sought to haue an Eldership in his Church: for if he had so done, it is not like but that he might haue obteyned it, being of that credite and authoritie with the Emperour: onely in speaking of the Eldership which consisteth of Bishops onely: he sayeth that he cannot tell vpon what occasion it grewe out of vse, &c. but this is from the purpose.

Ambrose excommunicated alone.

Ambrose is commended for excommunicating Theodosius, and for excommunicating him alone, as it may appeare in Theodozete lib. 5. cap. 18. and Sozomene lib. 7. cap. 24. For if he had vsed the assistance of other, the commendation of his courage and boldnesse, had not bene so notorions and famous: neyther is it like that the people durst sayne with their Bishop in such an enterpryse agaynst theyr Emperour, and if it had bene done by any counsell of Bishops or Synode, to what ende and purpose shoulde Ambrose carrie away all the fame and commendation, not one worde once mentioned in any storie of any other assistante vnto him in that action? But what neede I vse these wordes, seeing the historie reported both by Theodozete and Sozomene doe verie plainly testifie the same.

My argument is not negatiue from authoritie, but affirmatiue: for all storiez that I haue read do attribute this whole action of excommunicating Theodosius to Ambrose alone. Reade the places of Theodozete and Sozomene, before mentioned, and you shall see that a man may safely conclude affirmatiuely, that Ambrose alone did both excommunicate and absolue him. Some of the late wryters that haue occasion to speake of this matter, do testifie the same, as namely Master Qualter vpon the. 1. Cor. 5. and therefore reproveth Ambrose his fact. But because you here charge me with so often reasoning from authoritie negatiuely, name one vnto mee that I haue so vsed, or tell mee why hitherto you haue onely espyed this? Remember that you are a diuine of whom it is required to speake truly.

The Synode did not excommunicate Theodosius.

But say you: what if it be proued that Ambrose did not this of his owne authoritie? And I say what if it be manifestly layde before your eyes, that you haue not rightly collected

M.  
18.  
Ac  
Ac  
6.  
Ro  
Phi  
1. C  
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13.  
1. T  
1. T



collected of those places of Ambrose, and that they make not for your purpose, which you have here alledged for your purpose: First your quotation in the margin is false: for Ambrose hath not one worde of that matter in his. 38. Epistle, but that might be the fault of the Printer. What which he sayth, is in his. 28. Epistle, the whiche also you have falsified, for there is not one worde spoken of any excommunication used by that Synode, agaynst Theodosius: onely Ambrose sayth, that when the Synode heard of it, euerie man lamented it, and toke it in euill part: and that he himselfe could not admit him into his Communion, nor absolute him from that offence without due repentance. And that is his meaning when he sayth: *Non erat facti tui absolutio in Ambrosij communione.* Whiche also the wordes following and the scope of the whole Epistle doth declare. For in that Epistle Ambrose doth exhort Theodosius to repentance for that fact, and after these wordes that I haue recyted, followeth immediately this sentence: The grievousnesse also of the fault shoulde be layde vnto my charge the more, if no man shoulde say that the reconciliation of our God were necessarie. Art thou ashamed to do that, O Emperour, that the kingly Prophete Dauid did? Whereby it is plaine, that Ambrose in his letters signifieth vnto the Emperour, that he must first repent him and be reconcyled vnto God, befoze hee may admit him to communicate with him. Neyther doth Ambrose say: that these Bishops were by and by gathered together as soone as this murther was heard of: neyther was there any such cause of that Synode: but they being gathered together vpon other occasions and befoze the murther was committed (as it will appeare if you marke the wordes of Ambrose well) newes was brought vnto them of the murther, whiche they greatly lamented as I layde befoze. There is not one worde in that Epistle, whereof it can be gathered that eyther that Synode did excommunicate him, or ordayne that he should not be absolued, vntill such tyme as he had done repentance: how much better were it for you to repeate the wordes of the Authour: but then should you spill your grace in counterfeiting.

The seconde place of Ambrose *lib de obitu Theodosij*. alledged to proue that Theodosius afterwarde confessed his fault befoze the congregation, and asked forgiveness of it, is more than needes: for that is not denyed of any man: and Theodoret *lib. 5. cap. 18.* doth set that his submission and confession out in these wordes. So in the ende Saint Ambrose absolued him, and the most faythfull Emperour being bolde to enter into the Church, prayed, not standing or kneeling, but lying prostrate vpon the ground hee vttered these wordes of Dauid: My soule cleaueth vnto the dust, quicken mee according to thy worde. And pulling his heare with his handes, and beating his face, and wating the ground with the droppes of his teares, he asked forgiveness. But this proueth not that the people had anie authoritie in excommunicating of him. In this Church of Englande, though the Bishop alone doe excommunicate, yet he that is excommunicated for any notorious tyme, is not receyued into the Church againe, befoze he haue made a publike confession in the open Congregation, and asked pardon and forgiveness of his offence. Wherefoze there is nothing yet alledged of any such force, to proue that Ambrose alone did not excommunicate Theodosius.

## Chap. 1. the. 15. Division.

### Admonition.

The sixteenth. In that the Lord Bishops, their Suffraganes, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Officials, Doctors, Sumners, and such rauening rablers, take vpon them, whiche is most horrible, the rule of Gods Church, spoiling the Pastor (r) of his lawfull iurisdiction, ouer his owne focke, giuen by the worde, thrusting away most sacrilegiously that order whiche Christ hath left to his Church, and which the primitive Church hath used.

Answer

(r)  
Mat. 18. 17.  
18.  
Act. 11. 30.  
Act. 15. 2. 4.  
6. &c.  
Ro. 12. 7. 8.  
Phil. 1. 1.  
1. Co. 12. 28  
1. Thel. 5. 12  
13.  
1. Tim. 4. 14  
1. Tim. 5. 17

Excommunicate persons not receyued befoze publike confession and repentance.



Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 220. Sect. I.

And first you shewe your selfe greatly offended, that the Pastor is spoyled of his lawfull iurisdiction ouer his flocke: & therfore you burst out into these wordes of heat, rauening rablers, horrible, sacrilegiously, and such like. It had bene well if you had tolde vs, what that lawfull iurisdiction of the Pastor ouer his flocke giuen by the worde had bene: For the places of Scripture which you quote for that purpose, do not plainly enough set out that matter. In the. 18. of Mathew vers. 17. after certaine admonitions in priuate offences, Christ sayth: *Disce Ecclesie*: tell the Church. In whiche place (as I tolde you before) the Church doth signifie such as haue authority in the Church, or else publike reprehension in the open congregation by such as be called thereunto. It giueth not any peculiar iurisdiction to the Pastor, for any thing that I can learne. And in the same Chapter. 18. verse, where Christ sayth: what soeuer ye binde on earth, shall be bounde in heauen, &c. according to your iudgement vttered before, it is ment of the whole Church, and not of the Pastor onely. You haue before denied that one man can excommunicate, and therefore this place maketh nothing for your assertion.

T. C. Pag. 149. Lin. 21.

In the. 220. and. 221. pages, he speaketh of this thing afresh, but hath no new matter, but maketh a bare rehearfall of the places of the Admonition, asking after his accustomed manner of confuting, what maketh this, or what proueth that: onely whereas he sayde before, and proued (as he thought) that the Minister had onely to doe with excommunication, being pressed there by the Admonition epyther to defende or renounce his Chauncelors, &c. He had rather denie both the truth and himselfe, than he woulde haue any of that horrible confusion and prophanation of the holy discipline of God brought in by Poperie, threatening the ouerthrowe of the whole Church, and seruing for nothing but for the nourishing of the ambition and pbenesse of a fewe, to be drinen out of the Church. Of the which I will vpon occasion speake a worde, if first I shewe that the vse of the auncient Church hath bene not to permit the excommunication to one, but that the sentence thereof shoulde come from the gouernours and elders of the Church, vnto whome that did especially apperteyne. Although I cannot passe by that which maister Doctor sayeth, that for so much as the Authours of the Admonition had alledged the wordes (tell the Church) to proue the interest of the Church in excommunication, that therfore they coulde not vse the same to proue the interest of the Pastor, as who shoulde say that the Pastor is not one of the Church. But of the absurditie of this, I haue spoken sufficiently before, and howe all men doe see the vanitie of this reason, that bycause the people haue an interest by this place, therfore the Pastor hath none.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I do indeed speake of this matter there againe after a sort: for I am drinen vnto it by the order of the Admonition. But in all those wordes there by me vttered, touching excommunication, I do not once aske, what maketh this, or what maketh that (as you charge me) although I might iustly vse these kinde of questions, as sufficient answeres, to such vnskillfull quotations, as they paint theyr margent with: and somtimes indeed I make such demaundes, but it is to shewe the fondnesse of their allegations.

I defende no Chauncelors, &c. that vsurpe any office, wherevnto they be not lawfully called, but I woulde not haue the Scriptures abused to confute them, least thereby (seeing the weaknesse of our reasons) they be animated rather to procede, than perswaded to leane of. I doe not thinke that Chauncellours ought to excommunicate (with this kinde of excommunication, that wee talke of) except they be Ministers, and so muche haue I vttered in my Answer: but I will not disquiet the Church for it, by seeking reformation extraordinarily, neyther will I be wilfull, if I can heare any sounde reasons to remoue me from this perswasion: wherfore



Wherfoze you doe in this cause, and in this place vniuersally charge me.

The place in the eighteenth of Saint Pathew, is vnderstanded of those, to whom the discipline of the Church, is by the authoritie of the Church committed; that is in this church of Englande, the Bishop. And therfoze that place can not proue that there is any iniurie done to the Pastor, or that hee is spoyled of his lawfull iurisdiction; and this is the effect of my answer, wherof you only causill as your nature is.

I saue in dede that this place was befoze alleaged in the Admonition to proue that the whole Church shoulde excommunicate, and not one man onely, and therfoze I see not, howe the same place maye aptly bee alleaged, to proue any iurisdiction of the Pastor ouer his flocke, seying it gyueth to the flocke equall iurisdiction with the Pastor, and not to the Pastor any superiouritie ouer them, if the interpretation vsed in the Admonition be true.

Let the Reader consider the wordes of my Answer to the Admonition: and trie whether there be any such absurdities in them or no. Surely it is a fault both in you and the Admonitors, to make the Scripture so pliable to your fancies, and the same place to serue as many turnes as you lyst.

### Chap. 1. the. 16. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 149. past the middst.

Tertull. in  
Apol. 39. c.

But I come to shewe the vse of the primitive Church in this matter, wherof we haue a manifest testimonie in Tertullian. If (sayeth he) there be any whiche haue committed such a faulte, that he is to be put awaye from the partaking of the prayer of the church, and from all holie matters or affaires, there doe beare rule or be presidents certayne of the moste approued auncientes or elders, which haue obtayned this honour, not by money, but by good reporte.

This place of Tertullian is verie corruptly alleaged: as will appeare.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Here you haue separated those things whiche Tertullian hath ioyned, and you ioine together in one sentence that whiche Tertullian hath separated, for thus hee writeth: And it is a greate argumente and example of the latter iudgement, if any man hath so offended that hee is banished from the communication of prayer, of companie, and of all holie affaires. Here Tertullian maketh a full poynte: and beginning a newe sentence he sayth: Approued seniors haue authoritie to rule, which haue obtayned this honour, not by money, but by a good reporte. &c. And these wordes be so distinguished from the other, that B. Rhenanus placeth his commentarie betwixte them. And yet you ioine them with a peece of the former sentence, whiche you haue also mangled: and so make as though Tertullian shoulde saue, that these Seniors shoulde excommunicate, where as there can no such matter be gathered of his wordes. For there were other poyntes of Discipline for them to execute, and other matters of gouernement to looke vnto. And he that shall well weigh the wordes of Tertullian, shall perceyue that he meaneth by these approued elders, none other but ministers whiche do gouerne the congregation, when they come together to prayer, and other holie actions, the whole order wherof, he dothe in that place describe.

Tertull. in Apolog. cap. 39.

But be it, that they had to doe also in excommunication (which I will not denye) for I did neuer so giue the authoritie of excommunicating to the Bishop alone, that I thinke he may not haue other assistance ioyned vnto him for the execution of it, (if the order of the Church so require:) yet this proueth not, but that the Bishop maye excommunicate alone, if that authoritie be giuen vnto hym by the order of the church. This place rather maketh agaynst you, for yf it is lyke, that these Seniors were ministers of the worde and Sacramentes: then it is certayne that the multitude hadde not to doe in the execution of this Discipline, whiche you labour to proue. There canne no greate certaynetie bee gathered

The Bishop may haue assistance ioyned with hym.



of this place, whether one or more did excommunicate: excepte you will also conclude that Churchwardens and sydemen (because they be officers to see good rule kept in the Church) have interest in excommunications, together with the Bishop. Wherefore I doe requyre a more manysse proofe of you: for this place maye with more probabilitie be otherwyse expounded, and therefore enforce nothing.

### Chap. 1. the. 17. Division.

T.C. Pag. 149. towards the ende.

And that the Ancientes had the ordering of these thyngs, and the peoples consente was required, and that if the case were a verie difficulte case, it was referred unto the Synodes or Councils, and that the ministers dyd not take upon them of theyr owne authoritie to excommunicate, and that those which did receyve the excommunicate without the knowledge and consent of the church were reprehended, it maye appeare almoste in everye page of Cyprians Epistles, and namely in these, whiche I have noted in the margin.

Lib. 3. ep. 8.  
10. 14. 19.  
1. lib. 3. ep.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

Thus you bid me to seeke that whiche in those Epistles by you quoted, I can not fynde, howe muche better dealing had it bin to have sette downe the wordes of Cyprian, that they myght have ben viewed and considered.

In the .8. Epistle of the thirde booke, Cyprian doth fynde himselfe grieved with one Therapius, because he gave peace to one Victor a Priest, before he had shewed himselfe fully repentant, and had satisfied for his offence: before also the tyme was come appoynted unto hym to make satisfaction, lyke wyse without the request and knowledge of the people. Whereby it appeareth that Therapius did absolue Victor before the tyme appointed, and secretly withoute the knoweledge of the people: but this proueth not your purpose. Therapius is iustly reprovved for breaking the order appoynted by the Church, and for absoluyng Victor before his tyme, and in a corner, without the knowledge of the people: but this proueth not that the Bishoppe maye not excommunicate: but the contrarie rather, for Cyprian in the ende thoughte this absolution to be sufficiente, as it appeareth in these wordes. But weyghing the matter by long aduise, it seemed sufficiente to chide our fellowe Therapius, for that he didde this thyng vnadvisedlye, and to have instructed hym that hereafter he committe not the lyke. But yet we thought not good to withdraw the peace whiche was once giuen, (howsoever) of a Priest of God: and for this cause wee have permitted vnto Victor, to vse the Communion deliuered vnto hym. Whereby it is manysse, that the absolution of Therapius was thoughte good, and that he had authoritie to absolue alone, but that it was done not according to the order then in the church appoynted.

Lib. 3. ep. 8.

Epist. 10.

In the tenth Epistle there is nothing spoken of Excommunication or absolution: onely Cyprian sayeth, that he made no answere to the Letters of Donatus and Novatus, and Gordius, because at his fyrste entranee into his Bishopryke, he had determined to doe nothing without their Councell, meaning the Priests, and Deacons to whome he writ, and withoute the consente of the people. What can you conclude hercof touchyng excommunication? Cyprian here sheweth himselfe to have iurisdiction ouer other Churches, and authoritie ouer other Ministers, and that he wyll doe nothing in doubtfull matters in theyr churches, without the consent of the ministers and people. But this is nothing touching excommunication, neyther dothe it proue but that he myghte doe thynges without theyr consentes, for why shoulde he else saye: *statui*: I have determined: signifying thereby, that it was in his power to do otherwyse if he would.

Epist. 14.

In the .14. Epistle he reproveth certayne Priests, for receyving into the church with



without the consent of their Bishop, suche as had fallen in the tyme of persecution, and that befoze they had any iust tryall of their repentance, adding that none ought so to be receiued, but *Per manus impositionem Episcopi & Cleri*: by the imposition of the handes of the Bishop and Cleargie. I can not see any thyng in this Epistle, that giueth the people any interest in excommunicating or absoluyng. But this is evidently to be collected out of it, that no suche thyng ought to be done withoute the authoritie of the Bishop.

In the 19. Epistle he wyrteth, that he will not take vpon himselfe alone to re-  
store those to the Church agayne, who falling in the tyme of persecution, were con-  
demned by the iudgement of al the Cleargie. I knowe not howe you wyl frame  
this to your purpose: for who euer denyed but that the Synodes mighte excommu-  
nicate: and who will graunt, that suche as be orderly and lawfully excommunica-  
ted by manie, shoulde be absolved and reconciled onely by one: and yet in that they  
desyre this at Cyprians hands alone, it argueth, that the manner was at that tyme  
for one man to absolve: but Cyprian refused to doe it, for that it was a com-  
mon cause, and they hadde bin Excommunicated by the common consente of the  
Cleargie.

Epist. 19.

In the thirde Epistle of his sycke Booke, I fynde nothing that maketh for you,  
or against me, wherfoze you must take the paines to recite his wordes, befoze you  
can deserue any credite. Thus whylest you would seeme to saye muche, you doe but  
abuse the Reader, and in the ende saye nothing pertaining to the controuersie.

Lib. 1. epist. 3.

### Chap. 1. the. 18. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 149. Sect. vlt.

3. Lib. contra  
epi. Parmen.  
men.

In Augustines tyme it appeareth also, that the consent of the Church was required: for in  
the thirde booke against the epistle of Parmenian, he sheweth that if the multitude of the church  
be not in that fault, for whiche one is to bee excommunicated: that then it helpeth much to make  
the partie bothe asrayde and ashamed, that hee bee excommunicated or anathematized (as hee cal-  
leth it) by all the church, and in his booke de Bap. contra Donatistas, in diuers places, he is  
so farre from permitting the excommunication to one man that he seemeth to fall into the other ex-  
tremitie, which is to make the estate of the church to popular, and the people to haue to greate a  
sway. For there he sheweth, that if the moste of the people be infected with the faulte, whiche is  
to be punished by excommunication, that then no excommunication oughte to bee attempted, for  
(a) bycause a sufficient number of voyces will not bee obteyned for the excommunication. By  
which testimonies, besydes the institution of God, and the practise of the churches in the Apo-  
stles tymes, appeareth manifestly what hath ben the vse of the churches touching excommuni-  
cation, as long as there was any puritie in the church.

(a) An vntruth.

### 10. Whitgifte.

Augustine in that thirde booke *contra epistolam Parmeniani*, sayth, that he would haue  
excommunication then vsed, when the vse therof can make no schisme in the church.  
that is, when the crime for the which a man is excommunicated, is such, as al men  
for the moste parte, do abhorre and detest: so that the offender can not haue so many  
fauours as are able to make a schisme in the church: for then (sayth S. Augustine)  
may this discipline be executed without the breache of peace and vnitie, and withoute the  
hurt of the people, when the multitude of the congregation of the church is free from that  
crime, that is excommunicated. For then (the multitude) helpe rather the Bishop re-  
proving, than the wicked partie resisting, than it profitably absteineth from his companie, so that no  
man doth so muche as eate with him, not for raging enuie, but for brotherly correction: and  
then also is the partie himselfe stricken with feare, and healed through shame, when as (see-  
ing himselfe accursed of the whole church) he can fynde no companions amongst the mul-  
titude, with whom he might reioyce in his sinne, and insult ouer good men.

When excom-  
munication  
should be vs-  
ed.

Aug. lib. 3.

*contra episto-  
lam Parmen.*

Whereby it is euident that S. Augustine meaneth him to be excommunicated of the  
whole church, not whome the whole church doth *ex officio* excommunicate, but  
whose Excommunication the whole Church dothe well lyke of, whose faulte

How the whole  
church is said  
to excommu-  
nicate.

All. ij.

the



the whole Church dothe deteste, and whose companie and fellowship the whole Church doth auoyde and eschue. Surely if a man marke the wordes of Augustine diligently, he may well perceyue that Saint Augustine giueth *his excommunicandi*, to the Bishop: for else why shoulde he saye, that when the people be free from that crime: they rather helpe the Bishop correctyng, than the wicked person resityng: But the discrete Reader may some vnderstande howe farre Saint Augustine is in this place from confirming your assertion.

S. Augustine wyrteth seuen booke *De baptismo contra Donatist.*, and will you not vouchesafe to name one of them vnto me: no; yet to recite his wordes, that I might knowe wheredvpon you ground this popular kinde of government falsely ascribed vnto him: it may be that Augustine in your vnderstandyng, attributeth more to the people than he doth in dede: and it is not vnlyke, but that lacke of diligent reading hath driven you into this iudgemente of him. But I will giue you a medicine for this disease, even out of these booke that you name. In the sixte Booke and fourth Chapter, he seemeth to giue authoritie to all Christian people to remit and to retayne synnes, and these wordes of Chryst: *Si cui dimiseritis peccata, dimittantur ei.* &c. To whom soeuer you forgiue synnes, they are forgiuen vnto him. &c. to be spoken to all Christians, but he openeth his owne meaning, and teacheth you howe to vnderstande all suche lyke kinde of speeches: for thus he sayeth in the same Booke and chapter. VVhen synnes are remitted vnto him that is truly conuerted vnto God, they are remitted by those, to whom he is ioyned by his true conuersion, for the same holy spirite dothe forgiue them, whiche is giuen to all Sainctes, ioyned in loue among them selues, whether they knowe one another corporally or not: lykewyse when any mannes synnes are reteyned, they be reteyned of those from whome hee that hath his synnes reteyned, dothe separate himselfe by dissimilitude of lyfe, and wickednesse of heart, whether they knowe him corporally, or knowe hym not. Here you may learne what Saint Augustine meaneth by his popular state, and howe hee is to be vnderstanded, when he sayeth, that eyther the whole Church, or the people do excommunicate, or absolue.

I woulde you had noted vnto mee, where I might fynde this saying of Saint Augustine, that if the moste of the people be infected with the faulte which isto be punished by excommunication, that then no excommunication oughte to bee attempted, for bicause a sufficient number of voyces will not be obtained for the excommunication. For I promise you I can not as yet come to the sight of it in those booke of S. Augustine by you named: neyther can you tell me (as I thynke) where to fynde it: but this is your vsuall maner and custome.

In deed in his thirde booke *contra Epist. Parmeniani*, and second chapt. he hath a place somethyng lyke to this of yours, but it is from your purpose, neither doth it tende to any suche ende as you alleadge it, for the wordes be these: *Re vera si contagio peccandi multitudinem inuasit, diuina disciplina seuera misericordia necessaria est, nam consilia separationis et inania sunt, et perniciofa, atque sacrilega, quia et impia et superba sunt, et plus perturbant infirmos bonos, quam corrigunt animos malos.* Verily if the contagion of synne hath infected the multitude, the seuerie mercie of godlie discipline is necessarie, for the purpose of separation is both vaine, pernicious and sacrilegious, bicause they are bothe wicked and presumptuous, and doe more trouble the good that be weake, than correcte or amend the euill that be stubborne. Saint Augustine doth not here alleadge this for a cause, that sufficient voyces can not be obteyned for excommunication, as you pzetende: but he thinketh Excommunication to be altogether in vayne, where the infection is generall.

But that it maye further appeare the doctrine that I affirme touchyng the authoritie of Bishops in excommunicating to be true, and to haue bene the vsuall practise of the Church in the beste tyme and state of it: I thoughte good in this place to adde to my former testimonies and answeres, the authoritie of certaine Councils, wherin the practise of the Church doth euidentely shew it selfe.

And

Howe Augustine is to bee vnderstande in ascribing binding and loosing to the people.

August. lib. 6. contra Donatist. cap. 4.

August. lib. 3. contra ep. Parmen. cap. 2.

Excommunication by bishops proued by the practise of the primitive church.



And first to begynne with the Canons attributed to the Apostles, and so ofte alleadged by W.C.

In the .32. or as it is in some booke the .33. of those Canons, it is thus decreed: If any Priest or Deacon bee excommunicated of his Bishop, it maye not bee lawfull for any other to receiue him, but only the partie that hath separated him, except that Bishop dye whiche hath excommunicated him: in this Canon power to excommunicate, and also to absolue, is in plaine wordes committed to the Bishop alone.

Can. Apost. 32.

The fift Canon of the Councell of Nice speaketh of this matter in these wordes: Concernyng those that are separated from the Communion, be they Clerkes or lay menne, by the Bishops whiche are in euerie prouince, Lette the sentence stande according to the canon whych doth pronounce those that are eielected of some, not to be admitted of other. But lette it bee examined whether the parties be excommunicated through the indignation, or contention, or frowardnesse of the Bishop: and for this cause, that the examination may be duly had, let there be in euerie Prouince a Synode celebrated twice in the year. The wordes be manifest: and what neede suche prouision for to examine the doings of the Bishoppe, if he hadde not authoritie to Excommunicate alone?

Con. Nica.

can. 5.

The sixte Canon of the Councell of Antioche is this: If any man hath bene excommunicated of his owne Bishop, lette him not bee receyued of any other, before he bee absolved of his owne Bishop, or shall defende himselfe in a Synode, and (the Synode beeing perswaded) receyue an other sentence. The same decree is to bee obserued agaynst laye men, and Priests and Deacons, and those that be in the number of the Clergie: Why shoulde the Councell saye: hee that is excommunicated of his owne Bishop &c. if the authoritie and power of excommunicatyng did not belong to the Bishop alone?

Con. Antioch.

Can. 6.

In the seconde Councell of Carthage, Canon. 8. it is lykewyse determined, That if a Priest beyng excommunicated or punished by his owne Bishop, shall presume to celebrate, he shall be accursed.

Con. Carthag.

can. 8.

In the sixte Councell of Carthage Canon. 10. the same is affirmed.

Con. Carthag.

In the Councell holden at Sardica Canon. 13. (or as it is in some booke the .16.) it is in lyk manner decreed: That if a Deacon or a Priest, or any of the cleergie be excommunicated of his owne Bishop, and shall flee to an other Bishop, vnderstanding that he is excommunicated of his owne Bishop, he may not giue vnto hym the communion, dooyng thereby iniurie to his brother and fellowe Bishop.

6. can. 10.

Con. Sardic.

Can. 13.

By all these Canons and auncient Councels it is euident, that from time to time euen in the best and purest state of the church, Bishops alone haue had authoritie to excommunicate.

And least W.C. shoulde here flee to his olde shifte, and newly deuised distinction, that this is attributed to the Bishop, because he was the chiefe of the action, and did moderate it, and not because the authoritie and power of excommunicatyng remayned in him alone, althoughe the manifest wordes of the Councells ouerthrowe it, and it is not to be iustified by any learning or good authoritie, yet that the Reader may the better vnderstande the vanitie of it, I will recite the .14. Canon (or as it is in some booke the .17. canon) of this Councell of Sardica, wherein it dothe plainly appeare, that the Bishop alone did excommunicate. The canon is this: If there shall be founde a Bishop prone to anger (which ought not to be in such a man) and being soone moued against a Priest or a Deacon, shall caste him out of the church, or excommunicate him, it must be foreseene, that he be not rashly condemned and excommunicated: therefore lette him that is cast out, haue libertie to complain to the Metropolitane of the same Prouince: if he be absent, then to the next Bishop &c. and that Bishop which hath iustly or vniustly seclued him, must be contente to haue his doings examined, and his sentence either confirmed or corrected, &c. What need these affections be feared in the Bishop, if he could not excommunicate without the consent of a Synodie, or of the people? For the Synodie might wel inough withstand this his hastynesse. Wherefore it is playne that the Bishop alone may excommunicate.

The Bishop

did excommu-

nicate alone,

not as moder-

ator of the

action.

Con. Sard.

can. 14.



The author-  
tie of excom-  
munication  
ascribed to  
the Bishop  
not infinite,  
but limited.

The practise  
in Augustines  
time.

Augustinus.  
To. 10. bo. 50.

But yet to cutte off all further cauilling, I woulde haue you to vnderstande that I doe not so giue the authoritie of Excommunicating to the Bishop alone, or to any one manne, that I thinke he maye excommunicate when he lyst, withoute iuste cause and due prooue of the same: my meanyng is not to make hym bothe accuser and Iudge: I doe not thinke that he oughte to excommunicate any befoze the partie be orderly and lawfully conuicted of suche crime or crimes, as are to be punished by that Censure. And that you maye knowe that I affirme no thing herein but the verie same that Saincte Augustine hath affirmed befoze me, and to the intente the worlde maye see that my opinion in this poynte is not strange or boyde of sufficiente authoritie, I will sette downe his wordes, as I fynde them in his booke *De utilitate & necessitate penitentiae*, and reported of Beda in his *Commentaries vpon the fyrste Corinthians*. 5. Althoughe some thinges be true, yet the iudge muste not beleue them, vnlesse they bee sufficiently proued. And wee can forbidde no man from the communion (although thys prohibition be not mortall but medicinal) excepte he eyther willingly confesse it, or be accused and conuicted, eyther in some secular or ecclesiasticall courte: for who dare take vnto hymselfe to be both accuser and iudge? And this is my iudgement of the authoritie of Bishops in excommunicating.

The abuses crept into this Church in the executing of it, I doe not defende (as it is manifeste in my Answer) but wishe them by due order and authoritie with speede reformed.

### Chap. 1. the. 19. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 150. Lin. 7.

And it is to bee obserued here, that bothe in this parte of the discipline, and also in all other partes of it (as I haue shewed) as in harder and difficulter causes, things were referred vnto the Synodes prouinciall, nationall or general, as the case required: so if the elders of any Church shall determine any thing contrary to the word of God, or inconueniently in any matter that falleth into their determination, the parties which are greued may haue recourse for remedie, vnto the elders and Pastors of diuers Churches, that is to say vnto Synods of Shires, or dioceses, or prouinces, or nations of as great or of as small compasse as shall be thought conuenient by the Church, according to the difficultie or waight of the matters, which are in controuersie, whiche meetings ought to be as often as can be conueniently, not only for the decision of such difficulties which the severall presbyteries cannot so well iudge of, but also to the end that common counsell might be taken for the best remedie of the vices or incommodities which eyther the Churches be in, or in daunger to be in. And as those things which cannot be decided by the eldership of the Churches, are to be referred vnto the knowledge of some Synode of a shire or diocese, so those which for their hardnes cannot be there decided, must be brought into the Synods of larger compasse, as I haue shewed to haue bin done in the Apostles times, and in the Churches which followed them long after.

### Jo. Whitgife.

The tumultu-  
ous and dis-  
orderly order  
propounded  
by the Replie.

So shall there be *turbatum & contentum satum*: much vniquietnesse: for one or two busy Pastors, suche as your schole can yelde good store of, woulde inuent matter y-nough to trouble the whole Church: and Pastors should then be compelled to be as much absent from their benefices, by reason of those Synods, as they be now vpon other occasions. Lord what a tumultuous Church would this be, if this plat for me might take place: In the meane while the Prince shoulde be a cyphar, and onely wayte to vnderstand what kynde of Religion, ceremonies, and government these Seignories and their Synodes woulde prescribe vnto hir to mainteyne and defende: for she must haue *poteſtatem facti* onely, not *iuris*: she must take lawes, she must giue none: she must execute whatsoeuer it pleaseſh maſter Pastors and their Seniors to commaund hir, else wil they stirre vp the whole countrey against hir, at the least she must be excommunicated: me thinketh I see the very beginning of



of a newe Hopedome.

Haue you shewed this confused order to haue bin in  $\frac{1}{2}$  Apostles time or in  $\frac{1}{2}$  primitive Church? Where haue you shewed it? or when will you p<sup>r</sup>oue it? Synodes there were in deede: and necessary it is that when occasion serueth they should be: but your Seigniorie in euery Towne or parish vnder a Christian Prince neuer was, neyther is it possible that without confusion it should be, as I haue before declared. But what audacitie is this, to ascribe an order invented by your selfe (vpon the whiche, scarce th<sup>r</sup>ee of you do agree, if you were well examined, and in the which your selfe, or euer it were long, would espie some thing to be altered) vnto the Apostles?

T.C. aler-  
beth his owne  
deuise to the  
Apostles.

## Of Byshops Courts, and their officers.

### Chap. 2. the. 1. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 150. Sect. 1.

These things standing in this sort, al those courts of Byshops and Archbishops must needs fall, which were by Antichrist erected, against this lawfull iurisdiction of eldership, as the court of faculties, and those which are holden by Chancellours, commissaries, officialls, and such like, the describing of the corruptions whercof, would require a whole booke, of whiche I will note the principall heads and summes.

### Jo. Whitgife.

And not these courts only, but all the courts in England would be denoured by of your Seigniorie: yea even the Princes regall authoritie, as may appeare partly by that which is said before, and partly by that which shall follow hereafter. For what iurisdiction will not your Seigniorie vsurp? what matters would it not presume to determine? what degree of person would it not tread vnder fote? but let vs heare what you say of these courts.

### Chap. 2. the. 2. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 150. Sect. 2.

First for that they enter into an office, which p<sup>r</sup>ertyneeth not vnto them, but to euery particular Church, and especially to the eldership and gouernours of the Church, and therefore although they should do nothing but that which were good, lawfull and godly, yet can they not app<sup>r</sup>op<sup>r</sup>ie their labours vnto men, much lesse to God, putting their sickle in another mans harvest. For neyther by the truth of the word of God, doth that app<sup>r</sup>ertyne vnto them, neyther by M. Doctors own iudgement (if his yea were yea, and his nay nay) considering that he sayd before, that this iurisdiction belongeth to the ministers. And although it should p<sup>r</sup>ertyne vnto the Byshop (as he is called) to whome notwithstanding it doth not app<sup>r</sup>ertyne, yet were it not lawfull for him to translate this office vnto another, and to appoynt one to do it, when he listeth, no more than he can appoynt them to do his other offices of ministering, as preaching the word and ministering the sacraments.

### Io. Whitgife.

Your seuerall government by eldership in euery parish, I utterly reiect: as neyther iustificable by Gods worde, nor any example of any church at any tyme, vnder a Christian prince, in that maner and forme by you prescribed.

The courtes of faculties medleth not with excommunications.

The courtes of Chancellours, &c. haue many moe matters to deale withall than excommunication, for that is but one parte of discipline, that they vse or ought to vse, only vpon an extremitie, concerning the whiche discipline and the ministers therof, I am of the selfe same same iudgement that I was before, and my yea is yea, and my nay is nay. And yet it I will tell you what I haue read since in M. Gualters commentaries vpon the. 1. Cor. 5. If any would appoynt some kynde of separation, or shutting out, which should be executed by a lawfull magistrate, and should rather be ciuill than ecclesiasticall, we will not be against them. For the lawes of our cities also doo pu-

Gualter in. 1.

Cor. 5.

A kynde of  
ciuill excom-  
munication,  
nish



nish them with excommunication, which are very negligent in hearing sermons, and in the vse of the Lords supper, and furthermore which do offend the Church with their wicked life. For such if they liue in the citie, they are throwen out of the felowship of the wardes or companies so that they can buy and sell with no man: neyther are they capable of any honoure or publike office: But if they dwell in the countrey, they are kept from the vse of the common pastures and woods. And this way is most meete for vs, let other cities and countries do that which they thinke to be most profitable for their people: for so much as it is euident, that the same forme of discipline cannot be appoynted and obserued in all places. I with the other remoued from those Courtes, and this in the place of it. But that Byshops may lawfully vse the true ecclesiasticall excommunication, I haue proued before. Denie it you as oft as you will, you can shew no sound reason or ground of your deniall.

### Chap. 2. the thirde Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 150. Sect 3.

And other thing is, that in these courtes (which they call spiritual) they take the knowledge of matters which are mere ciuill, thereby not only perverting the order which God hath appointed in seuering the ciuill causes from ecclesiasticall, but (\*) thrusting also with the ciuill Magistrate, and thrusting him from the iurisdiction, which apperteyneth vnto him, as the causes of the contracts of marriage, of diuorces, of willes and testaments, with diuerse other such like things. For although it apperteyne to the Church and the gouernours thereof, to shew out of the word of God which is a lawfull contract or in a cause of diuorice, and so forth, yet the iudiciall determination, and definitive sentences of all these, do apperteyne vnto the ciuill Magistrate. Herevnto may be added, that all their punishments almost are penalties of money, which can by no meanes apperteyne to the Church, but is a thing meere cyuill.

(\*) A manifest  
vnto truth.

### Io. Whitgife.

Ecclesiasticall  
courts execu-  
ted in the prin-  
ces name.

Who they are  
that iustle  
with the ciuill  
magistrate.

We glorie to the ciuill magistrate authoritie in ecclesiasticall causes: and we acknowledge all iurisdiction, that any court in England hath or doth exercise, be it ciuill or ecclesiasticall, to be executed in his maiesties name and righte, and to come from his as supreme gouernour, so farre are we off from thrusting with him, or thrusting him from the iurisdiction which pertaineth vnto him: neyther do we make any such distinction betwixt ciuill and ecclesiasticall causes, as the Pope and you do. And therefore we are not they that detract any thing from the ciuill magistrate, but it is the Pope and you: who both thrust him from the iurisdiction, that by the law of God and all equitie he ought to haue in Ecclesiasticall matters. God hath not so seuered ciuill causes from Ecclesiasticall, but that one man may be iudge in them both: and if it pertaine to the Church to declare what is a lawfull contract, & which be the iust causes of diuorice, by what reason can you proue that the iudiciall determination and definitive sentence of those matters, doth pertaine to the ciuill magistrate only? For is not he most meete to iudge in these causes, which best vnderstandeth them: but both this and that which followeth, you speake without reason, and therefore the custome of the Church, and the lawes appoynted for the same, now also receyued and confirmed by the ciuill magistrate, with the consent of the whole Realme, must be of greater force than your single words.

### Chap. 2. the fourth Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 150. Sect. vlt.

Thirdly as they handle matters which do not apperteyne vnto the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, so those which do apperteyne vnto the Church, they do turne from their lawfull institution, vnto other ends not sufferable, which M. Doctor himselfe doth confesse in excommunicating for money, &c.

### Jo. Whitgife.

So I do indeede: but it is the fault of the man not of the law.

Chap.



## Chap. 2. the. 5. Division.

T. C. Pag. 151. Sect. 1.

Last of all they take vpon them those things, which are neyther lawfull for ciuil nor ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor simply for any man to do, of which sort diuerse are reckened vpon by the Admonition and some confessed by M. Doctor. I will not here speake of the vnfitness of those which are chiefe officers in these courtes, that the most of the are eyther Papists, or bribers, or drunkards, (I know what I write) or Epicures and suche as liue of benefices and Prebends, in Englands and in Irelands, doing nothing of those thinges which apperteyne vnto them, and of other suche naughty persons, which are not only not meete to be gouernours in the Church, but which in any reformed Church, shoulde not be so much as of the Church. I speake not of all, I doubt not but there be some do that which they do of conscience, and with minde to help forward the Church, which I trust will (when the Lord shall giue them more knowledge) keepe themselves in theyr vocations, and being men, for their gifts apt and able eyther to serue the Church or the common wealth, in some other calling, will rather occupy their gifts there, than where they haue no ground to assure themselves, that they do please God.

## Io. Whitgife.

For as much as you referre vs to the Admonition to know what these thinges be that Chancellours, &c. take vpon the, being lawfull neyther for ciuil nor ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, I will also referre you to my Answer made to that part of the Admonition.

Your slanderous and opprobrious speeches against the men (hauing little to say against their offices) they must take in good part vntill you come forth namely to accuse them: but I am sorry that they (being as you saye suche persons) shall haue little occasion to be perswaded to amendment of life by you, whome they see as factious in religion, as they are pious in condition: as corrupt with affections, as they be with bribes: as daepe in spite and malice, as they be in drunkenness: What diminutio call you this, thus to libell against men in authoritie, whome you dare not accase to their faces? I defend them not if ther be any such, nay I wish them severely punished: but you offer nothing lesse than the frutes of diminitie, and I woulde haue you come forth to accuse them. Touching their benefices and prebendes, they will defend themselves by the examples of your adherentes: whereof some haue shaken off the ministerie, and yet keepe their Prebendes, some misliking the state of this Church, crying out of the Canon lawe, the Court of faculties, &c. take not withstanding all the benefyte thereby that they can, some of them reteyning two, some 4. &c. and yet do full little duetie, nay rase vp rather than plant.

But why do I fall into this wayne, which I mislike in you? I am therevnto forced by your intollerable outrageousnesse, the which howsoever I suffer against my selfe, yet may I be bold something to say vnto you, thus swelling and raging agaynst other.

## Chap. 2. the. 6. Division.

## Admonition.

These Seniors then, because their charge was not ouermuch, did execute their office in theyr own persons, without substitutes. Our lord Bishops haue their vnder officers, as Suffraganes, Chancellours, Archdeacons, Officials, Commissaries, and such like.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 117. Sect. 2. 3. 4.

You barely affirme without any prooffe, that these Seniors then did execute their offices in their owne persons without substitutes: but your bare word is not of sufficient credite, although I think you will make a greate difference betwixte Seniors and Bishops: for they whome you call Seniors had no authoritie to preach, or to minister the Sacraments as Bishops haue.

That Bishops might haue substitutes and had so, it is manifest in the. 13. Canon. *Ancyran Concily*, which was about the yeare of our Lord

Of substitutes  
rules of  
care.



Concil. Ancy-  
ran.

Lord three hundred and eight, and before Nicene council, where we  
reade on this sort: *Vicarij Episcoporum* (quos Græci *Chorepiscopos* vocant) non licet vel pres-  
byteros vel diaconos ordinare, sed nec presbyteris Cunitatis, sine Episcopi præcepto, amplius aliquid  
ordinare, nec sine auctoritate literarum eius in vnaquaque parochia aliquid agere. It is not law-  
ful for Byshops substitutes, (whom the Grecians do call fellow Bishops or co-  
adiutors) to order either priests or Deacons, neyther is it lawful to the priests  
of the citie, without the Byshops authoritie to commaund any thing else,  
or without the authoritie of his letters to do any thing in any parish.

It is manifest hereby that Byshops then had Deputies, whether  
you will call them Chauncellours, Commissaries &c. the matter  
is not great. To contend for the name, when the thing is certayne,  
is a note of a contentious person.

T.C. Pag. 151. Sect. 1.

Now I will take a short survey of that whiche M. Doctor alleadgeth to proue his offices of  
M. of faculties, Chauncellours &c. First he saith in the 117. page out of the Ancyran council, that  
there were vicars of Byshops, where although the name be not found of Chauncellours, &c. yet  
there is (saith he) the office. What vicar S. Paulus Byshop may haue and in what case, I haue  
shewed before, where I haue proued the necessary residence of euery Pastor in his flock. But I  
will note here how M. Doctor doth go about to abuse his Reader in these vicars. And first  
where there were three editions, of which one only maketh mention of these vicars, he tooke that  
and left the other, which is to be obserued, for that this varietie of editions rose of the diuerse vn-  
derstanding of the Greeke word (*χωρεπισκοπος*) which may be taken epyther for him that is by-  
shop for another and in his place, or for him that is Byshop in the countrie, that is in some towne  
which is no citie, so that *Chorepiscopus*, was opposed vnto the Byshop which was of some citie.  
And if it be so taken, then here is no prooue for the vicars of Byshops. But howsoeuer it be, it  
shall appeare that the names of Chauncellours, and *Chorepiscopus* do not so much differ, as the  
offices and functions of them. For it appeareth in the same council and Canon, (\*) that they were  
like the 70. disciples, that they had also some care to prouide for the poore, and that they were such  
as did minister the sacraments. And in another council they haue authoritie giuen them to make  
Subdeacons, exorcists, and readers. I know this was a corruption of the ministerie, but yet all  
men see, how M. Doctor looketh as it were a farre of vpon things, and therefore taketh a man for  
a molehill, when he would make vs beleue that these were Chauncellours, &c.

(\*) An vntruth,  
for there is no  
such thing in  
that canon nor  
council.

Antioch  
cap. 10.

## Io. Whitgiste.

My purpose is to proue that which the Admonition denyeth, that is, that Byshops  
had their substitutes, call them by what name you will: neyther do I speake epyther  
of the names, or office of Chauncellours in that place, but I reprove the Authours  
of the Admonition of ignorance, for saying that Byshops had then no substitutes.

You haue shewed nothing hitherto whiche proueth that Byshops may haue no  
substitutes, but you haue declared rather the contrary, as it is by me in that place  
noted.

How I abuse the reader in these vicars, and what choise I make of these three editi-  
ons, let the Authours of the Centuries iudge: who speaking of the same matter Cent.  
4. cap. 7. write thus: *Episcoporum vicarios Canones conciliorum Ancyran Neocaesariensis &  
Antiocheni (si quam fidem habent) Chorepiscopos nominant.* &c. The canons of the coun-  
cells of Ancyra, Neocaesarea, and Antioch (if they beare any credite) do call  
the vicars of Byshops *Chorepiscopos*, whiche worde also is extant in the 54.  
epist. of Basile And Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 14. calleth one Maureandas *Chorepif-  
copum* of Bicornis Byshop of the Persians. M Caluine in his *Instit.* cap. 8. Sect. 52. is  
of the same iudgement. Every Colledge (saith he) onely for the preservation of order  
& concord, was subiect to one Byshop, which did so excel the rest in dignitie, that notwith-  
standing, he was subiect to the company of brethren. But if the circuite whiche was vnder  
his Byshopricke was larger, thā that he could sufficiently performe the office of a Byshop in  
all

χωρεπισκο-  
ποι Byshops  
vicars.

Cent. 4. cap. 7.

Caluine.



all places, there were priests appointed in certaine places thorough the countrey which supplied his roome in smaller matters. These they called *Cborepiscopos*, because through the province they represented the Bishops.

You may therefore now understand, that I have not gone about to abuse the Reader by using this word *Cborepiscopos*, but rather that your selfe did not, or would not understand what was meant by this word *Cborepiscopus*.

You say it appeareth in the same councill and Canon, (meaning the councill of Nicaea and 13. Canon) that they were like the 70. disciples, that they had also some care to provide for the poore, and that they were such as did minister the sacraments: and yet there is not one word of this in that Canon or in that councill: whereby it appeareth that some man hath deceived you with his collations, and that you have not read the Canon or the councill your selfe. The Canon I have reported wholly and truly, in my Answer to the Admonition. Let the Reader measure your greateskill and reading, by such grosse errors. In dede in the councill of *Nicaea* and 13. Canon: there are the like words to be found.

All that which you speake to prove that the office of these *Cborepiscopi*, both differ from the office of Chauncellours is needlesse: (although it is no good reason to saye they differ in some points, *Ergo*, they agree in no pointes) my purpose only in this place is to prove against the Admonition (as I have sayde) that bishops had substitutes, whiche being graunted, it will some fall out that they may as well have Chauncellours.

### Chap. 2. the. 8. Division.

#### Admonition.

In stead of Chauncellours, Archdeacons, Officials, Commissaries, Doctors, Doctors, Summoners, Churchwardens and such like, you have to place in every congregation a lawfull and godly Seignorie.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 125. Sect. 2.

That is, in stead of learned, wise, and discrete men, you must place to governe the Church in every congregation, unlearned, ignorant, and men most vnapt to governe, for such of necessitie you must have in most congregations.

### Chap. 2. the. 9. Division.

#### T. C. Pag. 151. Sect. 2.

In the 125. page to the Admonition desiring that these may be removed and the elder shipp established according to gods order, M. Doctor answereth, that that were to place in stead of wise, and discrete men, unlearned, ignorant and vnapt to rule. Let M. Doctor take heede, lest in allowing so well of the popish ceremonies, not onely as tollerable, but as fitte, and then acquainting himselfe with the papists manner of speaking, in saying that the people be ignorant and unlearned, he fall or euer be aware into some worse thing. Moses in Deuteronomy, and Salomon in his Proverbs, place the principall wisdom in keeping Gods commandments and in fearing God. And David sayth, that the secrets and the private councill of the Lord, is knowne to those whiche feare him, and I have shewed out of S. Paule, that he giueth to the spirituall man great discretion and iudgement of things. If therefore there be in every Church whiche feare God and keepe his commandments, there are both wise and learned and discrete men, and therefore not to be spoken of so contemptuously as M. Doctor speaketh. And God be prayd there are numbers in the Church, that are able to be teachers vnto most of the Chauncellours, in any matter pertaining to the Church, and are able to giue a ripper iudgement in any ecclesiasticall matter, than the most part of them can.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Who knoweth not that the people for the most part be ignorant, unlearned, and vnapt to governe? you know what Chrysostome sayth of them *Rom. 2. in Iob.* And yet I do not take from them sufficient knowledge in things pertaining to their salvation, nor that wisdom that Salomon or David speaketh of: nor yet the discreti-  
on that S. Paule meaneth, 1. Cor. 2. But is every man that shall be saved, apt to rule  
and

The people  
for the most  
part vnapt to  
govern.



and gouerne: or doth Christ poure into them such gifts and graces miraculously as he did in the beginning of the Church: cometh learning, wisdom, aptnesse to gouerne, and such like, by inspiration onely, and not by meanes: I knowe there are many of the people that feare God, and are sober and discrete, the Lord increase the number of them: but on the other side you must knowe, that some there be (and that not the smallest number) that thinke better of themselves than they deserue: And I suppose that no manne will denie the most parte to be unfit for such functions: and that euen of those that are godly, many are farre vnmeet to gouerne. But if your reason be sound, then may the basest and simplest man keeping gods commaundements, and fearing him, be as apt to gouerne, as the wisest man, the most learned, and of best experience in a whole countrey, whiche is to create an absurditie, and to popular an argument.

The absurditie of the Repliers affectio

Godlinesse required in gouernours, but all that be godly are not meete to gouerne.

All the Repliers arguments tend to popularitie.

True it is, that to keepe gods commaundementes, and to feare him, is requisite and necessary in a gouernour: but yet (as I saie) not all those that feare God and keepe his commaundements be apt and meete to gouerne. These be the chiefe points of heauenly wisdom, whiche bring saluation, and whiche teache a man to gouerne himselfe in those things that pertaine to eternall life: but there are other things also necessarily required in such as take vpon them the government of others: except you will say with the Anabaptists, *Christianis non est opus magistratu*: Christians haue no neede of a magistrate. There may be therefore in every Church, wise, learned, and discrete men, in matters pertaining to themselves, and to their owne saluation, and yet not meete to gouerne others: there may be also meete men to gouerne others, but yet peradventure by the more part, (which is commonly euill disposed) put backe from the Seigniorie. In a word, God hath appointed the multitude how godly and learned soeuer they be, to obey and not to rule, vnlesse indeede you will make the state popular, to the which all your arguments tend.

## Chap. 2. the 10. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 151. Sect. vii.

And besides that the choicest are to be taken to this office, this ought not to be forgotten, that seeking good successe of things depende vpon the blessing of God, and that blessing followeth the Church when the Lords order is kept. Simple men which carrie no great countenance or show, will undoubtedly do more good vnto the Church, hauing a lawfull calling, than those of great port which haue no such calling.

## 10. Whitgiste.

But how wil you bring it to passe that the choicest may be taken: for if the electio go by the whole parish (as it must) then is it a thing vnpossible to be brought to passe in many parishes, the most part being euill affected, except you will vse violence, and compulsion, which is against the libertie that you seeke for.

How the Lords order is kept.  
Rom. 13.  
1 Tim. 2.  
1 Pet. 2.

The Lords order is kept when due obedience is giue to the ciuill magistrate, & other that be placed vnder him, to gouerne the church of God. For of this we haue expresse mentio in the 13. of Rom. 1. Tit. 2. & it is confirmed by the examples of the old church vnder Moyses, Josua, Dauid, Salomō, Jehosaphat, Ezechias, Josias, and all other godly kings and Iudges. Like wise the order of God is kept, when next to this supreme gouernour vnder God, we reuerence & obey in the Ecclesiastical state, such as god hath appointed to take the chiefe care & government of the Church, vnder the Prince, be they Archbishops, Bishops or such like. And therof also we haue expresse warrant in the word of God and that such as admitteth no other interpretation: as 1. Tim. 3. Tit. 1. Heb. 13. but as for your order of Seniors, and kind of government, you haue no suche warrant in the word of God. And the places that you vse for your purpose be doubtfull, and diuersly interpreted by learned men: wherefore not sufficient to ground any certaine doctrine vpon, being of faith and of saluation, as you haue saide before, the kinde of gouernment to be. Wherefore it is you that disturbe and seeke to ouerthrow the order of government appointed by God, and therefore in the end, you must looke to be ouerthrowen your selfe.

1 Tim. 3.  
Tit. 1.  
Heb. 13.



To your imagination of transforming simple, vnapt, and vnlearned men to an aptnesse and dexteritie of gouernment, if your platfome were placed. I will only answer that which Master Bullinger did to a fantasie of the Anabaptists not much vnlike: You imagine and conceyue in your minde those things, which neuer haue beene, nor are extant, and shall neuer hereafter be.

Chap. 2. the. 10. Diuision.

Admonition.

The nineteenth. What should we speake of the Archbishops Court, as all men know it, and your wisdome cannot but see what it is. As all other Courtes are subiect to this, by the Popes prerogative, yea and by statute of this Realme yet vnrpealed, so is it the filthie quauemire, & poysoned plash of all the abominations that do infect the whole Realme. We speake not of licences graunted out of this Court, to marrie in forbidden tymes, as in Lent, in Aduent, in the gang weeke, when banckers and belles, with the Priest in his surplesse, singing Gospels and making crosses, ranging about in many places, vpon the ember dayes, and to forbidden persons, & in exempt places. We make no mention of licences, to eate white meate, and flesh in Lent, and that with a safe conscience, for rich men that can buy them with money, nor we say nothing how dearly men pay for them. As for dispensations with beneficed boyes, tollerations for non residents, bulles to haue two benefices, to haue three, to haue more, and as many as they list or can get, these are so common, that all godly and good men are compelled with griefe of heart, to cry out vpon such abominations. We omit excommunication for money, absolution for the same, and that by absolving one for another, which how contrarie it is to the Scriptures, the complaints of many learned men by propositions in open scholes proposed, by writings in printed bookes set out, and by preaching in open pulpits, haue bene sufficiently witnessed. To conclude, this filthie Court hath full power, together with the authoritie of this pettie Pope, Metropolitane and primate of all England, to dispence in all causes wherein the Pope was wont to dispence, vnder which are conteyned more cases and causes, than we are able to reckon. As for my Lordes grace of Yorke, we deale not with him. We referre him to that learned Epistle which Beza wrote vnto him about these matters.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 228. Sect. 1. 2. & pag. 229.

I thinke this Court to be necessarie for the state of this Church and Realme: and if there be abuses in it, either in the law it selfe, or in the persons, I wish it were reformed. But the whole order of the Court is not therefore to be condemned, no more than it is of other Courts, which cannot be missed, and yet haue abuses in them. I confesse my selfe to haue little experience in such matters, and therefore I will speake the lesse thereof.

As I do mislike that there should be any time forbidden to marry in (for that can haue no good meaning) or any dispensations for boyes to keepe benefices, or excommunications and absolutions for money, for one man to be absolved for another, and if there be any other such like abuse: so do I vtterly condemne your vnseemely and vnchristian termes, as filthie quauemire, poysoned plash of all abominations, filthie Court, especially considering wherof they be spoken, to whom, and by whom: they argue a scolding nature, & a stomack boyling with contempt of lawes & superiours. Neither can I suffer you to slander not that Court, but this Church, with manifest vntruthes, as you do when you say that banckers, belles, and making of crosses, be allowed to be vsed in the gang weeke, and that the Archbishops court hath full power to dispence in all causes, wherein the Pope was wont to dispence: which both be most vntreue. I thinke in dispensations this Court goeth no further, than the lawes of the Realme do permit.

Agreeable to this spirit is your cōtemtuos speach, vled to both the Archbishops, me to be reuerenced not only in the respect of their yeres and authoritie, but of their singular wisdome, grauitie, learning, and sound religion also. Howbeit you reuerence them, as you do all other

Whinn.

that

The Church  
slandered by  
the Admonition.

To prove  
that the re-  
giment of  
the Church  
should be  
spirituall,  
reade,  
Eph. 1. 23.  
1. Thel. 5. 13.  
1. Tim. 1. 2.  
Heb. 10. 30.



that be in authority, except some, whome you do but seeke to vse, to bring your intentes to passe, I will say no more.

Beza and others abused by false informations.

I thinke you haue abused maister Beza with your false reportes, which hath caused him to write otherwise than he woulde do, if he knewe the whole state of the controuersie: So you haue also abused other notable learned men, and caused them to write, according to your fanlie, which since that time (beeing truely informed) haue by their letters (which are to be seene) both condemned your contentions, and their owne to much credulitie. But our faith and Church, dependes neither vpon M. Beza, nor any other man, neither do they looke for any such prerogative. But still you are without the booke.

T. C. Pag. 152. Sect. 1.

In the. 128. page he thinketh the Archbishops Court necessarie, but bringeth no reason, and further confessech himselfe ignorant of the estate of it, and therefore I know not from whence that good opinion of his should come, vnlesse it be from thence, that he liketh of al things be they neuer so euill which the Admonition misliketh. The rest which M. Doctor hath of this matter, is nothing else but great and high wordes. And as for the Canon law, it is knowne what a stroke it beareth with vs, and that a few cases excepted, it remaineth in his former effect.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Lawes made must not be ouerthrowne but by very strong reasons.

I haue shewed better reasons for it, than you haue done agaynst it as yet. For it is a reason for me sufficient, that the Court is established by the authoritie of the Prince, and the whole Realme, and fit it is, that very strong reasons should be used, before this reason be reiected. For in matters of gouernment, place must be given to the gouernors, law makers, and to the state: except there can be shewed inuincible reasons to the contrarie, whereof you haue not in this place uttered one.

## Of Deacons and Wydowes. Tract. 19.

Of the office of Deacons.

### Chap. 1. the. 1. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 152. Sect. 2.

It was before shewed that of the gouernors of the Church, there were some whose charge perteyned vnto the whole Church, of the which we haue spoken: some other whose charges extend but to a part of the Church, that is vnto the poore, and these are the Deacons. And as in the former part I shewed there were two kindes, so in this latter part the same is to be noted, that of those whose charge was ouer the poore, some had charge ouer all the poore of the Church (as those which are called Deacons) some had charge ouer the poore straungers, and those poore which were sicke onely, and those S. Paule calleth in one place Diaconesses and in an other place widowes. For the Deacons did distribute vnto the necessities as well of the poore straungers, & the sick poore, as vnto the other poore of the Church. And the widowes did imploy their labors to the washing of the feete of & straungers, & attending vpon the poore which were sicke, & had no friends to keepe the.

16. Rom.  
1. Tim. 5.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

There is no great matter in all this, sauing only that I would gladly learne where the office of widowes & Diaconesses is restrayned to poore straungers onely, and such as be sicke: seeing that the other poore, that be neyther straungers nor sicke, may neede their helpe in sundrie things as well as they: and seeing also that neyther in the. 16. to the Rom. nor in the. 1. Tim. 5. (which you quoted in the margent) there is any such restraynt made, or to be gathered, but the contrarie almost in expresse wordes.

### Chap. 1. the. 2. Diuision.

Admonition.

Touching Deacons though their names be remainning, yet is the office souly peruerced, and turned



(1) turned upside down, for their dutie in the primitive Church, was to (1) gather the almes diligent-  
 Rom. 12. 8. ly and to distribute it saythfully: also for the sicke and impotent persons to provide painfully, ha-  
 (2) ving ever a diligent care, that the churche of godly men were not wasted upon loyterers (1) and idle  
 1. Thel. 3. 10 vagabonds. Now it is the first step to the ministerie, nay rather a mere order of Idleness.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 118. Sect. 2.

In the whole. 12. Chapter of the Epistle to the Romaines, there is not one worde to prove the office of a Deacon to consist in gathering almes, and distributing the same, neyther yet doth he speake there of the office of a Deacon, no more doth he in the thirde Chapter of the seconde Epistle to the Thessalo. Lozde God what meane you thus to play with the Scriptures?

More pertyneth to the office of Deacons, than provision for the poore.

T. C. Pag. 152. Sect. 2.

First I will speake of the Deacons, and whereas M. Doctor crieth out of ballying with the scriptures for alledging the 8. verse of the twelfth unto the Romaines, to prove Deacons, affirming that there is no worde of them: Truly I can find no wordes to set forth this so grosse ignorance. And had it not bene enough, for master Doctor to have uttered this ignorance, but he must also with an outcrie proclaim it, and as it were spread the banner of it: What doe these wordes note (he that distributeth in simplicitie) but the office of the Deaconship: for in that place S. Paule reckoneth by all the ordinarie and perpetuall offices of the Church, as the office of the Doctor, of the Pastor, of the Deacon, of the elder, and leaveth not out so much as the widow, which he noteth in these wordes (showing mercie.) If the Authours of the Admonition do bally with the scriptures in this place, surely Master Caluine, Master Beza, Master Bucer, Peter Martyr, &c. doe bally with them. And shall all these be esteemed to play with the Scriptures, And Master Doctor onely to handle them seriously?

Jo. Whitgiste.

I thinke rather this clause: he that distributeth, let him do it with simplicitie, is spoken to such as be able to helpe the poore, that they should do it willingly and simply for Christs sake, not for vaine glorie, or any other like respect. For the whole scope of that Chapter is to move such as beleue in Christ to good lyfe, and conversation, neyther doth the Apostle speake of the Ministers of the Church onely, but of all Christians of what vocation or calling so ever they be. And therefore this sentence being generall and spoken to all of abilitie, it may also include Deacons, but I see not how it can be particularly restrained to them. Origen upon this place saith: The Apostle saith that he which giueth, and bestoweth any thing vpon the poore, must do it in simplicitie of heart, that is, that he seeme not to benefite the poore, and in heart seeke the prayse of men. Wherefore it is not simplicitie, if one thing seeme to be done outwardly, and in heart another be sought for. Chrysostome likewise expounding these wordes saith: It sufficeth not to giue, but it must also be done bountifully. &c. So doth the Greeke Scholiast, Theodorete, Theophylact, Ambrose, Hierome: all these do vnderstand this place, not of the Deacons, who distribute other mens almes, but of such as giue almes themselves, and relieue the poore with theyr owne substance.

Rom. 12. 8.

Origen. in. 12. Rom.

Chrysost. in 12. Rom.

Master Bullinger also doth admit, and well allowe this interpretation. Wherefore you see, that I haue good ground of my saying, when I sayde that he did not speake there of the office of a Deacon.

You say that Paule reckoneth by here all ordinarie and perpetuall offices of the Church, but you speake it onely, you prove it not: he speaketh here of prophesying, and you denie the office of a Prophete to be perpetuall. You say he speaketh here of Widowes, and I denie their office to be perpetuall. Moreover it is certaine that he speaketh in this place of gyftes profitable to the Church, and some of them common, as well to Ciuill as to Ecclesiasticall persons, as all learned Fathers in theyr Commentaries vpon this place doe confesse, and so doeth Maister Bullinger in lyke manner, and so I thinke muste all other doe that well consider

Apmm. y.

the



the drift of S. Paule in that Chapter, and the profitable lessons, the Apostle there giveth to all and euerie sort of men.

### Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 152. Sect. 2.

And as Master Doctors ignorance appereth in this place, so his minde not desirous of the truth, but seeking to caull, doth as manifestly shew it selfe. For all men see that the Admonition alledgeth not the place to the Thessalonians to proue the office of Deacons, but to shewe that ydle bagabonds might not haue any of that reliefe, which belongeth vnto those which be poore in neede, which thing appeareth, both by the placing of the quotation ouer against that allegation, and by the letter which directeth therevnto.

### Jo. Whitgife.

Willike that place was onely quoted for the phrase, else I see not to what ende it serueth, except it be to proue the office of a Deacon. For to what purpose should they note it to proue that ydle bagabondes should haue none of that reliefe, seeing that is not denyed nor yet in question.

### Chap. 1. the. 4. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 152. Sect. 2.

And whereas Master Doctor sayth that the office of the Deacons is not onely to prouide for the poore, but also to preach and minister the Sacraments, I haue shewed before that it doth not apperteyne vnto them, to doe eether the one or the other. For the prooffe whereof, this place of the Romaines, quoted by the Admonition, is verie fitte and most proper. For S. Paule speaketh there against those which not contenting themselves with their owne vocations, did breake into that which apperteyned vnto others, as if the hande should take vpon it the office of the eye, or of some other member of the bodie, and therefore Saint Paule doth (as it were) bounde and poynt the lymittes of euerie office in the Church, and so placeth the Deacons office onely in the prouision for the poore. This one thing I will adde to that matter, that if the Apostles whiche had such excellent and passing gyftes, did finde themselves (preaching of the worde, and attending to prayer) not able to prouide for the poore, but thought it necessarie to discharge themselves of that office, to the ende they might doe the other effectually, and frutesfully, he that shall doe both now, must eether do none well and profitably, or els he must haue greater gyftes than the Apostles had.

### Jo. Whitgife.

Tract. 14.

I haue proued before manifestly that it perteyned to the office of a Deacon to preach, and to minister the Sacrament of Baptisme, and to helpe in other businesse perteyning to the Church: I haue alledged both manifest examples out of the scripture to iustifie the same, and the practise of the primitive Church together with the testimonies both of the auncient and late wyters: and vndoubtedly you are dyuened to a great streight when you are inforced to vse this place of the 12. to the Romaines to proue the contrary, for though it were ment of Deacons, yet doth it not proue in any respect your purpose: neither can you frame any argument of it to that ende, neither Steuen nor Philip, when they being Deacons preached, and the one ministered the Sacrament of Baptisme also, did breake into that which apperteyned not vnto them, being incident to their office when they be therevnto called.

The Apostles were occupied in planting Churches, in going from place to place, to spreade abroad the worde of God, and therefore they coulde not so conveniently prouide for the poore: but the Deacons hauing no such occasion of traveling and removing from place to place, might very well both preach the Gospell and prouide for the poore. Neither can I contrue any reason to the contrarie: for I thinke they spent no greate tyme in turning ouer manie volumes, to prouide for their Sermons, because God gaue to them extraordinarie gyftes of knowledge, utterance, and such lyke, necessarie for their function. And if you speake of Deacons now, I say



say vnto you, that vnder a Christian Prince in the tyme of peace, that part of their office to prouide for the poore is not necessarie, seeing that by other lawfull and profitable meanes, they may much better be prouided for. Wherefore glorie as much as you will in your owne witte and reason, yet in these heauenly & diuine things, your reasons shall proue but haine and vntowarde.

### Chap. 1. the 5. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

Againe in the olde Church euery (w) congregation had their Deacons.

Answereto the Admonition. Pag. 120.

How aptly you haue alledged the scriptures to proue that euery congregation had their Deacons: In the first to the Philippi. these be the wordes: Paule and Timotheus, &c. to all the Saints vvhiche are at Philippi, vwith the Bishops and Deacons. Paule & Timotheus salute the Bishops and Deacons which are at Philippi: Therfore in those dayes euerie congregation had their Deacons: a straunge kinde of reasoning: you might well haue thus concluded, Ergo at Philippi there was Deacons: But surely this argument is to much out of square, there was Deacons at Philippi, therefore euerie congregation had their Deacons.

Whether deacons were in euery congregation.

Inapt arguments.

In the. 13. of S. John. verse. 27. these be the wordes. And after the soppe, Sathan entered into him, then sayde Iesus vnto him, that thou doest, do quickly. After Supper Satan entered into Judas, and Iesus sayde vnto him, that thou doest, do quickly: Therefore euerie Congregation had their Deacons. No maruel though your margent be pestered with Scriptures, when you take libertie to make *ex quolibet quidlibet*. Peraduenture you meane that Judas was a Deacon (as he was not, but an Apostle) bycause he caried the bagge, and that some of the Apostles thought, that Christ had bid him giue somewhat to the poore: be like whosoever giueth a pennie to the poore at his masters commaundement, is with you a Deacon.

In the sixt of the Actes we learne that there were chosen seuen Deacons, but there is not one worde to proue, that euery congregation had their Deacons.

In the thirde of the first to Timothie S. Paule sheweth what qualities and conditions a Deacon ought to haue, but not one worde of Deacons being in euery Congregation. This is great audacitie, thus manifestly to wzing the Scriptures, without all colour or shewe of reason.

T. C. Pag. 152. Sect. vi.

The second point is touching that there were Deacons in euery Church, which is wel proued of the Admonition, both by the place of the Philippians, and of the Actes. for although it be not there sayd, that the deacons were in euery church, yet forsomuch as the same vse of the was in all Churches whiche was in Jerusalem and at Philippi, and for that the Apostles (as hath bene before touched) labouring after the vniiformitie of the Church, ordeyned the same officers in all Churches, the prooue of one is the prooue of all, and the shewing that there were Deacons in one Church, is the shewing in all. The place which they alledge out of the first to Timothe, is of all other most proper: for S. Paule there describing not how the Church of Ephesus, but simple and generally how the Church must be gouerned, reckensh there the order of Deacons, whereunto may be added the

Num. 19.

continual

(w)  
Phil. 1. 1.  
John. 13. 27  
Acts. 6. 5.  
1 Tim. 3. 8.



continuall practise of the Church long after the Apostles tymes, which appeareth by the often superscriptions and subscriptions in these wordes: the Bishop, Elders, and Deacons, of such a Church, and vnto the Bishops, Elders, and Deacons of such a Church. And by that it is so oftentimes sayde in the counsels where the Churches assembled, that there were so many Bishops, so many Elders, so many Deacons.

### *Jo. Whitgifte.*

And I say againe, that they be most vnapt reasons: for the Deacons office was not so troublesome, but that the Deacons of one Citie, might serue all the Churches and congregations belonging vnto the same: neyther haue you read eyther in scripture, or any auncient wyter (except I be greatly deceyued) that Deacons were placed any where, but in Cities: and yet it is not to be thought, but that there were Churches also, in meane Townes. And surely no man without blushing can defend this argument: there were Deacons at Jerusalem, and at Philippos, Ergo there were in euery congregation Deacons. It is like vnto this: there be Preachers in Cambridge and London: therefore in euery parish in England, there be preachers.

This is also vnture, that the Apostles ordeyned the same officers in all Churches. For in chiefe and principall Cities they ordeyned Bishops to guide and gouerne the rest of the ministers, which were in townes belonging to those cities, as it is manifest by the examples of James, Timothie, and Titus, but they did not ordeyne any such Bishops in euery congregation: for further proufe of this, I referre the reader to that which I haue spoken of Archbishops and Bishops.

The first to Timothie, the third, is as violently wrested to serue their purpose. For S. Paule doth not speake one worde there of Deacons, being in euery congregation, onely he telleth what manner of men they ought to be. And you are not able to shewe (as I haue sayde) by the practise of the Church, that there were Deacons in euery congregation. These superscriptions and subscriptions that you talke of, were then vsed, when letters were sent to the Bishoppe, Ministers, and Deacons of chiefe Cities, where all these commonly remayned: and therefore cannot proue that euery congregation had their Deacons. The Deacons named in Councils were resident in Cities, not in euery congregation.

But among all these slender defenses of yours, you leaue out the. 13. of S. John: vers. 27. belike the Authoers of the Admonition must answere that themselves, as they must do many other places, which you by silence passe ouer vnto them.

### *Chap. 1. the. 6. Division.*

#### *Admonition.*

Howe they are tyed to Cathedral Churches onely, and what do they there: gather the almes and distribute it to the poore: nay, that is the least peece, or rather no part of their function. What then: to sing a Gospell when the Bishop ministreth the Communion. If this be not a peruerfing of this office and charge, let euery one iudge.

#### *Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 121. Sect. 2.*

I am sure you are not offended that there be Deacons in Cathedral Churches: for if they ought to be in euery Congregation, they ought to be there also: and yet I knowe no such order nowe in Cathedral Churches, that they be more bounde to Deacons in the respect of reading the Gospell, than other Churches be: But admitte they were, it is no peruerfing of the office of a Deacon, being incident to his office, as well to read the Scriptures in the congregation, and to exhort, as to giue almes, and distribute to the poore: for the state of the Church is not nowe, as it was in the Apostles time, neither is that part of the office of a Deacon, so necessarie now, as it was then, being

Tract. 8.

The Admonitions left to their own defense.

Diverse state of the church. Some part of the Deacons office not now so necessarie.



being lawes & orders otherwise to prouide for the poore, than there  
eether was then, or could haue bene.

T. C. pag. 153. Sect. 1.

The third poynte in this Deaconshepp is, whether it be a necessary office in the church or for a  
tyme only, which controuersie should not haue bene, if M. Doctors Englyshe tongue had bene a-  
greable with his latine. For in a certayne latine pamphlet of his, wherof I spake before, he maketh  
the Deaconshepp a necessary office, and such as ought not to be take out of the church: here he (\*) lin-  
geth an other song, there, because he thought the necessitie of the Deacon made for hym, hee woulde  
needes haue Deacons: here, because it maketh against him, he sayth there is no neede of the, wher-  
by appeareth howe small cause there is that M. Doctor should vnderpasse the authours of the Admo-  
nition with mutabilitie and disorde with them selues. But that this office is durable & perpetual,  
it may appeare by that which I haue alledged before out of the first of Timothie, for the necessitie of  
Elders, for the argumentes serue to proue the necessitie of those orders which are there set forth,  
wherof the Deacon is one.

(\*) This disorde  
is in your eares  
not in my song.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The onely thing that is spoken in that latin booke, touching the continuance of  
Deacons in the Church, is this, that they are not mentioned in the fourth to the Ephe-  
sians, and yet they may not be taken out of the Church. In my Answer to the Admo-  
nition, I saye that this parte of the office of a Deacon which consisteth  
in prouiding for the poore, is not so necessary now as it was in the  
Apostles tyme. My englyshe tongue agreeth very well with my latine tongue, for any sig-  
nification of dissention that is here vttered. I am fully perswaded that the office of a  
Deacon is to be reseynd in the church, for it is a degre to the ministerie, which con-  
sisteth in Preaching, Baptizing, and helping the ministers in other functions of the  
church, as I haue shewed. But yet I saye that this parte of the office, whiche con-  
sisteth in prouiding for the poore, is not so necessary vnder a Christian prince, when  
better prouision is made, as it is vnder a Tyrant and in time of persecution. Ther-  
fore I sing one and the selfe same song, but you would gladly espye out the contrary if it  
were possible.

To your allegation out of the first of Timothie, I haue answered fully: it is  
but a conceyte of yours whiche your selfe wyll mislike when you be better aduised.

*Chap. 1. the. 7. Diuision.*

Admonition.

And yet least the reformers of our tyme should seeme utterly to take out of Gods church this  
necessary function, they appoynte some thyng to it concerning the poore, and that is, to searche for  
the sycke, neede, and impotent people of the parryshe, and to intimate their estates, names, and places  
where they dwell to the Curate. that by his exhortation they maye be releued by the Parryshe, or  
other conuenient almes. And this you see is the nyghest parte of his office, and yet you must vn-  
derstande it to be in such places where there is a Curate and Deacon: euery parryshe cannot bee at  
that cosse to haue both, nay, no parryshe so farre as can be gathered, at this present hath.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 122. Sect. 1.

And what faulte can you fynde herewith, is not this greatly to be  
commended? If euery parryshe can not be at the cosse to haue bothe  
Curate and Deacon, why do you require them both in euery parryshe?  
why do you not thinke well of such lawes as appoynte Collectours  
for the poore, whiche may as well prouide for them and better to,  
than coulde the Deacon, who must be susteyned hym selfe with that

¶ Imm. iiii.

whiche



which the poore should haue.

T.C. Pag. 153. Sect. 1.

And whereas M. Doctor sayth, that euery church is not able to fynde a Curate (as he termeth hym) and a Deacon, I haue before shewed, intreating of the Seniors, that the churches in the Apostles tymes myght best haue sayd this, being poore and persecuted, although I see not why the church may not haue a Deacon or Deacons if mo be needefull, with as small charges as they may haue a collector or collectors.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

It is the Admonition that sayeth, Every paryshe cannot be at that coste to haue bothe. Whereupon I doe but aske this question, why they require them both in euery paryshe, if euery paryshe cannot bee at the coste to haue them both? Wylke you make small accompte of the Admonition, in that you read it not, or else you haue forgotten that this question is demaunded vpon their confession. But in dede I am of that opinion too, and haue before answered your objection of the Churches in the Apostles tymes, as for our Collectors, they be suche as put not the Church to one halfe peny charge, so could not your Deacons do.

*Chap. 1. the. 8. Diuision.*

Admonition.

For they (u) may baptise in the presence of a Byshop or priest, or in their absence (if necessitie require) minister the other Sacrament, likewise reade the holy Scriptures and homilies in the congregation, instructe the youth in the Catechisme, and also preache, if he be commaunded by the Byshop.

(u) Pontifi. tit.  
The ording  
of deacons.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 119. Sect. 2.

I knowe not what you meane by your *Ponti. tit.* in the margent of your booke, but if you meane the booke entituled, the forme and manner of making and consecrating Byshops, &c. now allowed in this Church of Englande, then do you vntruely reporte it, for there is no mention of baptising in the presence of a Bishop or Priest, neyther yet of ministering the other Sacramente in their absence if necessitie require: onely the booke sayeth, that a Deacon may baptise or preache, if he be therunto admitted by the Byshop, and that he may so doe by the worde of God I haue proued before. As for reading the holy Scriptures, and Homilies in the Congregation, also for instructing the youth in the Catechisme, who doubteth but that a Deacon may doe them?

Admonition.

The Deaconshipp (y) must not be confounded with the ministerie, nor the Collectours for the poore may not vsurpe the Deacons office: but he that hath an (z) office must looke to his office, and euery man must keepe hymselfe within the bondes and limites of his owne vocation.

y  
1. Tim. 3. 8.  
z  
Rom. 12. 7.  
1. Cor. 7. 20

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 126. Sect. 2.

Neither doe we confounde them, and yet Paule in the place by you quoted in the margent, speaketh not one worde of confounding, or not



or not confounding these offices: So the poore be prouided for, it fo-  
ceth not, whether prouision be made by Deacons or by Collectours:  
by the one it may be well done, by the other it cannot be done in all  
places, as the state is now. But thew any Scripture to proue that  
the poore must onely be prouided for by Deacons, else not.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Nothing answered to this.

## Of the offices of Widowes and their continuance. Chap. 2.

T. C. Pag. 153. Sect. 2.

There remaineth to speake of the Widowes, which were godly poore women in the church  
about the age of thre scoze yeares, for the auoyding of all suspicion of euill, whiche myght ryse by  
sclaunders tongues, if they had bene yonger. These as they were nourished at the charges of  
the church being poore, so did they serue the church, in attending vpon poore straungers, and the  
poore whiche were sicke in the church whereof they were widowes. (\*) Now although there is  
not so great vse of these widowes with vs, as there was in those places where the churches were  
first founded, and in that tyme wherein this order of widowes was instituted, parte of the whiche  
necessitie grew both by the multitude of straungers through the persecution, and by the great heate  
of those easte countreys, wherevpon the washing and supplying of their feete was required, yet for  
so muche as there are poore whiche are sicke in euery church, I do not see howe a better and more  
conuenient order can be deuised, for the attendaunce of them in their sykenesse and other infirmi-  
ties, than this which saint Paule appointeth, that there should be (if there can bee any gotten) godly  
poore widowes of y age which saint Paule appointeth whiche should attend vpon such. For if there be  
any such poore wydowes of that age destitute of all frendes, it is manifest that she must needes lye  
of the charge of the church, and seeing she must needes doe so, it is better she should doe some duty  
for it vnto the church agayne, than the church should be at a newe charge, to sende others to at-  
tende vpon those whiche are sicke and destitute of keepers, seeing that there can be none so fitte for that  
purpose as those women whiche saint Paule doth there describe, so that I conclude, that (\*) (if such  
may be gotten) we ought also to keepe that order of widowes in the church still. I knowe that  
there be learned men whiche thinke otherwyse, but I stande vpon the authoritie of Gods worde,  
and not vpon the opinions of men, be they neuer so well learned, and if the matter also should be tried  
by the iudgement of men, I am able to shewe the iudgement of as learned as this age hath brought  
forth, whiche thinke that the institution of widowes is perpetuall, and ought to bee where it may  
be had, and where such widowes are founde. Indeepe they are more rare now than in the Apo-  
stles tymes. For then by reason of the persecution, those whiche had the gifte of continencie, did ab-  
staine from mariage after the death of their husbands, for that the sole life was an easer estate and  
lesse dangerous and chargeable when they were dyuen to lye, than the estate of those whiche were  
maried.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Here you are taken in your owne trappe, and sayne you would wyprge your  
selfe out if you could tell which waye: for if all thinges conteyned in saint Paule his  
first Epistle to Timothie bee perpetuall, and must be kept vnder the great charge  
that he gaue vnto Timothie in the first chapter, as you haue before affirmed, then of  
necessitie the church must needes still reteyne wydowes. You knowe not in the  
worlde howe to auoyde this absurditie, and therefore some tymes you saye, that now  
there is not so great vse of them with vs as there was in those places where the churches were  
first founded, &c. and by and by you begiune to call that backe and saye, that you do not see  
howe a better and more conuenient order can be deuised for the attendaunce of them in their sicknes  
and other infirmities, &c. and in the ende you conclude that (if such maye be gotten) we ought  
also to keepe that order of wydowes in the church still. Surely if it be an order appointed of  
God to be perpetuall, and contained vnder that denunciation to Timothie in the  
first chapter, these (if a) and (and) can take no place, for there are wydowes god scoze  
in this realme of Englande, so that, that excuse will not serue. But it is a worlde to see,  
what you dare auoyche be it neuer so vntrue, contrary both to the practise of all re-  
formed churches that I can heare of, and iudgements of all learned men that I haue  
read of this matter.

(\*) This will not  
agree with the  
doctrine you  
raught before.  
Pag. 141.

(\*) This condi-  
tion cannot agree  
with so precise a  
comandement  
as you haue  
made it before.

The Replier  
tripped and  
caught in his  
owne nette.  
Pag. 141.

But



But if the institution of widowes be so necessary, why should they not be in euery congregation as wel as Deacons: for the Apostle speaketh as directly of them in his epistle to Timothie, as he doth of Deacons. Again if this be a sufficient excuse why the church hath no widowes, so say that they cannot be gotten, or there is none meete, why will not the excuse serue the church for lacke of your Seniors also, &c.

¶ Of the Authoritie of the ciuill Ma-  
gistrate in Ecclesiasticall matters. Tract. 20.

The. 1. Diuision.

Admonition.

And to these three jointly, that is, the Ministers, Seniors, and Deacons, is the whole regi-  
ment of the Church to be committed.

Answere to the Admonition. Pag. 126. Sect. vlt.

There is the  
princes autho-  
ritie?

This is only by you set downe without prooffe, therefore I will  
heare your reasons before I make you answere. In the meane time  
I praye you what authoritie in these matters do you giue to the ci-  
uill magistrate, me thinke I heare you whisper that the Prince hath  
no authoritie in ecclesiasticall matters: I knowe it is a receiued opi-  
nion among some of you, and therein you shake handes also with the  
Papists and Anabaptistes.

T. C. Pag. 153. Lin. vlt. &c.

(a) Note these  
speeches,

Unto all the rest untill the ende of the firste parte of the Admonition. I haue answered already,  
yet there is a poynte or two whiche I must touche, whereof the first is in the. 126. pag. where hee  
would haue men in hande that the authours of the Admonition & some other of their mynde, would  
shut out the ciuill magistrate and the prince from all authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters. Whiche  
I surmise although I see it is not so much, because either he knoweth or suspecteth any such thing, as  
because he meaneth hereby to laye a bayte to entrappe swithal, thinking that where (a) he maketh no  
conscience to giue he careth not what authoritie to princes, wee will be loth to giue more than the  
worde of God will permit, whereby he hopeth to drawe vs into displeasure with the prince: yet for  
because he shall vnderstande, we nourish no opinions secretly, which we are ashamed to declare o-  
penly, & for that we doubt not of the equitie of the prince in this part, which knoweth that although  
her authoritie be the greatest in the earth, yet it is not infinite, but is limited by the worde of God, &  
of whome we are perswaded, that as her maiestie knoweth, so she will not vnwillingly heare & truth  
in this behaffe, these things I say being considered, I answere in the name of the authours of the Ad-  
monition and those some other which you speake of, that the prince and ciuill magistrate (b) hath to  
see, that the lawes of God touching his worship, and touching all matters and orders of the church  
be executed and duly obserued, and to see that euery ecclesiasticall persone do that office wherunto he  
is appointed, & to punish those which faile in their office accordingly. (c) As for making of orders  
and ceremonies of the church, they do (where there is a constituted and ordered church) pertaine  
vnto the ministers of the church, and to the ecclesiasticall gouernours, & that as they medle not with  
making of ciuill lawes, & lawes for the common wealth: so the ciuill magistrate hath not to ordeyne  
ceremonies pertaining to the church: But if those to whome that doth appertheyne make any orders  
not meete, the magistrate may and ought to hynder them, & dyue them to better, for so much as the  
ciuill magistrate hath this charge to see that nothing be done against the glorie of God in his dominion.

(b) What is no  
more but to see  
them executed  
how differeth  
this from Papi-  
strie?

(c) The prince  
spoyled of au-  
thoritie to make  
Ecclesiasticall  
orders.

Io. Whigifte.

The Admoni-  
tors and T. C.  
toyne with  
the Papistes  
against the  
Queenes su-  
premacie in  
matters eccle-  
siasticall.

The wordes of the Admonition pag. 126. be these: and to these three jointly, that is, the  
Ministers, Seniors, and Deacons, is the whole regiment of the church to be committed. What  
foze they spoyle the ciuill magistrate of all government in Ecclesiasticall matters: for  
if the whole government of the church is to be committed to Ministers, Seniors, & Deacons, what  
authoritie remaineth to the ciuill magistrate in the government of it? Agreeable to this  
disobedient spirite & erroneous & Papistlicall doctrine, is that in the second Admonitiō  
Fol. 8. & 9. where the authours of that booke take from the ciuill magistrate all supremacie in  
Eccle-



Ecclesiasticall matters, and by evident circumstances, call his authoritie vsed in those things vsurped. pag. 57. they saye, only meere ciuill lawes are to be made. And here in this place T. C. in expresse wordes taketh from the ciuill magistrate, all authoritie of making and appointing orders and ceremonies of the church, and giueth the same onely to ministers and ecclesiasticall gouerneurs, he maketh it the princes dutie to see those lawes executed which these ecclesiasticall gouernours shall appoynte and prescribe: and in his Preface he saith that ciuill persones may not handle ecclesiasticall matters and Pag. 35. & 145. & the ciuill magistrate may not be the head of the church in that common wealth whereof he is the head. Whereby (as I suppose he meaneth supream gouernour) and that the church may bee established without him. Pag. 54. hee denieth that the magistrate ought to prescribe what kinde of apparell ministers should weare. In diuers places, he maketh such a distinction betwixt the church of Christ, & a Christian common wealth y<sup>e</sup> hath a Christian magistrate, as he would do betwixt the church & a Heathenish common wealth, y<sup>e</sup> hath a persecuting and an vbeleping magistrate, and separateth the common wealth of Englande, as farre from the church of Englande as he can do the common wealth of Turcia, from the church of Christ in Turcia: all this I haue noted to this ende, that the good subiect and those that be carefull for the preservation of the state of this Realme, and the lawefull authoritie of hir Maestie, may the better consider and beware of this doctrine, the whiche vnlesse I proue to be the selfe same with the Papistes in substance, let me susteine that punishment that is due vnto them whome I burden & charge with forgetfulness of dutie in this poynt.

Saunders in that trayterous booke of his, writeth thus. That hath deceived many, bicause they see kings to be Christians, and to rule ouer Christians, for they knowe not, or at the least they will not knowe, what difference there is, whether thou rule ouer a Christian in that he is a Christian, or in that he is a man. For a king ruleth ouer Christian men, but not bicause they bee Christians, but bicause they bee men: and bicause byshopps be men, in that respect he ruleth also ouer them. &c. And T. C. in his Reply. pag. 35. writeth on this manner, saying: That the godly Magistrate is the head of the common wealth, but not of the church, meaning that particular church conteyned in the common wealth whereof he is gouernour: and in the same page he saith: that the Christian Magistrate is but onely a member of that particular church. And pag. 145. he sayeth, That the Prince may well bee Monarche immediatly betwene God and the common wealth, and not betwene God & the church, in that common wealth or any singular member in the church, and in this place he would haue the ciuill Magistrate no more to intermedle with making Ecclesiasticall lawes and orders, than the ecclesiasticall minister should deale with ciuill diuers such nippes and pinches he hath at the ciuill Magistrate: speaking no other wyse of hym than of a Turke or a Iewe, and giuing him no more authoritie in the church of Christe and ouer Christians, than if hee were the great Turke, or wicked Nero. But I answer them bothe with the wordes of M. Musculus in his common places *Titu. de Magistratu*. Let Ethnickes and infidels whiche liue not in the vnitie of truthe, but in the confusion of error, haue their diuers lawes and magistrates, some prophane and some holy, whose whole life is prophane, whose religion is but ecclesiasticall superstition and in the temple only. Christian people are altogether holy, and dedicated to the name of Christe, not in temples only and ecclesiasticall rites, but in their whole life, in euery place at al times, in all things, in al deedes and studies, that according to the admonitiō of the Apostle. 1. Cor. 10. whether he eate or drinke, or whatsoeuer he doth all may be done to the glory of God, and Col. 3. whatsoeuer he doth in woorde or in deede, hee doe it in the name of the Lorde. &c. VVherefore that distinction of Ecclesiasticall & prophane lawes, hath no place in it, bicause there is nothing in it that is prophane, seeing it is a people holy to the Lorde God: and the Magistrate is holy and not prophane, his authoritie is holy, his lawes are holy, his sword is holy, a reuenger of the wicked and vngodly, whereby he serueth the Lorde being the chiefe lawmaker, and iudge: our members are the members of Christ, and our bodies are the bodies of the holy ghost: we are willed to glorifie God not in our spirit onely, but in our bodie also 1. Cor. 6. Therefore this be farre from the church of Christ, that it should be partly holy, and partly prophane, holy before, and prophane behinde, lyke vnto an Idoll which sheweth beautifull before, and behinde is full of filth, and Spiders webbes.

Againe the Papistes giue to the Christian Magistrate in ecclesiasticall matters,

*Potestatem*

ces right in  
Ecclesiasti-  
cal matters.

The opinion  
of the Replier  
concerning  
Princes au-  
thoritie.  
Sect. 3.

Pag. 35. about  
the midst.

Pag. 145.  
Sect. 1.

Pag. 54. Sect. 1.

Saunders &  
the Replier  
agrec.  
Saunders.

Pag. 35. in the  
midst.

Pag. 145.  
Sect. 1.

*Musculus.*

that autho-  
ritie Papists  
giue to the  
Prince in ec-  
clesiasticall  
matters.



Saunders.

Potestas facti,  
not iuris, ascri-  
bed to the ma-  
gistrates.

2. Admonit.  
pag. 60.

Musculus.

A note of An-  
abaptisme  
practised by  
the Replier.  
(\*) Pag. 2.  
sect. 2.

You alleage the  
reasons of the  
Papistes to the  
same purpose  
with them

*Potestatem facti* and not *iuris*, that is, to see those lawes executed and put in practice, that the Pope and his Clergie shall make, and to bee as it were their executioner, but not to make any lawes or orders in Ecclesiastical matters: for so writeth Saunders in his booke before named Fol. 64. Although I doe not denie but that the knowledge of a facte that belongeth to the ecclesiasticall lawe, may be committed to kings and Magistrates, and before the ecclesiastical cause be determined, the king may vse his authoritie to this end, that there may be some quiet place prepared, where the bishops shall cōsulte, and that the bishops be called to the same place at a certain day, and that in the meane time while the matter is in determining, cōmon peace may be preserved even among the priests them selues: to conclude, after the cause be determined and iudged by the priests, the king may punish him with the sworde (which he carieth not in vaine) or by some other corporall punishment which shall refuse to obey the sentence of the priests. Therefore we do not deny but that kings haue something to do, both before, and at, and after the iudgements of the bishops: but in the office of iudging, they haue no more to do, than other priuate persons, for they may well giue counsell, and declare what they thinke, but they may not determine or define what Gods lawes or the ecclesiastical lawe doth require. And both not T. C. in this place affirme the same: onely herein he seemeth something to differ, if the ecclesiastical gouernours shall make any orders vnmeeete, the magistrate may diue them to better. But what if they saye they be meeete, & will stand to it, as you do now in this sonde platfōrme? Will they not crye out vpon the magistrate, & saye that he is a persecutour, a maintainer of an vni-  
lawfull authoritie, & of that which is against the glozie of God, if he withstande the: as the authours of the seconde Admonition do in playne termes, saying, For though the or-  
ders be, and ought to be drawn out of the booke of God, yet it is her Maestie that by her princely  
authoritie should see euery of these thyngs put in practice, and punish those that neglect them, ma-  
king lawes therfore: for the church may keepe those orders, but neuer in peace, except the comfort-  
table and blessed assistance of the states and gouernours incke in to see them in their countreys and  
bled, for otherwise the church maye and must keepe Gods orders, but alwaies in troubles and per-  
secution which is like to light vpon vs, except a reformation of religion, or a direct prouiso. for vs bee  
made, for surely only this is Gods order, and ought to be vsed in his church, so that in conscience  
we are forced to speake for it and to vse it, and in conscience and in reuerence of God we are forced to  
speake as we do of that reformation, which we nowe vse, not so much for ought else, as to set out the  
deformities thereof, that we might thinke vpon the amending of them.

M. Musculus in the booke and title before recited, setteth out this Popish opiniō tou-  
ching the authoritie of y<sup>e</sup> ciuill Magistrate in ecclesiasticall matters briefly, but plain-  
ly, in these wordes. Those whome they call Ecclesiasticall persones, and we call them Pa-  
pistes, will not commit to the magistrate any further authoritie in religion, than to be the  
keeper and reuenger of it, and of their Ecclesiasticall lawes, that the ecclesiasticall pollicie  
maye remayne immouable, wherefore they deny him to haue authoritie in that he is a ma-  
gistrate to make or to publyshe any Ecclesiasticall lawes, because suche things pertaine to  
those that do represent the church, whose decrees and constitutions must bee mainteyned  
and defended by the authoritie of the magistrate.

This I thought good to note before I come to answering of his argumentes, that al  
men may vnderstand that I no other wise charged them in this point, than they haue  
well deserved, neither haue I as yet detected all that they peruerly thinke, of the au-  
thoritie of the ciuill magistrate: one thing I praye you marke, that here is one note  
practised that I haue ascribed to the Anabaptistes, in my (\*) Answer to the Admoni-  
tion, for there I shewe that the Anabaptistes accuse the true ministers of the Gospel,  
for attributing (as they saye) to much to the ciuill magistrate: The same doth T. C.  
charge me with in this place. But I will nowe come to his argumentes.

## The. 2. Diuision.

T. C. Page 154. Sect. 1.

This distinction if M. Doctor knoweth not nor hath not heard of, let him looke in the seconde  
booke of the Chronicles in the. 19. chap. and in the. 8. and. 11. verses, hee shall see that there were a  
number appointed for the matters of the lord, which were priests & Leuites, and there were other  
also appointed for the kings affaires, and for matters of the common wealthe, amongst which were  
the Leuites, which being more in number than could be applied to the vse of the church, were sette  
ouer ciuill causes, being therfore moste fitte, for that they were best learned in the lawes of God,  
which were the polypike lawes of that countrey.

There



Hebr. 5.

There he may learne if it please him, that the making of orders and giuing of iudgements in ci-  
uill and Ecclesiasticall, in common wealth and church matters, perteyned vnto diuers persons,  
whiche distinction the writer to the Hebrewes doth note, when he saith, (\*) that the Priest was  
ordained in thinges perteyning to God.

## Io. Whitgifte.

Yes, I bothe knowe this distinction, and haue heard of it, for I haue redde it  
in the booke of the Papistes as I haue shewed before: I haue heard also this  
same place of the 2. Chro. 19. alleaged to confirme it: For Saunders in his booke  
before named, dothe vse it to the same ende and purpose that you do: that is, to proue  
the Ciuill Magistrate to haue no authoritie in making Ecclesiasticall lawes and or-  
ders, his wordes be these. Likewyse Iosaphat kinge of Iuda distinguishing bothe the  
powers, sayde to the Leuites and Priestes: Amarias the Prieste, and your Bishop shall go-  
uerne in those thinges whiche perteyne to God: But Zabadias &c. beholde something  
perteyned to the Bishop, other somethinges to the office of a Kinge. The same place al-  
so dothe Harding vse, to the selfe same ende agaynst my Lorde of Sarisburie, fol. 118.  
of the defense of the Apologie of the Church of Englande, from whome I beleue  
you haue borrowed it. Do I not say truly that you iumpe with the Papistes: do  
you not both conspire agaynst the Ciuill Magistrate: and are you not content to vse  
theyr very wordes and reasons: greate ado there is agaynst me, bycause I vse a  
place of Cyprian for the authoritie of an Archbishop ouer his prouince, whiche the  
Papistes abuse for the authoritie of the Pope ouer all Christendome: and here you  
vse the reason not onely of Papistes, but of Traytours to the same ende with them:  
that is, agaynst that lawfull iurisdiction, whiche we haue giuen to our Prince,  
and whiche hath hetherto bene maynteyned, bothe by preaching and by burning.

The Replier  
vseth the same  
distinction &  
reasons with  
the Papistes.

Saunders. li. 2.

cap. 1. fol. 57.

But to lette this rest in the consideration of the Reader, I will in fewe  
wordes declare that this place maketh flatte agaynst you: for who placed those Le-  
uites and Priestes in Ierusalem for the iudgement and cause of the Lorde: or who  
prescribed vnto them what they shoulde do: or who gaue to them that authoritie:  
did not Iehosaphat: the texte is playne. Iehosaphat had chiefe authoritie and go-  
uernment bothe in thinges perteyning to God, and in thinges perteyning to the  
common wealth, but for better execution of them, the one he did committe to be exe-  
cuted by Amaria the Prieste, the other by Zabadias a ruler of the house of Iuda: e-  
uen as the Quenes Maiestie beyng supreme gouernour in all causes, bothe Eccle-  
siasticall and Temporal, committeth the hearing and iudging of Ecclesiasticall  
matters to the Archbishops and Bishops, and of Temporal matters to the Lorde  
Chancellour and other iudges, neyther can you any more conclude that Iehosaphat  
had no authoritie in Ecclesiasticall causes bycause he made Amarias the Prieste  
iudge in the same, than you can that he had nothing to do in Temporall affayres,  
bycause he appoynted also Zabadias to heare & determine them. For if this reason  
be good, the Quene of Englande hath nothing to do with Ecclesiasticall matters,  
bycause she hath made the Archbishops and Bishops iudges in them, then is this  
as good, hir Maiestie hath no authoritie in Ciuill matters, bycause she hath commit-  
ted the same to the Lorde Chancellour and other Iudges. Thus you see howe both  
the Papistes and you are deceyued in one and the selfe same reason.

The place of  
the Replier is  
gaynst him-  
selfe.

I will but note by the way that the Leuites beyng Ecclesiasticall persons, had  
to do in Ciuill matters, as the wordes of the texte verse. 11. moste manifestly, de-  
clare, as for your shifte of the number of them, beyng more than could be applyed to the  
vse of the Church, it is but your owne, and therefore to simple to answer so playne  
and direct a place of the Scripture.

Leuites be-  
ing Ecclesi-  
asticall per-  
sons had to do  
in ciuill mat-  
ters.

That in the fift to the Hebrewes is farre from the purpose, for the Apostle in  
the same sentence declareth what those thinges perteyning to God be: Euen to offer  
bothe giftes and sacrifices for him: I thinke you do not so maliciously reposte of vs



The Prin-  
ces right in  
Ecclesia-  
stical mat-  
ters.

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## The defense of the answere

Traft. 20

as the Papistes do: that we giue to the Prince power to minister the Sacra-  
mentes, and to preache the worde: if you do not, this place can by no meanes serue  
your turne.

### The. 3. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 154. Sect. 2.

(\*) A great o-  
uerfight.

This might M. Doctor haue learned by that whiche the noble Emperour Constantine at-  
tributeth to the Fathers of the Nicene Councell and to the Ecclesiasticall persons there gathered:  
whiche he dothe also permitte the Bishops, Elders, and Deacons of Churches to do, (\*) ey-  
ther by correcting or adding, or making newe if neede be. And by the continuall practise of the  
Church in the tyme of Christian Emperours, whiche alwayes permitted vnto the ministers as-  
sembled in councels, as well the determination of controuerſies whiche roſe, as the making or the  
abolishing of needefull or hurtfull ceremonies, as the case requyred. Also by the Emperours epi-  
ſtle in the first action of the councell of Constantinople where by the epistle of the Emperour it  
appeareth, that it was the manner of the Emperours, to confirme the ordinaſces which were made  
by the ministers, and to see them kept.

Euseb. lib.  
2. de vita  
Const. epi.  
ad Euseb.  
Sozom. lib.  
1. cap. 17.  
1. tom. con.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Euseb. lib. 1. de  
vita Const.  
Constantinus  
his rule in ec-  
clesiasticall  
matters.

Lib. 2.

Epist. ad Euseb.

A grosse o-  
uerſight of  
T.C.

Lib. 2. Euseb. de  
vita Constant.

Epist. ad Euseb.

Eusebius go-  
uernour of mo  
churches than  
one.

The place a-  
gainst him-  
ſelfe.

Christian  
Princes haue  
exercised su-

I learne in Eusebius Lib. 1. de vita Constant. that Constantinus is called as it were  
a generall Bishop appoynted of God, that he also called Synodes and placed the mo-  
deratoz in them: I learne in that seconde Booke, that he made lawes and constitu-  
tions pertainyng to holynesse towards God, and to the appoynting of meete thinges for  
the Churches of God: that there shoulde be no Images worshipped: none erected and  
set vp: no enchauntmentes vied or soothsayings. And I learne in that same Epistle  
by you quoted, that Constantinus prescribed to Eusebius what he shoulde do, and what  
he should will others to do, in buylding and repayring of Churches, or enlarging of them:  
neither is there mention made of any other Lawes or constitutions in that Epi-  
ſtle: and surely I beleene that those wordes whiche Constantinus speaketh to Euse-  
bius of buylding or repayring, or enlarging Churches buylded of stone, you vnder-  
ſtande of making, restoring or enlarging of Ecclesiasticall orders and Lawes,  
whiche if you do (as your wordes playnely signifie) then vnderſtande you not the  
place, abuse your Reader, and caſte away an argument. For Constantinus wordes  
to Eusebius be these: Howe hitherto by that wicked sentence and tyrannie, persecuting  
the Ministers of our Sauour, the buyldings of the Churches are decayed, and weakened  
thorough negligence, or ſoulde and made vyle, for feare of imminent daunger, I knowe  
and am fully perſwaded: but nowe libertie beyng restored, and that Dragon thorough the  
prouidence of God, and our ministerie banished from the gouernment of the common  
wealth, I thinke Gods power is made manifest to all, and that those whiche haue fallen in-  
to certayne ſinnes, eyther for feare or thorough vnbeleefe, and nowe knowe the trueth  
will returne agayne to the true and right waye of lyfe: therefore admoniſhe all Churches  
whiche thou doest gouerne or any other Churches, vnder the gouernment of other Bi-  
shops, Priestes, or Deacons, that they be diligent aboute the buylding of theyr Churches,  
and that they eyther repayre ſuche as ſtande ſtill, or enlarge them, or if neceſſitie requyre,  
buyld them newe, and thou thy ſelfe, or other for thee, may requyre of the gouernours  
and Magiſtrates in the prouinces those thinges that be neceſſarie. It is playne that Con-  
ſtantine in these wordes speaketh onely of materiall Churches, and therefore you  
are greatly deceyued. But if it were as you ſay, do you not ſee howe it maketh a  
gainst your ſelfe: for what dothe more plainely appeare in that you ſaye, he permit-  
teth this vnto the Bishops &c. than that the authoritie was in him, and they were but  
his vicegerentes.

The continuall practise of Christian Churches (in the tyme of Christian Ma-  
giſtrates) befoze the vſurpation of the Bishop of Rome, hath bene to giue to Chri-  
ſtian



flian Princes supreme authoritie in making Ecclesiasticall orders and lawes, yea and that whiche is moze, in deciding of matters of religion, even in the chiefe and principall poyntes. And that booke and chapter of Sozomene by you quoted declareth the same. For the Bishops that came to the Councell of Nice, committed the hearing & determining of theyr controuersies to the Emperour, which argueth that it was then, a common and vndoubted opinion receyued among them, that the Emperour had authoritie to iudge in their causes: and although the Emperour of modestie refused so to do, saying, that it was not mete for them, so to vse themselves, that they shoulde be iudged of other, yet I am sure you will not make this a rule to exempt the Cleargie from the iurisdiction of the Ciuill Magistrate, vnlesse you will take holde with the Pope and saie, VVe muste iudge all and be iudged of none. This modestie in Constantinus (in refusing to heare the matters in controuersie among the Bishops) excepted, there is nothing in that firste booke and 17. chapter of Sozomene, that can by any meanes serue your turne.

prerogative authoritie in ecclesiastical cases. Sozomenus. lib. 1. cap. 17.

If you say that he woulde not determine any thing agaynst Arius heresie, but committed the same to the Synode and Councell of Nice: I answer, that therein he nothing at all abridged his authoritie, but shewed his wisdom and godly care. For it is the parte of a wise and godly Prince, to haue such weightie matters of doctrine (beyng in controuersie) decreed and determined by suche, as for their authoritie, wisdom and learning, are moste fitte to entreate of suche matters. But alas how doth this argument follow: Constantinus called the Councell of Nice to determine certayne matters of religion in controuersie, therefore he had no authoritie to make Ecclesiasticall orders and lawes.

A wise prince will take the aduise of the learned in discussing of weightie matters.

What Councell of Constantinople was that: if you meane the .5. beyng celebrated Anno. 549. in the tyme of Iustinianus: it is a very late testimonie for this cause, the Bishops of Rome: beyng then in great authoritie, and yet manifest it is, that no Emperour made no Ecclesiasticall lawes, bothe concerning matters of order, and also of doctrine, than did the Emperour Iustinianus, as may be seene in the Code vnder these Titles, *De summa trinitate & fide Catholica: De sacrosanctis Ecclesijs: de Episcopis & Clericis: de Hæreticis & Manicheis & Samaritanis: ne sanctum Baptisma iteretur: de statu & imaginibus*, and a number such like.

Iustinian made many Ecclesiasticall lawes.

If you meane the sixth Councell of Constantinople, as it lyke you do: then are you without my compass: for that Councell was Anno. 681. and who will alleage any authoritie of that corrupt tyme for any suche matter in controuersie: and yet it is certayne that Constantinus the Emperour did gouerne that Councell and that the Bishops on bothe sides did pleade before him at his appoyntment, himselfe sitting as moderator: and this was in a matter of sayth. But be it as you say (though I can finde no suche thing in the firste Action of that Councell) dothe it followe that because Emperours confirmed ordinaunces that were made in Synodes and Councelles, therefore they haue no authoritie to make Ecclesiasticall lawes: surely I vnderstande not howe you can make any suche conclusion, for (as I sayde before) it is a poynt of greate wisdom and singular care, to prouide that weightie matters in controuersie be determined with great deliberation and aduise of suche as be most skilfull in them. But this can be no argument to proue that Ciuill Magistrates may make no orders in the Church, or Ecclesiasticall Lawes: for euen those orders and lawes whiche were made in suche Councells, were made by the authoritie of the Emperour, as dothe very well appeare in the same Councells, for when the matters were concluded in the Councell of Chalcedon, the Bishops burst out into these voyces. It is a true and a right iudgement: long lyfe to the Senate: many yeares to the Emperour. Whereby it appeareth that the chiefe authoritie in suche Councells was giuen to the Emperour, and that he was esteemed as the chiefe iudge: which appeareth also at large in the seconde booke of Euagrius.

Constantinus 120gon. governed the councell of Constantinople. an. 681.

Conc. Chalced. Euagr. lib. 2. cap. 4.



The. 4. Division.

T.C. Pag. 154. Sect. 2.

Another rea-  
son of the Pa-  
pists agaynst the  
authoritie of the  
ciuil magistrate.

The practise of this he mighte haue also moſte playnely ſcene in Ambroſe, who woulde by no meanes ſuffer that the cauſes of the Churches ſhould be debated in the Princes conſultorie or courts, but woulde haue them handled in the Church, by thoſe that had the gouernment of the Church, and therefore excuſeth himſelfe to the Emperour Valentinian for that (beyng conuented to anſwere of the church matters vnto the ciuil court) he came not.

5. Lib. epiſt.  
21.

Io. Whitgiſte.

6. Parte. 14.  
Chap. 5. Diui-  
ſion.

Why Am-  
broſe reſuſed  
to come at the  
Emperours  
commaund-  
ment.

This is an other of M. Hardinges reaſons agaynst the authoritie of the ciuil Magiſtrate in Eccleſiaſticall matters, and he vſed it agaynst the Apologie, but the anſwere made to the ſame in the deſenſe of the Apologie, by that reuerende Father the Biſhop of Sarisburie, is learned and true, the ſumme whereof is this. The Emperour Valentinian at that tyme when Ambroſe wrote this Epiſtle vnto him, was very yong, he was not yet baptizd, he knewe not the principles of Chriſtes Religion, he was an Arian Heretike, he woulde haue thruſte out the Chriſtians, and placed Heretikes in their Churches, he thought it was lawfull for him to do what him liſted &c. For this cauſe Ambroſe reſuſed him to be his iudge, ſo that he did not miſlike his authoritie in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, but onely his wilfull ignorance and his tyrannie: for that he knewe his iudgement was corrupted and not indiffe- rent. And if you had marked the beginning of his Epiſtle, you might haue per- cepted that he alleageth for his chiefe deſenſe, and excuſe for not appearing, the de- cree of Theodoſius the Father of Valentinian, ſo that in not coming or appearing at the Emperours ſummon, he did but challenge the priuiledge graunted before of godly Emperours vnto the Cleargie.

The auncient  
Fathers haue  
committed the  
deciding of  
controuerſies  
to Empe-  
rours.

Athanaſius  
Apol. 2.

Auguſt. con-  
tra epiſt. Par-  
men. lib. 1.

Sozom. lib. 4.  
16.

Socrat. lib. 5.  
cap. 10.

And it is euidēt that the learned and auncient Fathers, haue committed the deciding of matters of controuerſie to Emperours, as it appeareth in Athanaſius his ſeconde Apologie, where he committing himſelfe and his cauſe to the Emperour, ſayeth thus: VVe require that the Emperours moſte godly and moſt religious Maieſtie, may haue the hearyng of the ſame matter, before whome we may open both our churches right, and alſo our owne: for we hope that his godlineſſe vnderſtanding our reaſons, will neuer condemne vs.

Likewiſe S. Auguſtine Contra Epiſt. Parme. Lib. 1. ſpeakyng to the Donatiſtes, ſayeth. Is it not lawfull for the Emperour or his deputie to giue ſentence in a matter of religion? wherefore then went your Ambaſſadours to the Emperour? why made they him iudge of their cauſe?

Sozomene Lib. 4. Cap. 16. ſayeth that the Emperour commaunded that tenne Bi- ſhops of the Eaſt, and ten of the VVeſte, choſen by the Councell, ſhoulde repaire to his court and open to him the decrees of the Councell, that he might not only conſider whe- ther they were agreed according to the Scriptures: but that he might further determine and conclude what were beſt to be done.

Socrates Lib. 5. Cap. 10. ſayeth that Theodoſius the Emperour for the appeaſing of contention commaunded an aſſembly of Biſhops, & beſt learned to appeare before him, and eache parte to write a confeſſion of their faith and religion: the which being done at a day appointed, they came to the Courte and deliuered by their writings to the Emperour, who after earneſt prayers made, peruſing the writings that were de- liuered, rent in pieces the confeſſions, made by the Arians, and Eunomians, and al- lowed onely and receyued the confeſſion of the Catholikes.

The praſtiſe therefore of the authoritie of Princes in Eccleſiaſticall matters, euen in determining and iudging controuerſies in Religion, you might haue learned by theſe examples in Ambroſe tyme.



*The. 5. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 154. Sect. vlt.

And by whome can the matters and orders of the Church be better ordeyned than by the ministers of the Church? And if that be a good reason of M. Doctor in the fortie and seventh Page, that the Bishops ought therefore to ordeyne ministers, because they are best able to iudge of the learning and abilitie, of those which are the fittest, it is also as good reason that therefore the ministers and gouernours of the Church should appoynt and decree of suche ceremonies and orders as pertaine to the church, for because it is to be supposed that they can best iudge of those matters, bestowing their studies that wayes, and further best understanding the state of the church about the which they are wholly occupied.

Another argu-  
ment of the Pa-  
pistes to the  
same purpose.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

This also is a reason of M. Hardinges in the same cause, but it onely proueth that it is moste conuenient and necessarie, that Bishops and ministers of the Church whyle they be learned and goodly, may haue the debating and deciding of matters in religion, neyther dothe this derogate any thing from the authoritie of the Prince in the same causes: we see that matters in lawe are determined by iudges & lawyers: so be other ciuill matters by wise and prudent officers in like manner, and yet is not the authoritie of the Prince thereby abridged: but what if all the ministers of the Church or moste of them be corrupt and ungodly, as it was in the beginning of the reygnes of Ezechias and Josias, and as it hath oftentimes bene: must all be committed to them then also?

The debating  
and deciding  
of matters in  
religion by  
Bishops, doth  
not derogate  
from the prin-  
ces authoritie.

No godly Princes hauing godly Bishops and ministers of the Church, will alter or chaunge, determine or appoynt any thing in matters of religion, without their aduise and counsaile. But how if there be dissention among them, shall not the Prince determine the controuersies, as Constantinus, Theodosius, and other godly Emperours did? wherefore the meeknesse of the Priests and Bishops doth not take away any authoritie, from godly Princes in matters of the Church.

*The. 6. Diuision.*

T.C. Pag. 155. Lin. 5.

And this is not (M. Doctor) to shake hands with the Papistes. For the Papistes would exempt their Priests from the subiection and from the punishment of the ciuill magistrate, which we do not. And if Papistes would that whatsoever the cleargy doth determine, that that forthwith shoulde be holden for good, and the Prince shoulde be forthwith compelled to mayntayne, and set forth that, be it good or euill, without further inquirie: but we saye (a) that if there be no lawfull ministerie to set good orders, as in ruinous decayes and ouerthrowes of religion, that then the Prince ought to do it, and if when there is a lawfull ministerie it shall agree of any unlawfull or vnmeet order, that the Prince ought to stay that order, and not to suffer it, but to direct them to that which is lawfull and meete, and if this be to shake handes with the papistes, then M. Doctor is to blame which hath taught vs once or twice before, that the appoynting of ceremonies of the church, belongeth vnto the church. And yet I knowe that there is one or two of the later writers that thinke otherwise, but as I take no aduantage of their authoritie which thinke as I do, so I ought not to be preiudiced by those that thinke otherwise. But for so muche as we haue M. Doctor yet of this iudgement that the church ceremonies shoulde be ordeyned by the church, I will trouble no further in this matter, considering that the practise of this church, commonly is to referre these matters vnto the Ecclesiasticall persons onely this is the difference, that where it is done now of one or a fewe, wee desire that it may be done by others also who haue interest in that behalfe.

(\*) It is nothing  
else, as will ap-  
peare.

(a) Why then  
more than a  
other times  
howe Pope  
this.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Yes in good sooth is it: for M. Harding agaynst the Apologie, confesseth that the Ciuill Magistrate may punish with corporall punishment any estate or degree of persons, offending eyther agaynst the first or second table. And Saunders sayeth lib. 2. That Bishops in that they be men, be subiect to ciuill Magistrates: and therefore in that

The papistes  
confesse that  
the prince may  
punish priests.  
Harding.

Ann. iij.

poyn

Saunders li. 2.



The Replier  
giueth to the  
Prince no  
more than  
*potestatem facti*  
Si.

Saunders.

The Replier  
breeth strange  
doctrine with  
out prooffe : &  
yet woulde  
haue all pro-  
ued by scrip-  
ture.

No suche dif-  
ference be-  
twene a chris-  
tian common  
wealth & the  
Church as is  
pretended.

poynnt the Papistes graunt as much as you.

Concerning the determination of matters in religion, I know not wherein you differ from them : for though the Prince mislike your determination, yet can he not him selfe conclude any thing, onely he may compell you to go to it agayne and take better holde : but if it shall please you to go forwarde in your determination, or if you cannot agree among your selves, I see not what authoritie you haue giuen to the Ciuill Magistrate, to determine the matter : but for ought that I can espie, if you and your Seniors be disposed to be pcurishe, eyther muste the Prince haue no Religion, or els that which you shall appoynt vnto him : for *potestatem facti*, you giue him, that is, you make him your executioner, but *potestatem iuris*, you do as fully re- moue from him, as the papists do: for he hath not (as you say) any authoritie to make orders or lawes in Ecclesiasticall matters.

Saunders sayeth, and so say all the Papistes, that he hath *authoritatem promo- uendi religionem*: authoritie to promote religion, but not *constituendi*, to appoynte : and therefore vndoubtedly I perceiue not wherein you differ in this Article from the Papistes. In the chiefe poynnt I am sure that you agree fully and flatly with them: and vse their argumentes and none other : that is in this, that you take from the ciuill Magistrate *omnem potestatem iuris*, in matters and causes Ecclesiasticall.

And what Scripture haue you to proue that the ciuill Magistrates authoritie is not as ample and as large in matters of religion, when there is a lawfull ministe- rie, as when there is an unlawfull minister? In deede when he hath the one he may the more safely vse their aduise, and followe theyr counsell, which he neyther may nor ought to do when he hath the other, but his authoritie is all one ouer them bothe : and surely I marueile that you will vtter suche strange assertions, so peremptori- ly without any kinde of prooffe. For you that woulde haue all thinges proued by the Scriptures, haue not in this wayghtie cause vsed one texte of Scripture, but onely one borrowed of the Papistes, and making directly agaynst you.

When I say, that the Church hath authoritie to appoynt Cere- monies, I speake generally of all states of the Church, as well vnder persecu- tion as vnder a Christian Magistrate, not seclusing, but including, the Christian Magistrate as the chiefe and principall gouernour of the Church committed to him nexte vnder God : for I do not speake of a Christian Magistrate, as you and the Pa- pistes woulde haue me, to witte, as of Iulius Cesar, Alexander, or Nero : but I speake of him as one appoynted by God to gouerne, not only in the common wealth, but in the Church also. Yea I will go further with you, I make no difference be- twixt a Christian common wealth and the Church of Christe : wonder you as much at it as you will : I haue shewed my reasons before, and you haue not as yet vsed any to the contrarie, wherefore if you thinke no otherwise of this cause than I haue in these wordes taught you, the ciuill Magistrate shall be much more beholden vnto you, than he is.

Certainely I knowe not of any of the late wyrters (one or two excepted) that are of your iudgement in this cause, and were it not that the same is learnedly and fully handled almoste of all the late wyrters, and namely of suche as haue in our tongue notably and learnedly defended this truth of the Princes authoritie in Ec- clesiasticall matters agaynst the English Louanistes, who haue especially sought to impeach the same, I woulde in more ample manner haue prosecuted this cause. But for as much as their bookes are in euery mans handes, it shall be sufficient to referre the Reader to my Lorde of Sarisburie his defense of the Apologie agaynst Maister Harding, my L. of Winchesters answere to Maister Itecknam, & Maister Powels bookes agaynst Dozman, in all which this matter is very learnedly and painefully handled.

#### Admonition.

Is a reformation good for France : and can it be euill for England : is discipline meete for Scotlande : and is it vnprofitable for this Realme : Surely God hath set these examples before your



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pour eyes, to encourage you to goe forward, to a thorough and a speedie reformation. You may not do as heretofore you have done, patche and peere, nay rather goe backward, and neuer labour to (r) contende to perfection. But altogether remoue whole Antichrist bothe head, body, & bryanche, and perfectly plant that puritie of the worde, that simplicitie of the sacraments, and that severitie of discipline which Christ hath commaunded, and commended to his church.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 138. Sect. 1.

Hadhe there beene no reformation in this Church of Englande since the Queenes Maiesties reygne? What say you to the abolishing of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome? what say you to the banishing of the Masse? Nay what say you to the puritie of doctrine in all poynts perteyning to saluation? Is this no reformation with you? O intollerable vnthankfulnesse.

Unthankfulnesse of the Admonitors.

T. C. Pag. 155. Sect. 1. 2.

The other poynt is in the. 138. page, where he most vntruly and slanderously chargeth the Authors of the Admonition, and maketh wonderfull outcries, as though they should denie that there had bene any reformation at all since the time that the Queenes Maiestie began to reigne, manifestly contrarie not only to their meaning, but also to their very words, which appeareth in that they moue to a thorough reformation, and to contende, or to labour to perfection, denying onely that the reformation which hath bene made in hir Maiesties dayes, is thorough and perfect. We confesse willingly, that next vnto the Lorde God, that euery one of vs is moste deeply bounde to hir Maiestie, whome he hath vbled as an excellent instrument to deliuer his church here, out of the spirituall Egypt of Poperie, and the common wealth also, and the whole lande out of the slavery and subiection of strangers, wherunto it was so neere. This I saye we willingly confesse before men, and do in our prayers daily giue most humble thanks to God therfore.

And by this humble sute and earnest desire, which we haue for further reformation, we are so farre from vnthankfulnesse vnto hir Maiestie, that wee thereby desire the heape of hir felicitie, and the establishment of hir Royall throne amongst vs, whiche then shall be moste sure and vnremoued, when our Saviour Christ sitteth wholly and fully, not onely in his chayre to teache, but also in his throne to rule, not alone in the heartes of euery one by his spirite, but also generally and in the visibill government of his church, by those lawes of discipline which he hath prescribed.

Jo. Whitgiste.

The words of the Admonition, page. 137. be these: Is a reformation good for Fraunce, &c. and can it be euill for Englande? is discipline meete for Scotlande, &c. and is it vnprouitable for this Realme? To this I answering say, hadhe there beene no reformation in the Church of Englande since the Queenes Maiesties reigne &c. what wonderfull outcries these be, or howe vntrue slaunders, let the discrete Reader iudge. Doth not he that sayth (is a reformation good for Fraunce, and can it be euill for Englande) insinuate that there is no reformation in Englande? In the same place they say, that hitherto we haue but patched and peeced, nay rather gone backward. Pooremen to what ende dothe their booke tende, but to the defacing of this reformation? What is it that eyther they or you commend or lyke in this Church? nay what is it that you mislike not? For, to the sinceritie of doctrine, as it appeareth, you haue little regard: all things else you vtterly cast downe: neyther the authoritie of the Prince, the ministerie, the government of the Church, the administration of the Sacraments, the ceremonies, the discipline, the forme or matter of publike prayers, nor almoste any thing else can please you: and howsoever nolve in wordes you confesse, that you are most deeply bounde vnto hir Maiestie, &c. yet bothe in tongue and in dede, by wordes of you declare, that your meaning is nothing lesse. For why doe you then so vnorderly, so vndoubtedly, so spitefully, publikely and priuately, in worde and in wytyng deface hir proceedings, slander hir government, depaue the reformation that she hath made, with sectes and schismes deuide the Realme, set dissention among the people, make the Papists more stubborne, driue those backe that were welnighe perswaded, thrust a misliking of the state into the hearts of many Protestantes, en-

The Admonitors, and the Replyer mislike our reformation almost wholly.

The good they acknowledge of the Queene dissolved.

Ann. iij.

courage



courage hir aduersaries, separate hir faythfull subiectes one from another, and greatly disquiet hir selfe? But I will not prosecute this matter: onely I desire of God most hartily, that it would please him to worke that minde and affection in you in deede, that becommeth dutifull subiects, and quiet members of the Church.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 138. Sect. 1.

Englande is not bounde to other Churches for examples.

Englande is not bounde to the example eyther of Fraunce or Scotlande: I woulde they bothe were (if it pleased God) touching Religion, in that state and condition that Englande is. I woulde Antichriste were as farre from them remoued. The Lorde make vs thankfull, and continue this reformation we haue, and graunt peace to his Church, and eyther couuert the hearts of those that be enemies vnto it, or remoue them.

T.C. Pag. 155. Sect. 3. & Pag. 156. Sect. 1.

(\*) A slanderous and malicious vncritic.

And whereas M. Doctor would bring vs into a foolish paradise of our selues, as though we neede not to learne any thing at the churches of Fraunce and Scotland, he should haue vnderstanded, that as we haue bin vnto them in example, and haue prouoked them to follow vs, so the Lorde will haue vs also profite, and be prouoked by their example, and so be mutual helpees one to another, and stirre by our selues with the admonition that our sauiour Christe stirred by his Apostles, that oftentimes those that are first are not forwardest, but are ouerrunne of others that come after. And whereas he would (\*) piously pinche at the reformation there, for so much as the Lorde hath humbled the one, and exalted the other by ciuill warres and troubles, he should haue in steade of rocking vs a keepe in our securitie, put vs in remembrance of Gods scourges which hang ouer vs, and of Gods great patience that still carrieth for our repentance, and that if he haue punished that people of his, which haue suffered so much for the profession of the gospel, and which went with so straight a foote in it, with an vniuersall hazarde of their goods and liues, that we shall not escape vnlesse we repent speedily of our coldnesse and halting in religion, and vnwillingnesse, I will not say to hazarde to put our lynes in daunger, but not to leese some of our wealth and honour, for the obteyning of a thorough reformation of the Church, and aduancement of the glory of the Lorde.

Mat. 20.

(\*) God reore out of you this malicious spirit, which delicteth in slanders.

Finally, he would rather haue put vs in remembrance of the sermon which our sauiour Christ maketh, where he sheweth that those cities are not alwayes the greatest sinners, or those whome God is most angry with, which haue the heauiest iudgements executed vpon them, but that thereby the Lord calleth vs to repentance, otherwise that we shall likewise perishe. This had bene more fit for our estate to haue bene sayde, than to haue after a sort (\*) insulted vpon the afflicted, and daubed by our eyes, that we should not see our miserie and our nakednesse.

Luk. 13.

### Io. Whitgifte.

No Church may challenge to be a patern necessarie to be followed.

I haue sayde truely, that we are not bounde to their examples: I doe not denie but that examples may be followed, and one ought to followe an other in that which is good and conuenient. But I haue shewed before, that one Church is not bound of necessitie in all things to followe an other: onely the Church of Rome is so arrogant and proude as to challenge that prerogative.

I haue great cause to expostulate with you, for this your vnchristian, vnbrotherly, and most vniust handling of me. For where, or in what words doe I pinche at their reformation? Wherein doe I vse any insultation vpon the afflicted, and agaynst them? Is this to pinche at them, or to insult agaynst them, to wishe that touching religion, they were in that state and condition that Englande is: to wishe that vnto them, that they grone for themselves? Surely fleshe and bloud will hardly suffer me to put by this iniurie: But I am taught patience I thanke God, and the Lorde forgins you, & rote out that roote of bitterness that is so deepe in your heart.

### Admonition.

And heere to ende, we desire al to suppose that we haue not attempted this enterpryse for payne glory, gayne, preferment, or any other worldly respect.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 139. Sect. 1.

I would to God you were as free from payne glory, ambition, and



and malice, and other sinister affections, as you would seeme to be: but no indifferent man reading your booke, will so thinke of you, for besides the opprobrious and vnseemely termes you vse towardes your superiours, your Admonition smelleth altogether of popularitie and bayne gloze.

## Admonition.

Neither yet iudging our selues, so exactly to haue set out the state of the Church reformed as that nothing more could be added, or a more perfect forme and order drawne, for that soere great presumption, to arrogate so muche vnto our selues, seeing that as we are but weake and simple soules, so God hath rayled vp men of profounde iudgement, and notable learning.

## Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 139. Sect. 3.

And yet in the beginning of your booke, you call it a true platforme of a Church reformed: and I dare saye you thinke it to be as perfect a forme of a Church, as al the best learned & godlyest men in the worlde could frame: for it is well knowne that men of your disposition, thinke commonly as well of them selues, as they doe of any man else, and better too. But we graunt vnto you, that you are so farre from setting downe a perfect state of a Church reformed, that you maye rather be called confounders and defozmers, than buylders and reformers.

Open thine  
eye well of  
thine selfe.

## Admonition.

But thereby to declare our good will towards the setting forth of Gods glory, and the building vp of his Church, accounting this as it were but an entrance into further matter, hoping that our God, who hath in vs begon this good worke, will not onely in time hereafter make vs strong, and able to goe forwarde therein: but also moue other vpon whome he hath bestowed greater measure of his giftes and graces, to labour more thorowly and fully in the same.

## Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 140.

God graunt that you maye become buylders and not destroyers: I thinke in deede you haue but begonne: I knowe there is other opinions among you, whiche be not yet commonly knowne: and truly I doubt that you will neuer ende: but from tyme to tyme coyne newe deuises to trouble the Church, untill you haue brought that heuy plague of God vpon vs, which the like kind of men through their schismes and heresies haue brought vpon all those places almost, where any of the Apostles preached, and where the Gospell was first planted: and commonly before ruine and destruction, cometh inwarde discorde and domesticall dissention.

Suspected of  
pious be-  
hinde.

Domesticall  
dissention for  
runner of  
destruction.

The Lorde make vs thankfull for the puritie of his Gospell, that we by his mercy enioy: the Lorde roote out schismes and factions from among vs, and eyther conuerte or confounde the authors of them: The Lorde of his singular goodnesse continue our gracious Queene Elizabeth vnto vs, and giue vs faythfull and obedient hearts to his worde, and to his Maiestie. Amen.

## T.C. Pag. 156. Sect. 1.

In all the rest M. Doctor hath nothing but wordes of reproche agaynst the authors of the Admonition, and calling byll, as his manner is, for more punishment for them, which I will not bestowe the answer of.

Is. White



*To Whitgifte.*

And to this ende haue I here set my wordes downe, that the Reader may vnderstande what wordes of reproche those be that you charge me with, but seeing it will not please you to bestowe the answer of them, I shall also be content to spare so muche labour.

## Admonition.

Where as immediately after the last Parliament, holden at Westminster, begun in Anno. 1570. and ended Anno. 1571. the ministers of Gods holy worde and sacraments were called before his Maiesties highe Commissioners, and enforced to subscribe vnto the Articles, if they would keepe their places and livings and some for refusing to subscribe, were vnbrotherly and vncharitably entreated, and from their offices and places remoued: May it please therfore this honorable and high Court of Parliament in consideration of the premises, to take a view of suche causes as then byd withholde, and now dothe the foresayde Ministers, from subscribing and consenting vnto those foresayde Articles, by way of purgation to discharge themselves of all disobedience towards the Church of God, and their Soueraigne, and by way of moste humble entreatie, for the remouing away and utter abolishing of all suche corruptions and abuses, as withholde them, through which this long time, brethemen haue bin at vnnaturall warre and strife among them selues, to the hindrance of the gospel, to the ioy of the wicked, and to the grieve and dismay of all those that professe Christian religion, and labour to attayne Christian reformation.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 146. 147. 148.

Complaynte  
of persecution  
without causePersecution  
of the tongue.

Disobedience.

A token of a  
good consci-  
ence.

You complayne muche of vnbrotherly and vncharitable entreating of you, of remouing you from your offices, and places. Surely in this poynt I must compare you to certayne Heretikes that were in Augustines time, who moste bitterly by sundry meanes afflicting and molesting the true ministers of the Church, yet for all that cried out, that they were extremely dealt with, and cruelly persecuted by them: or else vnto a Chereode and vngenerous wyfe, which beating hir husbände, by hir clamorous complaynts, maketh hir neighbours beleue that hir husbände beateth hir: or to him that is mentioned in Erasmus colloquies, that dyd steale and runne away with the Priestes purse, and yet cried alwayes as he ranne, slay the theefe, slay the theefe, and thus crying escaped, and yet he was the theefe him selfe. You are as gentlie entreated as maye be, no kinde of brotherly persuation omitted towards you, most of you as yet keepe your livings, though some one or two be displaced, you are offered all kinde of friendynesse, if you could be content to conforme your selues, yea but to be quiet and holde your peace. You on the contrary side moste vnchristianly, and moste vnbrotherly, bothe publikely and priuately rayle on those, that shewe this humanitie towards you, slander them by all meanes you can, and moste vntruely repozte of them, seeking by all meanes their discredite. Agayne they as their allegiaunce to the Prince, and duetie to lawes requirerth, yea and as some of them by othe are bounde, doe execute that discipline whiche the Prince, the lawe, and they othe requirerth: you contrarie to all obedience, duetie, and othe, openly violate, and breake those lawes, orders, and statutes, whiche you ought to obey, and to the whiche some of you by othe is bounde. If your doings proceede in deede from a good conscience, then leaue that liuing and place, which bynderth you to those things that be agaynst your conscience, for why shoulde you strue with the disquietnesse, bothe of your selues and others,



others, to keepe that living which by lawe you can not, excepte you offend agaynst your conscience? Or what honestie is there to sweare to statutes and lawes, and when you haue so done, contrary to your othe to breake them, and yet still to remayne vnder them, and enioy that place which requireth obedience, and subiection to them? For my parte I thinke it muche better, by remouing you from your lyuings to offende you, than by suffering you to enioy them, to offende the Prince, the lawe, conscience, and God. And before God I speake it, if I were perswaded as you seeme to be, I woulde rather quietly forsake all the liuings I haue, than be an occasion of strife, and contention in the Church, and a cause of stumbling to the weake, and reioycing to the wicked. I knowe God woulde prouide for me, if I did it, *bona conscientia*: yea surely I woulde rather dye, than be an author of schismes, a disturber of the common peace, and quietnesse of the Church and state. There is no reformed Church that I can heare tell of, but it hath a certayne prescript and determinate order, as wel touching ceremonies, and discipline, as doctrine, to the whiche all those are constrained to giue their consent, that will liue vnder the protection of it: and why then maye not this Church of Englande haue so in like maner? Is it meete that euery man should haue his owne phantasie, or liue as him liste? Truly I knowe not wherevnto these your dooings can tende, but eyther to Anabaptisme, or to meere confusion. But now to the reasons that moue you, not to subscribe to those Articles ministred vnto you, by hir Maiesties highe Commissioners.

Every church  
hath a deter-  
minate order  
of ceremonies

### T.C. Pag. 156. Sect. 2.

Sed etiam quodam in loco factus esse voluisti, Deus bone, quam te illud non decet. *Heere M.* Pleasant diuine: Doctor was disposed to make him selfe, and his Reader merie, but it is with the bagpipe or countrey mirth, not with the harpe or lute, which the learned were wont to handle. For he hath packed vp together the olde tale of the curst wyfe, and of the thiefe that tooke away the Duells purse, very familiar and homely geare: It might peraduenture make *M. Doctor* hoppe about the house, but the learned and the wyfe, can not daunce by this instrument.

It pleaseth *M. Doctor* to compare those which be put out of their liuings without iust cause, to heretikes, curst wyues, and to thecues, but all men do vnderstande how rightly. What his troubles be within, and in his conscience, the Lorde God and he knoweth best, but as for the outward persecution which he suffereth, it is not such as he neede thus to stoupe and to grone, and to blowe vnderneath it, as though he had some great burthen vpon his shoulders. And if he couplyne of the persecution of the tongue, to let passe his immoderate heate of speeche, whych he direct with those that he hathe to doe withall, the tongue whiche is more intemperate than his is in all his booke, shall hardely be founde.

### Io. Whitgiste.

And I thanke God, I can be mery with the bagpipe, I am neyther ashamed of the Instrument, nor of the countrey. But what diuinitie call you this? alacke poore spite at the bagpipe. Surely you doe me a pleasure when you tell me of it. You haue omitted nothing that by any meanes might serue you for a iest. O great grauntie, &c. But let vs leaue *puerilia, pueris*.

I knowe none of you put from your liuings, without mooste iust cause: if there be any iniured that wayes (God be thanked) they maye finde iustice. My quietnesse within my conscience (I mooste humbly thanke my God therfore) dothe mitigate the heate



*Cyprian.*

heate of the slanderous generation, and maketh me more willing to deale agaynst that secte, that can not be maynteyned without suche kinde of uncharitable, and slanderous dealing. I remember what Cyprian sayth to Cornelius *Epist. lib. 1.* Ecclesiasticall discipline is not therefore to be lesse of, nor the seueritie that becommeth a Priest to be slackned, bicause we are reuiled and euill spoken of. &c. And agayne: The opprobrious speeches of the wicked ought not to moue vs so, that we decline from the righte way, and the sure rule, seeing that the Apostle instructeth vs, saying: If I shoulde please men, I were not the seruant of Christ. If the heate of my tongue be immoderate, what shall be sayde of yours? But this kinde of dealing is nothing meete for vs. Wherefore if you continue in this wayne, you shall haue the best game for me.

T.C. Pag. 156. Sect. 2.

And although it be unreasonable inough, that he shoulde not giue men leaue to complaine of their troubles, when he glorieth in troubling them, yet that of all is most vntollerable, that besides the iniurie which he dothe them, he is angry that they will not lay handes of them selues by casting themselves out of their livings, or euer they be cast out by him. Cully maketh mention of one C. Fimbria, whiche when he had caused Q. Scevola a singular man to be wounded, and sawe that he dyed not of it, conuented him before the Judges, and being asked what he had to accuse him of, answered, for that he dyd not suffer the whole weapon wherewith he was stricken, to enter into his body: euen so W. Doctor contenteth not him selfe only to doe iniuries vnto men, but accuseth them also, that they will not doe it vnto them selues, or that they would not willingly suffer his weapons enter so farre, as he would haue them.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

I trust there is not one that can iustly saye, I haue without great cause molested him: if there be any suche, or whome I haue by any meanes iniured, I refuse not to answer, and to satisfie him: yea it is my desire that it maye come to the triall, so shall many slanderous speeches, together with the authoys of them be founde as they are.

*C. Fimbria.  
Q. Scevola.*

C. Fimbria was a very proude, sedicious Romane, and one that disquieted the state of the common wealth, and greatly enuied his superiours. Q. Scevola was a wyse and a prudent Senatour, one that liued in authoritie, and obserued lawes him selfe, and caused the same to be obserued by other. Scevola surely you can not be, for you are neyther of that credite, for wisdom, nor of that authoritie in the common wealth, nor so diligent an obseruer of good orders and lawes: your conditions come nearer to Fimbria, I will not conclude, you shall doe it your selfe.

If I haue done you any iniurie, prosecute it to the uttermoste, and spare not, I neuer entreated you to holde your peace. The greatest iniurie that I acknowledge my selfe guiltie of, is vnto the Colledge, that I so long suffered you contrarie to your expresse othe, to vsurpe a place therein, to the great hinderance and disquieting thereof.

T.C. Pag. 156. Sect. 2.

What conscience is there that bindeth a man to depart from his living, in that place where he liketh not of all the orders which are there vsed? Is it not inough to abstayne from them, if there be any euill in them, or to declare the vnlawfulness of the, if his calling do suffer him, when as the reformation is not in his power? And if epyther of this absteyning, or declaration of thys vnlawfulness of them, troubles be moued, there is no more cause why they should giue place, than the other which like of those disorders, yea there is lesse cause, for that they are not the causes of trouble but the other, and for that by their departure out of their places, roome is made for those which will lyke of those disorders, whiche the other misliken, whiche is to the hurte of that compaignie, or congregation in suche places.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

If he beswoyn me to keepe those orders keeping his living: if as honest men as he is will lyke of them: If his equals, or rather betters, might supply his place: I thinke he ought rather to satisfie his othe, or to refuse his living, if he will auoyde perurie:  
yea



yea though there were no such maete persons to succede him. But if the case be this, that a man shall directly sweare, eyther to doe such a thing by such a tyme, or to leaue his place, if by that time he neyther do the thing by othe required, nor leaue his place, but still blurpe the same, at the least the space of five yerres: I thinke he ought to be displaced for periurie: whiche is a greater matter than eyther cappe or surplesse. I doe but nowe put a case, that men may vnderstande euery man that is displaced, not to be displaced without great and vrgent occasion. I woulde not enter into this bayne, if I were not vrged. Therefore to answere in one worde for all, I haue put no man out of his living, but there is greaser cause why he should be ashamed to cōplayne of iniurie, than I, to doe according to my othe and duetie.

T.C. Pag. 156. towards the ende.

And as for M. Doctors easinesse to depart from his living, rather than he woulde cause any trouble, he giueth men great cause to doubt of, whiche hauing diuers great livings, and amongst them a benefice, is very loth to goe from troubling of others, to doe his duetie at any of them. It is true that the Church of England may haue an order, wherunto it may iustly require the subscription of the ministers in Englande. And so is it likewise untrue, that we desire that euery one shoulde haue his owne fanse, and lyue as him listeth, for we also desire an vniforme order, but suche, and in suche sorte, as we haue before declared. As for the olde accusation of Anabaptisme and confusion, it is answered before, therefore according to my promise, I will leaue your words, and if you haue any matter, I will speake to that.

### Io. Whitgiste.

This was objected and answered before: God knoweth my heart, and I am ready to giue myne accompte when I am thereunto by order called: orders you will admitte, but suche as please you, that is, you will be in order, if you maye doe what you list.

## Of subscribing to the Communion

Booke. Tract. 21.

Certayne generall faults, wherewith the booke is charged by the Admonitors. Chap. 1. the first Diuision.

### The first article.

First that the booke commonly called the booke of common prayers for the Church of Englande, authorised by Parliament, and all and euery contents therein, be suche as are not repugnant to the worde of God.

Of subscribing to the communion booke.

### Admonition.

Albeit, right Honorable and dearly beloued, we haue at all times borne with that whiche we could not amende in this booke, and haue vsed the same in our ministerie, so farre forth as we might, reuerencing those times, and those persons, in whiche and by whome it was first authorised, being studious of peace, and of the building vp of Chrestian church, yet nowe being compelled by subscription to allowe the same, and to confesse it not to be against the worde of God in any point, but tollerable: we must needs say as followeth, that this booke is an vnperfect booke, culled and picked out of the Popishe dunghill the Masse booke, full of all abominations, for some, and many of the contents therein, be suche as are agaynst the worde of God, as by his grace shall be proued vnto you. And by the waye we can not but muche maruell at the craftie wilfulness of those men, whose parts it had bene first to haue proued each and euery content therein, to be agreable to the worde of God, seeing that they force men by subscription to consent vnto it, or else sende them packing from their callings.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 149. Sect. 1.

And what reason can you giue why you should not as well all owe of it by subscription, as you say, that you haue hitherto done by vsing of it in your ministerie? Will you speake one thing, and doe an other? Will you not subscribe to that, whiche you publikely vse, and giue your consent vnto?

Scilicet, the Communion booke.



T.C. Pag. 157. Sect. 1.

The Admonition hath no such thing, as M. Doctor chargeth the authors therof with, that they dyd ever allow of the booke of service. It sayth, they bare with it, and vsed it so farre, as they might, and therfore nowe when it came to the approuing of it by subscription, they refused, and there is no man which can not vnderstande, that it is one thing to beare with a thing, and an other to approue it, and therfore to beare, and to vse it so farre as might be, may well agree with their refusall of subscription, so that M. Doctors note is not worth the noting. The Apostles did beare with the infirmities of the Jewes addicted to the obseruation of the ceremoniall lawe, yet they neuer allowed that infirmities, and they were so farre from approuing it by subscribing, that they wrote agaynst it.

Jo. Whitgiste.

They say they haue not only borne with it, but vsed it also in their ministerie, &c. & he that bleth a thing doth as much allowe of it by vsing, as he could doe by subscribing. But I will not contend with you about a matter of so small weight: for neyther is their learning, discretion, or iudgement suche, that the booke is better or worse for their allowing or disallowing of it. They shew their natures bent to contention, and vnreuerent estimation of the scriptures by abusing of them, and that is all that can be gathered out of their booke.

The Apostles refused not to subscribe vnto such things as they permitted vnto the Jewes for a time, neyther did they beare with any thing, for their infirmities, agaynst the which they wrote. If they haue done any such thing, note the place.

Chap. 1. the 2. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 149. Sect. 1.

If those persons by whome this booke was first authorised, were studious of peace, and of buylding vp of Christes Church, as you say they were, then you that seeke to deface it, are disturbers of peace, and destroyers of the Church of Christ. They were singular learned men, zelous in Gods religion, blamelesse in life, and Martyrs at their end, for eyther al, or the most part of them haue sealed this booke with their blood. But by the way this is to be noted, that you confesse your selues to haue allowed that (by vsing of it) which you say is agaynst the worde of God.

I note by the  
waye.

T.C. Pag. 157. Sect. 1.

Those sayth M. Doctor which authorised this booke, were studious of peace, and of buylding of Christes Church, therfore they that speake agaynst it (which he calleth defacing) are disturbers of the peace, and destroyers of the Church. So I will reason. (\*) Gedeon was studious of peace, and of building of the Church, therfore they whiche spake agaynst the Ephod whiche he made were disturbers of the peace, and destroyers of the church. We speake agaynst Images in churches and consubstantiation in the sacraments, & such lyke, which Luther beeing studious of peace, and of the building of the church did holde, and yet we are not therfore disturbers of peace, or destroyers of the church. Although they were excellent personages, yet their knowledge was in part, and although they brought many things to our light, yet they beeing sent out in y morning, or euer the sunne of the Gospell was risen so hygh, might ouersee many things, which those that are not so sharpe of sight as they were, may see, for bicause that which they want in the sharpnesse of sight, they haue by the benefite and clearnesse of the sunne, and of the light. They sealed not the booke of service with their blood (as M. Doctor sayth) for some that suffered for the truth, declared openly their mistaking of certayne things in it, and as for the other they could neuer dye for that booke, more than for the Liturgie vsed in the French church, or at Geneva. For they receyued not the sentence of condemnation, bicause they approued that booke, but bicause they improued the articles drawne out of the Masse booke. And if they had dyed for that booke (as in deede they dyed for the booke of God) yet the authoritie of their martyrdom could not take away from vs this libertie that we haue to enquire of the cause of their death. Iustine and Cyprian were godly Martyrs, and yet a man may not say, that they sealed their errors whiche they wrote with their blood, or with this glory of their martyrdom, preiudice those which speake or write agaynst their errors, for this is to oppose the blood of men, to the blood of the sonnes of God.

Vnequal comparisons. For in these poyntes they were not buylders vp of Christes church.

Jo. Whit.



## Io. Whitgife.

These be the words of the Admonition: they saye that the Authoꝛs of that booke were studious of peace, and of the building vp of Christes Church: and therefore vpon their owne words and confession, I grounde mine argument. This peace that they were studious of, and sought to mainteyne by collecting and authorising this booke, was a godly peace, sought to be mainteyned by godly meanes: and therefore suche as shall deface that godly meanes, wherby they procured peace, can not be iudged otherwyse, than disturbers of the same peace.

Gedeon by making the Ephod did not seeke peace, but rather gloꝛy, for he erected it to be a monument of his victorie: Gedeon erected the Ephod for an other ende and purpose than God did appoynt it: the Ephod that Gedeon made, was the cause of idolatrie. Likewise Images are expressely forbidden in the word of God, & there is a direct comaundement agaynst them: so is consubstantiation also. But the booke of common prayer is framed according to the scriptures, appoynted to the true worshipping of God, most repugnant to all Idolatrie, & Idolatrous worshipping: and therefore these similitudes & exaples that you vse be nothing like: it is neither like to Gedeons Ephod, nor mainteyneth Luthers Images: or consubstantiation, but ouerthroweth them all.

Their knowledge was in parte, in that sense that the Apostle speaketh. *Ex parte enim cognoscimus, & ex parte prophetamus*: VVe knowe in part, and we prophetic in part. &c. But if they be compared vnto men, I thinke for learning, zeale, godlynesse & sounde iudgement, most of the haue not bin ouermatched, by any that hath folowed. And surely their learning & iudgement was singular. But no maruell it is, though you make so small account of me poore wretch, when you so basely speake of them. Undoubtedly in coparison of your selues, I thinke you contene all learned men both liuing & dead.

The prayse  
of the makers  
of the booke.  
1. Cor. 13.

They may well be sayde to haue sealed this booke wpyth their blood, because they were martyred for that religion that is conteyned in this booke, and according to the which this booke was framed: and if they were condemned, for improving the articles draue out of the Masse booke (as you say) why maye it not be likewise affirmed, that they receyued the sentence of condemnation, for approuing the Articles conteyned in the Communion booke: I know the booke they dyed for, was the booke of God, yet did not the aduersarie pretende that, but the articles draue out of this, and suche like bookes, grounded vpon the worde and booke of God.

How they sealed  
the booke  
with their  
blood.

Name one of them, who at the time of his death, or in y<sup>e</sup> time of his imprisonment, declared openly his mistaking of certayne things in this booke. I can shew you the contrarie: That notable befall of God, for learning, zeale, and vertue, inferiour to none of our age, Master Ridley Bishop of London, in his last farewell as it is called, looking dayly and hourely when he should go to the stake, giueth this testimonie of this same booke of common prayers, the whiche the Church of Englande nowe vseth, and you so contemptuously reiea. This Church (sayth he) of Englande had of late, of the infinite goodnesse, and abundant grace of almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, plentie of Gods true and sincere worde, the true and vwholsome administration of Christes holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christes religion, truly and playnely set forth in baptisme, the playne declaration and vnderstanding of the same taught in the holy Catechisme, to haue bin learned of all true Christians. This Church had also a true and sincere forme and maner of the Lords supper, wherein according to Iesus Christes ordinance & holy institution, Christes comaundements were executed and done. For vpon the bread and wine set vpon the Lords table, thanks were giuen, the commemoration of the Lords death was had, the bread in the remembrance of Christes body torne vpon the crosse, was broken: and the cuppe in remembrance of Christes blood was distributed, and both communicated vnto all that were present, and would receyue them, and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

M. Ridley  
testimonie of  
the booke of  
comon prayer

M. Foxe.

All was done openly in the vulgare tongue, so that euery thing mighte be easily heard, and playnely vnderstoode of all the people, to Gods high glory, and the edification of



the whole Church. This Church had of late the whole diuine seruice, all common and public prayers ordeyned to be sayde and heard in the common congregacion, not onely formed and fashioned to the true wayne of the holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commaundement of the Lorde, and S. Pauls doctrine, for the peoples edification in their vulgar tongue.

But I knowe best testimonie shall weigh with you, as all other mens doe, howbeit I trust it will pearce the hearts of the godly. Neyther is this to appose the blood of men, to the blood of the sonne of God, when the martyrdome of men is brought in to beare witness vnto the truthe of God.

### Chap. 1. the. 3. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 149. Sect. vlt. & 150. Sect. 1. 2.

The vnperfectnesse of this booke, and such things in the same as be culled and picked out of that popishe dunghill, the Masse booke, with the contents therein that be agaynst the worde of God, shall appeare I am sure in your seuerall reasons, for it is not sufficient for you, barely to say so, without witte, learning, or reason.

Donantage gi-  
uen to the pa-  
pistes by the  
Admonitions

This you knowe right wel, that in so saying you make the Papists leape for ioye, because they haue gotten suche companions to assaulte this booke, whyles they rest them, as lye as it were in sleepe. O that the wise men of this realme (suche I meane as be in authoritie) see not this popishe practise, and seeke not with more earnestnesse to preuent it. Will ye suffer the Papists to gather strength, and to multiply, by tollerating such Libellers, vnder the pretence of reformatiō, to discredit so muche as lyeth in them, yea to ouerthrowe the whole state, and substance of religion in this Church? Bee not secure, but watche, and remember the beginning and increase of the Anabaptistes of late in Germanie, whiche I haue described in my Preface to this booke.

The opponēt  
must moue,  
by rules of  
Logike.

You saye, that you can not but much maruell at the craftie wylnesse of those men, whose partes it had beene first to haue proued eache and euery content therein to be agreeable to Gods word. &c. Nay surely, but it were your parts rather to proue that there is something therein contrarie or not agreeable to Gods worde. For such as be learned, and knowe the manner of reasoning say, that the Opponent must proue or improue, and not the answerer. They stande to the defense and mayntenance of the booke: you seeke to ouerthrowe it: it is your partes therfore to iustifie your assertions, by reasons and arguments.

T. C. Pag. 157. Sect. 1.

For the Papists triumphe I haue answered before, and I will not stirre about the same, who is the opponent, and who the respondent in this difference.

Jo. Whitgiste.

Thus you passe all this over in silence, for I doe not remember where you haue answered one worde to it.



## Chap. 1. the. 4. Diuision.

## Admonition.

Psal. 120.

They should first proue by the worde of God, that a reading seruice going before and with the administration of the sacraments, is according to the worde of God, that wafer cakes for theyr bread when they minister it. surplesse and cope to doe it in, churching of women coming in bayles abiding the psalme to hir. I haue lifted vp mine eyes vnto the hilles. &c. and suche other foolish things, are agreeable to the written worde of the almightie.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 151. Sect. 2. & 152. Sect. 1.

I doe not well vnderstande your meaning: would you haue vs to proue, that to reade prayers before, and with the administration of the sacraments, is according to the worde of God? In deede in the booke of seruice there is first appoynted to be read some one or two profitable sentences, mouing eyther to prayer, or to repentance, after followeth a generall confession, then the Lords prayer, and certayne psalmes, nexte certayne chapters out of the olde and newe Testamente. &c. laste of all, the administration of the sacramente. If you aske me of the sentences: they be scripture. If of the Lords prayer psalmes, and chapters: they be scripture also. If of the sacrament of the Supper: it is according to scripture, Mat. 26. Marke. 14. Luke. 22. 1. Cor. 11. If of the other prayers annexed: they be likewise according to the scripture, for they be made to God in Christes name, for suche thinges as we neede, or as we desire, according to that saying of Christ: *Quicquid petieritis &c.* V Whatsoeuer you aske my father in my name. &c. And agayne: *Petite & dabitur vobis*: Aske, and it shall be giuen vnto you. Mat. 7. & Iacob. 1. If any of you lacke wisdom, let him aske it. &c. And. 1. Timoth. 2. with other infinite places besides.

The order of prayers in the Communion booke agreeable to scripture.

If you would haue vs to proue that to reade prayers or scripture in the Church is according to the word of God (which you seeme to denie) then we say vnto you, that if there were any pietie in you, any religion, any learning, you would make no such bayne and godlesse doubts. was there euer any from the beginning of the world to this day (the Zuinglians onely excepted) that misliked reading of prayers and scriptures in the Church, but you?

Only Zuinglians misliked reading of scriptures.

Of wafer cakes, ministring in surplesse, or cope, & churching of women, I haue spoken before: wafer cakes be bread: surplesse & cope, by those that haue authoritie in the church, are thought to pertaine to comelynesse and decencie. Churching of women is to giue thanks for their deliuerance. Bread to be bled in the Communion, comelynesse and decencie, giuing of thanks for deliuerance out of peril & daunger, be agreeable to Gods word: therfore al these things be agreeable to gods word. The forme of bread, whether it ought to be cake bread, or loafe bread: every particular thing that pertaineth to decencie or comelynesse, at what time, in what place, with what words we ought to giue thanks, is not particularly written in scripture, no more than it is, that you were baptized. And therfore (as I haue proued before) in such cases the Church hath to determine and appoynt an order.

Pag. 154. Sect. 3.

Determination of the Church in things indifferent.



## Admonition.

Rash judge-  
ment.

But their craft is playne: wherin they deceyue them selues, standing so much vpon this word repugnant, as though nothing were repugnant or agaynst the worde of God, but that whiche is expressely forbidden by playne commaundement, they know well enough, and would confesse, if eyther they were not blinded, or else their hearts hardened, that in the circumstances, each contēt, wherewith we iustly finde fault, and they too contentiously for the loue of their liuings maynteyne, smelling of their olde popish priesthoode, is agaynst the worde of God.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 156. &amp; 157. Sect. 1.

The worde  
(repugnant)  
expounded.

If they were disposed to be craftie, I thinke they might soone deceyue you, for any great circumspection or discretion that appeareth to be in you, by this booke. You finde great fault, that we stande so muche vpon this word repugnant, as though nothing were repugnant or agaynst the word of God, but that which is expressely forbidden by playne commaundement, and herein (you saye) we deceyue our selues. But you do not tell vs howe we are deceyued, neither do you let vs vnderstande, what you thinke this worde (repugnant) doth signifie. This is but slender dealing, to finde a fault, and not to correct it: you should yet haue tolde vs your opiniō of the signification of this worde, seeing so great a matter doth depende vpon it. True it is, that this worde (repugnant) or (agaynst the worde of God) is to be contrarie to that which in the worde is commaunded or forbidden, not onely in manifest words, but also in sense and vnderstanding: except you vnderstande this worde (repugnant) on this sorte, you wyll bring in many poynts of daungerous doctrine: for we reade in the Acts. 2. & 4. that the Apostles had all things common, and yet Christians haue not al things common. Those that were then conuerted to the Gospell, solde all they had, and layde it at the Apostles feete. Act. 4. Now it is farre otherwise. Then Christ ministred his supper at night, after supper, we in the morning before dinner: he in a priuate house, we in the publike Church: he to men onely, we to women also, with a great many of such apparant contrarieties, which be none in deede, bicause they be not agaynst any thing commaunded or forbidden to be done, or not to be done, eyther in expresse words, or in true sense. And therfore you are greatly deceyued, when you thinke that we are perswaded, that those things which you finde fault with, be agaynst the worde of God.

As for this your saying (If eyther they were not blinded, or else their hearts hardened) I pray God it be not most aply spoken of your selues, but I will not take vpon me to iudge those secrets, that be onely knowne to God and your selues.

## Admonition.

By the worde of God it is an office of preaching, they make it an office of reading. Christe sayde (a) go preache.

Mat. 16. 19  
Mar. 16. 15

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 158. Sect. vlt.

You say, by the worde of God the ministerie is an office of preaching, and we make it an office of reading. To proue it to be an office of preaching you note in your margent, Matth. 26. But I thinke your meaning is the. 28. and Mark 16. where Christ sayth to his Disciples: Go therefore and teach all nations. &c. What if a man should say vnto you, that this commission was giuen onely to the Apostles: for he sayth: Go into the whole



whole worlde, where as you teach now, that no man may come into the ministerie, except he first haue a flocke, & then must he keepe him with his flocke, and go no further. If this doctrine be true, then can not this place serue your turne: for as the office of Apostle is ceased by your doctrine, so is this commission also, except you will haue the one part to stande, that is, Go and preach, and this to be abrogated, *In vniuersum mundum*, into the vvhole vvorlde.

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

You haue not any where answered directly to any of this, and to the most of it, and diuers other things included betwixt the. 151. Page and the. 171. You haue not answered one word: which the Reader by conference may vnderstand: and I for breuities sake haue omitted to set downe.

## ¶ Of reading of Homilies and the Apocrypha in the Church.

### *Chap. 2. the. 1. Diuision.*

#### Admonition.

The second reason. In this booke also it is appoynted that after the Creede if there be no sermon, an homily must follow eyther already set out, or hereafter to be set out. This is scarce playne dealing, that they would haue vs to consent vnto that which we neuer saw, and which is to be set out hereafter, we hauing had such cause already to distrust them by that which is already set out, being corrupt and straunge to mainteyne an vlearned and reading ministerie. And such it is playne that mens wordes ought to be kept in, and nothing else but the voyce of God and holy Scriptures, in which onely are conteyned (y) all fulnesse and sufficiencie to decide controuersies, must found in his church, for the very name Apocrypha testifieth, that they ought rather to be kept close, than to be uttered.

7  
2. Ti. 3. 6.  
17.  
2. Pet. 1. 20.  
Rom. 1. 16.  
1. Cor. 1. 18  
&c.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 171. Sect. 1. 2.

Your second reason in fewe wordes is this: In the booke of common Homilies: prayer it is appoynted that after the Creede, if there be no sermon, an Homilie must follow, eyther already set out, or hereafter to be set out, but you knowe not what will hereafter be set out, therefore you will not subscribe.

You haue no cause to suspect any thing touching religion set out by publike authoritie (for so is the booke) or hereafter to be set out by common authoritie. Hitherto you are not able to conuince any Homilie set out by common authoritie, of any errour, and therefore you ought not to be suspicious of any that is to come. If any Homilie shall hereafter be set out, wherein you mislike any thing, you neede not to reade it, the booke doth not appoynt you this or that Homily to reade, but some one which you like best. But what neede you to be scrupulous in this matter: if you be disposed to preache, then neede you reade no Homilie at all, therefore this is no reason.

Our homilies  
cannot be ac-  
cused of any  
errour.

T. C. Pag. 157. Sect. 2.

I answer that although it be meete, that as we hope that the Homilies which are made already be godly, so those that shall be made hereafter, shalbe likewise: yet considering the mutabilitie of men, and that oftentimes to the worse, it is not meete, nay, it is merely unlawfull, to subscribe to a blanke, saying that we cannot witnesse or allow of those thinges which we haue not seene nor heard.

Doo. liij.

*Io. Whitgifte.*



*Io. Whitgiste.*

If you be disposed to quarrell, it is an easie matter to picke out occasions, but your suspicion is without cause, and I thinke a modest protestation in that poynt would not be refused.

*Chap. 2. the. 2. Diuision.*

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 171. Sect. 3. 4.

This assertion (that in the holy Scriptures is conteyned all fulnesse to decide controuersies) if you meane controuersies in matters of fayth, and in matters touching saluation, is very true, but you haue bled litle discretion in quoting some places to proue the same.

I finde no faulte with you for cyting the sixte verse of the. 2. Tim. 3. for the. 16. verse, that is but a small oversight, and it may be in the Printer: but howe do you conclude this assertion of the wordes of Peter. 2. Epist. cap. 1. verse. 20. which be these, so that ye firste knowv that no prophecie of the Scripture is of any priuate motion: for this place only proueth that the Scriptures be not of men, but of the holy ghost: it speaketh nothing of the sufficiencie of the Scripture.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Nothing answered.

*Chap. 2. the. 3. Diuision.*

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 172. Sect. 1. 2. 3.

That place also. 1. Cor. 1. is not fitly applied to this purpose: there is Scripture sufficient directly to proue the sufficiencie of scripture, so that you should not haue needed to giue the aduersarie occasion to carpe at the vnaptnesse of these places for that purpose.

Homilies conteyning doctrine agreeable to the Scriptures, be of the same nature that sermons be: Wherefore if it be not lawfull in the Church to reade Homilies, neyther is it lawfull to preach Sermons: The reason is all one, neither is there any difference, but that Homilies be read in the booke, Sermons sayde without the booke.

Homilies are pithie, learned, and sounde: sermons oftentimes be wordes without matter, vnlearned, erroneous.

Some Ho-  
milies better  
than some  
sermons.

T. C. Pag. 157. Sect. vlt.

The place vnto the Corinthians, is the same vnto the Romanes, and M. Doctor approving one hath no cause to finde faulte with the other. For the homilies, first of all I haue shewed how absurde a saying, and how vnlike a diuine it is, to matche reading of homilies with preaching of sermons. For if the reading of the holy Scriptures is nothing so fruitfull as the preaching of them, muche lesse is the reading of homilies to be for their fruite matched with preaching of sermons.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Neither of both the places doth proue directly that, for the which the Authors of the Admonition do vse them: and there be other places moze manifest which they haue omitted.

I haue



I have answered in that place to all your Replie concerning this point: I do not match reading of Homilies with Sermons simply, or with all sermons, but with some: and to some sermons I do preferre the Reading of Homilies for the causes conteyned in mine Answer to the Admonition. Both the reading and the preaching of the Scriptures is necessarie, and the one in diuerse respects as necessarie, and in some respects more necessarie than the other. For the Scripture is the rule to discorne and iudge sermons and preachers by: Christe willethe to take heede of false Prophetes. Math. 7. Which can not be done without the diligent reading of the Scriptures: those of Whetstonia are to be commended, for trying by the Scriptures the doctrine preached vnto them: Act. 17. S. John willethe that the spirit be tried, whether they be of God or no, which must be by the Scriptures. S. Paule Gal. 1. willethe them to holde him accursed that shall preach any other Gospell vnto them, whiche they can not do without that knowledge, whiche God doth giue vnto them by reading of the Scriptures. Infinite places there be, that tendeth to this ende, but I haue spoken of this matter before. This is my opinion that both reading and preaching be most necessarie: but in some respects the one to be preferred before the other.

Reading of  
Scriptures a  
meanes to  
iudge of ser-  
mons.

Math. 7.

Act. 17.

1ohn. epist. 4.  
Gala.

## Chap. 2. the. 4. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 157. Sect. vi.

There remaineth that I shew briefly, that neyther the Homilies nor the Apocrypha, are at all to be read in the Church. Wherein first it is good to consider the order which the Lord kept with his people in tymes past, when he commaunded that no vessel, nor no instrument, either be some, or flesh hooker, or panne, &c. should come into the temple, but those onely which were sanctified and set aparte for that vse. And in Leuiticus, he will haue no other trumpets blowe to call the people together, but those onely which were set aparte for that purpose. What should the meaning of this lawe be? The matter of other common vessels and trumpets, was the same oftentimes which theirs was, the same forme also, and the other beelines and hooks and trumpets, habie to serue for the vse of sweeping and sounding, &c. as well as those of the temple, and as those which were set aparte, wherfore mought not these then as well be used in the temple as others? Forsooth, because the Lord would by these rudiments & pedagogie teach, that he would haue nothing brought into the church, but that which he had appoynted, no, not although they seemed in the iudgement of men, as good as those things which God himselfe had placed there. Which thing is much more to be obserued in this matter, seeing that the Homilies redde, be they neuer so learned and pithie, neyther the Apocrypha, are to be compared either in goodnesse within themselves, either in fruite, or in effect towards the hearer, with the authentickall scriptures of God. Now if a man will say that the Homilies do expaine, and lay open the scriptures, I answer, that the worde of God also is playne and easie to be vnderstanded, and such as giueth vnderstanding to Idiotes and to the simple. And if there be hardnesse in them, yet the promise of the assistance of Gods spirit, that God hath giuen to the reading of the Scriptures in the church, which he hath not giuen to homilies, or to the Apocrypha, will be able to weygh with the hardnesse, and to overcome it, so that there shall easily appeare greater profite to come vnto the church by reading of the scriptures, than by reading of homilies.

Numb. 10.

19. Psal.  
1. Prou.

## Io. Whitgiste.

All this of the vessels of the temple, the instruments, beelines, flesh hookers, trumpets, &c. is superfluous, and proueth nothing, except it can be shewed that the Lord hath commaunded onely the Canonickall scriptures to be redde in the Church and nothing els: or that the Lord hath as particularly expessed all thinges to be used in the Church vnder the Gospell, as he did in the temple vnder the lawe, the contrarie whereof I haue proued Tract. 2. and the kinde of reasoning that you vse in this and other places vpon similitudes is not of sufficient force to proue any thing, onely it carrieth away the ignorant people. In the rest of this portion you argue against your selfe: for you proue the excellencie, and the worthinesse of the Scriptures, and the great comoditie that cometh by reading of them, which I haue laboured against the authors of the Admonition to verifie. But what can you therevpon conclude agaynst Homilies, that may not be in like manner against Sermons, or other interpretation of the Scriptures: and rather against the one, (that is sermons) than against the other. For as I sayd before, I make this onely difference betwixt Homilies & Sermons, that the one is pronounced within the booke, the other not so. If you object & say that the Preacher

Tract. 3. Cap.

6. Diu. 1. & 2.



is directed by the spirite of God, I will answer that the writers of Homilies, be so likewise. And what can you alleage in this point for the one, that I can not alleage for the other? The promise of the assistance of Gods spirite, is as well given to him that writeth Homilies, & to those that heare them, as it is to such as studie for their sermons, & such as heare them. To the Scriptures I give the chiefe preheminance, but yet both Sermons, and all other kindes of teaching, publishing the doctrine conteyned in the Scriptures, haue their singular commodities, and necessarie vles in the Church of God.

T.C. seemeth  
to be contrary  
to himselfe.

Pag. 173. Sect.  
vlt.

But either I vnderstande you amisse, or else do you not well agree with your self: for let the Reader consider the great commoditie, that you truly giue to the reading of the Scripture in this place, with that abasing of the same, that in the defense of the authoys of the Admonitiō you vse Pag. 173. which I will also note when I come to that place.

### Chap. 2. the 5. Division.

T.C. Pag. 158. Sect. 1.

Besides this the pollicie of the church of God in tymes past is to be followed herein, that for the expounding of darker places, places of more easinesse ought to be ioyned together, as in the persecution of Antiochus, where they coulde not haue the commoditie of preaching, the Jewes did appoynt at their meeting alwayes a peece of the lawe to be redde, and with all a peece of the Prophets which expounded that peece of the lawe, rather than to byng in interpretations of men to be redde. And bycause I am entred into that matter, here cometh to be considered, the practise also of the church, both before our saviour Christes coming, and after, that when the churches met together, there is nothing mentioned but the reading of the Scriptures, for so is the Liturgie described in the Actes. And it is not to be thought, but that they had those which made expositions of the law & the Prophets. And besides that they had Onkelos the Calday paraphrast, both Galatye, and Rabbi Moses surnamed Maymon wrote, that Jonathan an other of the Calday paraphrasts flourished in our saviour Christes time, whose writings & paraphrases vpon the scriptures, are esteemed comparable in that kinde of paraphrastical writing, with any which hath laboured that wayes, & if any mens writings were to be redde in the church, those paraphrases which in explaining the scripture, go least from it, and which kept not only the number of sentences, but almost the very number of wordes, were of all most fit to be redde in the church, seying therefore (I say) the church of God then absteyned from such interpretations in the church, and contented it selfe with the scriptures, it can not be but a most dangerous attempt, to bring any thing into the church to be redde, besides the worde of God. This practise (\*) continued still in the Churches of God after the Apostles times, as may appeare by the second Apologie of Iustine Martyr, whiche sheweth that their manner was to read in the church the monuments of the Prophets, and of the Apostles, and if they had redde any thing els, it is to be supposed that he would haue set it downe, considering that his purpose there, is to shewe the whole order whiche was vled in their churches then. The same may appeare in the first homilie of Origen vpon Exodus, and vpon the Judges.

13. Act.  
15. Act.

(\*) Vntruch as  
will appeare.

### Jo. Whigifte.

Sermons are  
of the same  
nature with  
Homilies.

The true in-  
terpretation  
of the scrip-  
ture is not to  
be accounted  
as of man.

Surely in all this there is nothing spokē against reading of Homilies, that may not in like manner be alleaged against preaching of sermons, & other godly exercises of interpreting the scriptures: for if Homilies interpreting the scriptures according to the true meaning, & sense of them, be the interpretations of men, and therefore not to be redde in the Church, whose interpretations shall we call Sermons, and other readings? The one as well as the other is vttered by men, & by men in that order framed. But I thinke that no right and true interpretation of the Scripture is to be compted mans, though it be written, redde, or preached by man, for the spirite of God is the Author of it, & man is but the instrument. The rest of your proofes taken from the vse of the Church (as you say) be all *ab auctoritate negatine*: and most of them *ab auctoritate hominum*: whiche kinde of argument your self haue before vtterly condemned. I haue oftentimes told you that an argument, *ad non factū, ad non ius* (& it is M. Zuīglius and other mens iudgement, as well as mine) is good, neyther in diuine, nor yet in humane thinges.

Jonathan the  
Calday para-  
phrast before  
christes time.

So far as I can learne Jonathan the Calday Paraphrast, flourished not in Christes time, (as you say) but. 42. yeares before Christ was borne, and I thinke there is none of these Paraphrastes so faithfull, in interpreting, but that they misse in some places: & you can not but acknowledge, that one good Sermon or Homilie of some learned

learned



learned mans, well & plainly redde to the people, may edifie them moze, than the reading of these Paraphrastes. And yet I suppose you knowe, that the Iewes haue those Paraphrastes, as yet redde in their Churches: wherefore hitherto if you haue spoken any thing it is against your selfe.

But you say, that this practise continued still in the Churches of god, &c. and you proue it by Iustine Martyr, because he mentioneth nothing read in the church, but Monumentes of the Prophetes, and Apostles. Concerning your proue, I haue declared already of what force it is, being drawne *ab autoritate humana negatiue*. Now that this practise continued not still in the Church, you shall easily perceiue if you peruse that which Eusebius writeth out of an Epistle of Dionysius Corinthius to Soter Bishop of Rome, where he writeth after this sorte. And in this epistle there is mention of an Epistle of Clemēt written to the Corinthians, declaring that (according to the olde custome) it was read in the Church. For thus he sayth: we haue this day celebrated the holy day of the Lorde, where in we read your Epistle, whiche we will alwayes read for admonition sake, in like sorte as the former epistle written to vs from Clement. The Authors of the Centuries writing of this Dionysius, thinke it not unlike that his Epistles were also read in the Church, because Eusebius calleth them *Catholicas*, Catholike. Their wordes be these: *Non videtur praterendum, quod Eusebius hasse epistolas Catholicas vocet: forte quia in Ecclesijs piorum solite sunt legi, sicut Clementis*. This thing woulde not be omitted, that Eusebius calleth these epistles Catholike: peradventure, because they were wonte to be read in the Churches of the faythfull, as the Epistle of Clement was. And this may testifie of the practise of the Church in Iustinus Martyrs time better than your negatiue argument. And of the practise since, the 4. *Can. Concil. Vassens.* will giue sufficient testimonie, where it is decreed, that if the ministers be let by infirmitie or sicknesse, the Homilies of the fathers should be read of the Deacons.

The epistle  
of Clemēt  
reade in the  
church.

Euseb. lib. 4.

Cap. 23.

Dionysius li-  
ued about the  
yeare. 147.

Cent. 2. cap. 10.

Concil. Vass.

La. 4.

Homilies of  
fathers read  
in the church.

## Chap. 2. the. 6. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 172. Sect. 3.

But of readyng Homilyes in the Church I haue some thing spoken before, nowe it shall be sufficient onely to set downe Master Bucers iudgement of this matter in his notes vpon the Communion booke, whiche is this. It is better that vvhether there lackes to expounde the Scriptures vnto the people, there shoulde be Godly and learned Homilyes redde vnto them, rather than they shoulde haue no exhortation at all in the administration of the Supper. And a litle after: There be too fewe Homilies, and too fewe poyntes of Religion taught in them: vvhether therefore the Lorde shall blesse this kingdome, vvhether some excellent Preachers, lette them be commaunded to make mo Homilyes of the principall poyntes of Religion, vvhich may be redde to the people, by those Pastors, that can not make better themselues.

Bucers opi-  
nion of homi-  
lies in the  
church.

T. C. Pag. 158. Towwardes the ende.

And as for Master Bucers authoritie, I haue shewed before how it ought to be weyghed, and here also it is suspitious, for that it is sayde that his aduise was, that when the Lord should blesse the realme with mo learned preachers, that then order should be taken to make more homilies, which should be redde in the church vnto the people. As if M. Bucer did not know, that there were then learned preachers enough in the realme, which were able to make Homilies so many as the volume of the might easily haue exceeded the volume of the Bible, if the multitude of Homilies, would haue done so much good. And if the authoritie of Master Bucer beare so great a swaye with Master Doctor, that vpon his credite onely, without epter Scripture or reason,



of examples of the Churches primitive, or those which are nowe, he dare thrust into the church Homilies, then the authorities of the most auncient and best counceils ought to haue bene considered, which haue giuen charge, that nothing should be redde in the church, but onely the Canonick Scriptures.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Ridleys  
iudgement of  
homilies in  
the church.  
M. Foxe. to. 2.  
Pag. 1940.

They are M. Burers wordes in deede, neyther is there any cause why you should suspect them so to be. And it is not his iudgement only, but other learned mens also: and namely that famous man M. Ridleys, Bishop of London in the treatise before rehearsed. Wherein thus he speaketh of the Church of Englande, that was in King Edwards time. It had also holy and wholesome Homilies in commendation of the principall vertues, which are commended in Scripture, and likewise other Homilies agaynst the most pernicious and capitall vices, that vseth (alas) to reygne in this Church of England. And truly these authorities if I had no other reason, preuaile more with me than all that you, or any of your parte had sayd, or is able to say to the contrarie.

### Chap. 2. the. 7. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 159. Lin. 4.

For it was decreed in the counsell of Laodicea, that nothing should be redde in the church, but the Canonick bookes, of the olde and newe Testament, and reckeneth by what they be. Af- 59. Can. terwarde as corruptions grew in the church, it was permitted that homilies might be redde by conc. L. 10. the Deacon, when the minister was sicke, and could not preach, and it was also in an other Coun- di. tom. 1. cell of Carthage permitted, that the martyres lives might be redde in the church, but besides the e- concil. still successe that those decrees had (vnder pretence whereof the Popish Legende, and Gregories Concil. va- homilies, &c. crept in) that vse and custome was controlled by other counceils, as may appeare by senle. 1. to. the counsell of Colen, albeit otherwise Popish. And truly if there were nothing else but this con- 4. tom. cō- sideration, that the bringyng in of the reaydyng of Martyres lives into the church, and of the ho- cil. 6. c. con- milies of auncient wyters, hath not onely by this meanes mistred with the Bible, but also thrust cil. Colom. it cleane out of the church, or into a corner where it was not redde nor seene, it ought to teache all parte, 1. men to beware of placing any wytyng or worke of men in the church of God, be they neuer so well learned, as long as the worlde should endure.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Nothing  
ought to be  
read in the  
church vnder  
the name of  
Scriptures,  
but the cano-  
nicall.

Con. Carth. 3.

can. 47.

Homilies ap-  
pointed to be  
redde.

Nothing  
ought to be  
redde not  
grounded of  
the Scriptures

It is certayne that the decree of the Couricel of Laodicea, can no more condemne the reading of Homilies in the Church, than it may the reaydyng of Prayers or Catechismes, or any other interpretation of the Scriptures. The meaning of the Counsell is onely, that nothing be redde in the Church as Scripture, or vnder the name of Scripture, but that which is Canonick. And that doth evidently appeare in the. 47. Canon of the third Counsell of Carthage, which doth explaine this Canon. The wordes be these: Item placuit vt prater Scripturas Canonicas, nihil in Ecclesia legatur sub nomine diuinarum scripturarum. It is thought good that nothing be redde in the Church, vnder the name of the scriptures of God, but the Canonick Scriptures. It doth not ther- fore inhibit interpretations of the scripture and godly exhortations grounded vpon the same to be redde. Concilium valense (as it is before declared) appointeth Homilies to be redde, when there is no Sermon, by reason of some infirmite or sicknesse in the minister, which is a godly and profitable decree, neyther could it be the cause of any corruption.

I do not defend the reading of any thing in the Church which is not grounded vpon the worde of God, therefore the decree of the Counsell of Carthage, or any such like doth nothing touch the cause that I defende: and yet I know not in what sort or out of what storie these lines of Martyres were redde. I like very well of the decree of the counsell of Colen, for it inhibiteth the reading in the Church of fabulous, and barbarous stories of the liues of Sainctes, whereby it is like that the booke called *Legenda aurea* is mente. But what is this against godly Homilies, that conferme the true interpretation of the scriptures, godly exhortation to god life, & sound proofes of true doctrine, which is as far fro misting the bible out of the church, or into corners, as is preach- ing. And I muse that you can alleage this for a cause, seing you thinke so slenderly of the reading of the Scriptures, and will haue y same giue place to your sermons.

Chap.



Chap. 2. the 8. Division.

T. C. Pag. 159. Sect. 1.

And if any man (\*) object, that by this meanes also is shut out of the church the forme of ordinarie Prayers to be sayde: I saye the case is nothing lyke, for when wee pray, wee can not vse the wordes of the Scripture, as they orderly lie in the text. But for so much as the church prayeth for dyuers things necessarie for it, the which are not contained in one or two places of the Scripture, and that also there are some things which wee haue need of, wherof there is no expresse prayer in the Scripture, it is needfull that there be a forme of prayer drawne forth out of the Scripture, which the church may vse when it meeteth, as the occasion of the tyme both require, which necessitie can not be by no meanes alleaged in the reading of Homilies or Apocrypha. Wherupon appeareth, that it is not so wel ordeymed in the church of Englands, where both Homilies and Apocrypha are read, especially when as diuers chapters of the books called Apocrypha are listed by so high, that they are sometyme appoynted for extraordinarie lessons vpon seastes dayes, wherein the greatest assemblies be made, and some of the chapters of the canonickall Scripture, (as certain chapters of the Apocalypse) quite lefte out, and not redde at all.

(\*) You haue objected that which you can not answer.

Jo. Whitgiste.

You haue made an objection which you can not answer, and against the which all these reasons that you haue before vied do as much preuaile, as they doe against reading of Homilies: and whatsoever you can say for the one, may likewise be said for the other. For when we interpret the Scriptures, when we teache, or exhorste, we can not vse onely the wordes of the Scripture, as they ly orderly in the text, but we muste amplifie them, displace them, applie them to the matter we speake of, entermingling them with our owne wordes and phrases. For except you will graunt this to be lawfull, as wel in exhorting and teaching, as in publike preaching, you must (as I sayd before) as well condemne Sermons, as Homilies.

The Apocrypha that we reade in the Church, haue bene so vied of long tyme, as it may appeare in that third councel of Carthage, and 47. Canon, where they be reckened among the Canonickall bookes of the Scripture. They maye as well be read in the Church, as counted portions of the olde and new Testament: and forasmuch as there is nothing in them contrarie to the rest of the Scripture. I see no inconvenience, but much commoditie that may come by the reading of them.

Apocrypha redde in times past in the church.

Of the name (Priest) giuen to the ministers of the gospell. Chap. 3. The fyrst Division.

Admonition.

Admonition.

We speake not of the name of Priest, wherwith he defaceth the minister of Christe, (because the Priest that translated it, would perhaps haue the minister of Christe to be ioynd with him) saying the office of priesthood is ended Christ being the last Priest that euer was. To calbe therefore Priests as touching our office, is eyther to call backe againe the olde priesthood of the law, which is to denie Christ to be comen, or else to keepe a memorie of the popishe priesthood of adomination stil amongst vs. As for the first, it is by (d) Christ abolished, and for the seconde it is of Antichrist, and therefore we haue nothing to do with it. Suche oughte to haue (e) no place in our Church, neither are they ministers of Christ, sente to preach his Gospell, but Priests of the Pope to sacrifice for the quick and the dead, that is, to treade vnder their feet the blood of Christ. Suche ought not to haue place amongst vs, as the scriptures manifestly teache. Besydes that we neuer reade in y new Testament, that this word Priest, as touching office, is vied in y good parte,

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 183. Sect. 2.

The name of Priest neede not to be so odious vnto you, as you would seme to make it. I suppose it cometh of this worde Presbyter, not of Sacerdos, and then the matter is not great.

The name of priest.

T. C. Pag. 159. Sect. 2.

Althoughe it will bee harde for you to proue, that this worde (Priest) cometh of the Greeke worde (πρεσβυτερος) yet that is not the matter, but the case standeth in this, that for so muche as the common and vsuall speech of England is, to note by the word (Priest) not a minister of the Gospell, but a sacrificer, whiche the minister of the Gospell is not, therefore,

Opp.

We oughte

d  
Heb. 5. 1. 6.  
H. b. 9. 11.  
e  
Heb. 4. 4. 10  
Jerem. 23.  
Heb. 5. 4.



We ought not to call the ministers of the Gospell (priests) and that this is the english speech, it appereth by all the english translations, which translate alwayes (ιερεας) which were sacrificers (priestres) and do not of the other side: for any that ever I read, translate ιεροδουλες a priest. Seeing therefore a priest with vs, & in our tong, doth signifie both by the Papists iudgement in respect of their abhominable Masse, and also by the iudgement of the protestant in respect of the beastes whiche were offered in the law, a sacrificing office, which the minister of the gospell neyther doth, nor can execute, it is manifest, that it can not be without great offence so vsed.

### Io. Whitgiste.

I am not greatly delighted with the name, nor so desirous to mainteyne it, but yet a truth is to be defended: I reade in the olde fathers, that these two names Sacerdos and presbyter be confounded. I see also that the learned, and the best of our English writers, such I meane as write in these our dayes, translate this worde presbyter, so: and the verie worde it selfe, as it is vsed in our english tongue, soundeth the worde presbyter: As heretofore vs have made it to be taken for a sacrificer, so wil vs now alter that signification, and make it to be taken for a minister of the Gospell. But it is mere vanitie to contende for the name, when we agree of the thing: the name may be vsed and not vsed without any great offence.

### Chap. 3. the. 2. Division.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 183. Sect. 3.

& Pag. 184. Sect. 1. 2.

The priest or priestes that translated this booke, be not so scornfully to be taunted: I thinke some of them haue ended their lyues in the fyre, and all of them singular both in life, religion, & learning: speake not so contemptuously of so worthy men: better not your haughty scoffs with so spitefull words towards your superiours & betters, least you proue your selues to be in the number of those, of whom S. Paul speaketh. 2. Tim. 3. vers. 2. 3. 4. 5. and Judas in his epistle vers. 8. It is true that the priesthod of the old law is abolished but the place of scripture noted in your margent proueth it not. For Hebrues. 5. Paule doth shew why the high priest was ordeyned, and what were his offices: but he speaketh nothing of the abolishing of the priesthood. I muse what you mean thus vnnecessarily to paint your margent, and that with so little iudgement, and lesse discretion. The. 9. to the Hebrues is something to the purpose, but needlesse.

Touching Popish priestes (as you call them) whether they ought to haue anye place in our churche, or no, I haue spoken before, where I haue also answered your marginall notes concerning that matter.

You far ouershot your self in myne opinion, when you set it down, that you neuer read in the newe testament thys worde priest, touching office to bee vsed in good parte. What saye you to the fourth to the Hebrues. verse. 14. Seeing then that we haue a greate highe Priest, vvhych is entred into heauen Iesus Chryst. &c. And verse. 6. For we haue not a highe Priest vvhych can not be touched vwith the feelyng of our infirmities, but. &c. And chapter. 5. verse. 6. Thou arte a Priest for euer, &c. And Apocalyps. 5. 1. Per. 2. But what shoulde I trouble you with a tedious heapyng



the whole newe Testament, where this worde Priest, is taken in euill parte touching office. Truly you are farre deceyued, or else my vnderstanding fayleth me. I condemne that office, and institution of sacrificing for the quick and the dead with you, and I knowe it is condemned in the Scriptures manifestly, and namely in the. 9. and. 10. to the Hebrewes.

Priest concei-  
ning office, ne-  
uer in euil  
part.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Nothing answered.

## Matters concerning the solemnization of Ma-

riage. Chap. 4. The first Diuision.  
Admonition.

The ninth. As for matrimonie & also hath corruptions too many, it was wont to be counted a sacrament, and therefore they vse yet a sacramentall signe, to whiche they attribute the vertue of wedlocke. I meane the wedding ring, which they fowly abuse and dallie withal, in taking it vp & laying it down: In putting it on they abuse the name of the Trinitie, they make & newe married man according to the Popish forme, to make an idoll of his wyfe, saying, with this ryng I thee wed, with my bodie I thee worship, &c. And because in poperie no holie action, may be done without a Masse, they enioyn the married persons to receiue the communion, (as they do their Bishops and priests when they are made.) &c. Other pettie things out of the booke we speak not of, as that women, contrarie (m) to the rule of the Apostle, come, & are suffered to come bareheaded with bagpipes and fiddlers before them, to disturbe the congregation, and that they must come in at the great doore of the church, else all is marred.

Abuses acci-  
dentall,  
in  
1. Cor. 11. 5

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 194. Sect. 1.

The fyrst thing you mislike in matrimonie is the ryng, whiche you call a sacramentall signe, and vntruely saye, that we attribute the vertue of wedlocke thereto: I knowe it is not materiall whether the ring be bled or no, for it is not of the substance of matrimonie: neither yet a sacramentall signe, no more than sitting at Communion is, but only a Ceremonye of the which M. Bucer (writing his iudgement vpon the first communion booke set out in the tyme of king Edward) sayth on this sort: *Subicitur alius ritus, vt anulum. &c.* There is an other rite and ceremonie vsed that the bridegrome should lay vpon the book the ring or any other signe or token of wedlocke, be it gold or siluer, which he wil giue to his wife, & from thence the minister taking it, doth deliuer it to the bridegrom, & he deliuereth the same to the bride with a prescript forme of words conteined in the booke: this ceremonie is verie profitable, if the people be made to vnderstand what is thereby signified: as that the ring & other things first layd vpon the book, & afterwarde by the minister, giuen to the bridegrome to be deliuered to the bride, do signifie that we ought to offer al that we haue to god before we vse them, & to acknowledge that we do receiue them at his hand to be vsed to his glorie. The putting of the ring vpon the fourth finger of the womans left hand, to the which as it is sayd, there cometh a sinew or string from the heart, doth signifie that the heart of the wife ought to be vnited to hir husbände, & the roundnesse of the ring doth signifie, that the wife ought to be ioyned to hir husbände with a perpetuall bande of loue, as the ring it selfe is withoute ende. Hitherto M. Bucer.

The ring in  
matrimonie.

Bucers opi-  
nion of the  
ring in ma-  
riage.

The fourth  
finger.

T. C. Pag. 159. Sect. vii.

If it be M. Bucers iudgement which is alledged here for the ring, I see that sometimes Homer slepeth. For first of al I haue shewed that it is not lawfull to institute new signes & sacraments, & then it is dangerous to do it, especially in this which confirmeth the false and popish opinion of a sacramente, as is alledged by the Admonition. And thirdly to make such fond allegories of the laying downe of the money, of the roundnesse of the ring, and of the myserie of the fourth finger, is let me speake it with his good leaue) verie ridiculous and farre unlike himselfe. And fourthly, that he

Opp. 9.

will



I doe not speake of the inconuenience that men are constrained with charges to bring their children oftentimes halfe a score miles for: that (whiche if it were needefull, might be as well done at home in their owne parishes). The thirde is for that in the allegation of the seconde cause of the vsing of the confirmation, the booke saith, that by the imposition of handes, and prayer, the children may receiue strength and defense agaynst all temptations, where as there is no promise that by the laying on of handes vpon children, any such gift shall be giuen, & it may seemeth the popish distinction, that the spirit of God is giue at baptisme vnto remission of sinnes, & in confirmation vnto strength, the whiche verbe word (strength) the booke alleageeth, and all this M. Doctor confuteth, by calling of the authors of the Admonition pccushe and arrogant.

Lom. lib. 4  
diuis. 7.

*Jo. Whigifce.*

Tract. 7. ca. 5.  
the. 4. diuis.  
64.

If that be a sufficient reason to abolishe it, because it hath bene horribly abused, then what shall you reteyne eyther in the church, or in the common lyfe of man. But I haue before in talking of apparrell declared the vanitie of this reason, and yet the confirmation that is now vsed was neuer abused by the Papistes, for they had it not, neyther any similitude of it, but onely the name whiche can not contaminate the thing.

Jerom. aduers.  
Luciferianos.

It commeth not from the Popes decretall Epistles, except you will say, that these Epistles were counted authentical before Jeromes tyme: for he maketh mention of this confirmation, and alloweth of it, in his booke *aduersus Luciferianos*. I denye not (sayeth he) this to be the custome of the churches, that the Bishop at the inuocation of the holy spirit, goe to laye his hande vpon those whiche haue bene baptised as farre off in lesser cities, by priestes and deacons.

Bucer.

M. Bucer likewise wryting vpon the fourth to the Ephesians testifieth, & this confirmation is verie auncient in the Church, & well lyketh & alloweth & same. Wherefore except you will giue too muche authoritie to the Popes decretall Epistles, you can not say, that the confirming of children after baptisme, had the originall in them.

The first stepp of poperie in this Confirmation, (as you say) is laying on of handes, &c. and yet you see by the testimonie of Jerome and Bucer, that laying on of handes hath long before Jeromes tyme bene vsed in confirming of children. Neyther can you say, that it confirmeth the opinion of it, that it is a sacrament, more than imposition of handes doth confirme the opinion of ordeyning ministers that it is also a Sacramente: for I thinke that you will not denie but that imposition of handes may be vsed in ordeyning of ministers.

You saye, it is an vntruthe, that the confirming of children by the imposition of handes came from the Apostles: but you only saye it, you proue it not. Shew the first institution of it since the Apostles, & then you say something, else the wordes of the booke will beare with them better credite, than yours can do.

Hiero aduers.  
Lucifer. tom. 2

To your second point, the authors before named, doe sufficiently answer in the places that I haue before named. The wordes of Jerome be these. If you demaund in this place, wherefore he that is baptised in the Church doth not receiue the holy Ghost but by the imposition of the hands of the Byshop, seeing we all affirme that the holy Ghost is giuen in true baptisme. Learne this obseruation to come from this authoritie, that after the ascension of our Lord, the holy Ghost came downe vpon the Apostles. And in many places we find the same thing to be done, rather for the honour of priesthoode than necessitie of the law. For if the holy Ghost shoulde come only at the prayer of the Byshop, those were to be lamented, which in prison, or in castles, or in farre places being baptised by priestes and Deacons die before the Byshop can visite them. The wordes of M. Bucer be these. The signe of imposition of hands, Byshops only did giue, and that not without reason: for whether the couenant of the Lord is to be confirmed to those that are baptised, or whether they are to be reconciled that haue greuously offended, or whether the ministers of the Church are to be ordeyned: all these ministeries do best become those to whome the chief care of the Church is committed.

Bucer. in. 4.  
Ephe.

Your obiection of mens charges in bringing their children to be confirmed, is childish.



It cannot be denied but that by hartie and earnest prayers God doth worke these effects in those children that be his: and hereof imposition of handes is a signe. The ground of this is that promise wherupon all our prayers do depend, that is, that we shall obtaine whatsoever we aske the father in Christes name: neyther can you more iustly censure in this respect, at the imposition of handes at the confirmation of children, than you can do at the same in the ordeining of ministers.

The Authours of the Admonition seeme to allow of confirmation, but not as it is now used, for the which, because they shew no reason, it is a confutation most meete for them, to say that they be both arrogant and perversely.

## Of Burialls and matters therevnto apperteyning.

### Chap. 6. the. 1. Division.

T. C. Pag. 160. Sect. vlt.

Least Mr. Doctor (as his common fashion is when the corruption of any thing is spoken against) say, that we condemne buriall, I would have him understand that we hold that the body must be honestly and comely buried, and that it is meete that for that cause some reasonable number of those which be the friends and neighbours about should accompany the corps to the place of buriall: we hold it also lawfull to lament the dead, and if the dignitie of the person so require, we thinke it not unlawfull to use some way about the buriall whereby that may appeare, but yet so that there be a measure kept both in the weeping, & in the charges, considering that where as immoderate either weeping or pompe was never, no not in the time of the law allowed, now in the time of the gospel, all that is not lawfull, which was permitted in the time of the law. For unto the people of God under the law, weeping was by so much more permitted unto them, than unto vs, by how much they had not so cleare a revelation and playne sight of the resurrection as we have, which was the cause also why it was lawfull for them to use more cost in the embalming of the dead, thereby to nourish and to help their hope touching the resurrection, wherof we have a greater pledge by the resurrection of our saviour Christ than they had.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Al this is needlesse: but that you are disposed to stretch out your volume.

### Chap. 6. the. 2. Division.

Admonition.

The eleventh. They appoint a prescript kind of service to bury the dead: and that which is the duty of every christian, they tie alone to the minister, whereby prayer for the dead is maintained, and partly gathered out of some of the prayers, where they pray that we with this our brother, and all other departed in the true saythe of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soule. We say nothing of the thousand peale, because that it is rather licensed by intinction, than commaunded in the booke, nor of their strange mourning, by changing their garments, which if it be not hypocriticall, yet it is superstitious and heathenish, because it is used only of custome: nor of buriall sermons, which are put in place of trentalls wherewith many abuses, and therefore in the best reformed Churches are removed. As for the superstitious used both in countrey and cite, for the place of buriall, which way they must lie, how they must be fetched to Church the Minister meeting them at Church stile with surpells, with a company of greedy Clerks, that a Crosse white or blacke must be set vpon the dead corps, that bread must be given to the poore, and offerings in buriall time used, and cakes sent abroad to friends, because these are rather used of custome and superstition than by the authority of the booke. Small commaundement will serve for the accomplishing of such things. But greater charge will hardly bring the least good thing to passe, and therefore all is let alone, and the people as blind and as ignorant, as ever they were. God be mercifull unto vs.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 198. Sect. 1.

It is true that we have a prescript kind of service to bury the dead, and that we appointe that office to the minister, and what haue you in the whole scripture against this: or who euer hath found fault with either of these two things (I meane prescript service to bury the dead, and the minister to execute that office) but you alone: or when was it euer heretofore reproved by any, but even by yourselves now of late.



Howe for the things which the Admonition speaketh fault with, and thereof bringeth reason. **M. Doctor** of his bare credite, without any reason or scripture, for any thing else, commendeth them unto us, and sayth they be good. And this you shall marke to be **M. Doctors** simple shift throughout his booke, that when he hath no colour of scripture, nor of reason, no name nor title of Doctor, then to make by some thing he verily his affirmation by all the figures he can, as in saying simply that it is so, and then in asking whether it be not so, and after in asking whether there is any other man will thinke that it is not so, as if he would make us beleue, that he setteth vs diuers kinds of measures, because he bringeth the same in diuers vishes. For besides these reasons, he hath no reason, either to proue that it is meete to haue prescript forme of seruice for the dead, or that the minister should be drawn to this charge. Surely if the order be so good and conuenient, it hath met with a very barren patron, which can saye nothing for it. And although there be enough sayd by the Admonition, yet because this bold and hardy speech is enough to leade the simpler away, and to make them thinke that **M. Doctor** hath a good cause, therefore I will also say something of these rites of buriall.

### Io. Whitgiste.

The dead buried by the minister and with prayer in the primitive Church.  
Tertul. de Anima.  
In order receiued in the Church needeth no proof, untill by reason it be ouerthrowen.  
Zuinglius ad Baliba. resp.

What one reason is there vsed in the Admonition: what one word of scripture: what authoritie of writer: to improue a prescripte kinde of seruice to bury the dead, and the minister to execute that office. If there be any rehearse it: if there be none why do you keepe your old euillome of speaking vnto us: for as much therfore as they only say it without proue, without reason, without ground, the thing being knowen to be good and goodly, and practised in the primitive Church (for we reade in Tertullian, that the dead were wont to be buried by the ministers, and with prayer) and furthermore seeing it is established, and allowed by the Church, what should I labour by reason or authoritie to confirme that, which cannot by any reason or authoritie be ouerthrowen. Therefore I will only answer such bare assertions, as **M. Zuinglius** answered (vpon the like occasiō) one **Balthasar an Anabaptist**. VVhilest you require scripture and reason, you obtrude vnto other that which you ought to performe your selues, for you denie that this ought to be so, shew therefore some expresse testimonie out of the scripture, to confirme your opinion. To this effect speaketh **Zuinglius** to **Balthasar**, who (without reason or scripture, alleadged to the contrary) required of **Zuinglius** the proue of those thinges which without controulement of any (but Heretikes) had continued in the Church of long time, and then also allowed in the time of the Gospell: Euen so the receiued order established by this Church, carrieth with it authoritie and credite sufficient, and needeth not to be further by reason confirmed, except it be first by reason ouerthrowen, which because it is not performed by the Admonition, my affirmation is sufficient reason, against their deniall.

If this be **M. Doctors** simple shift throughout his booke, I trust **M. Doctor** that would haue bin, hath not omitted to note it, where he may finde it, seeing his eye sight is so sharpe, that he can imagine himselfe to espie it, where no man else can find it. But let words go.

### Chap. 6. the. 3. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition Pag. 198. Sect. 2.

You say that thereby prayer for the dead is mainteyned, as may partly be gathered out of some of the prayers, where we pray that we with this our brother, and other departed in the true faith of thy holy name. &c. You know full well what our doctrine is concerning prayer for the dead, and you ought not thus boldly to utter a manifest vnto us, for in so doing you do but bewray your sinister affection. How proue you that a prescripte forme of seruice for burying the dead, and the minister only to bury them, doth mainteine prayer for the dead: when you haue shewed your reason, you shall heare my answer.

Prayer for the dead not mainteyned.



In saying that these words gathered out of some of the prayers, that we with this our brother, &c. import prayer for the dead, you do but quarrell: when we say that we with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob may reygne in thy kingdome, do we pray for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or rather with ourselues to be where they are?

Pag. 199. Sect.

1. 2. 3.

Exposition of  
a prayer at  
Buriall.

In the like manner when we say, that we with this our brother, and all other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may haue our perfect consummation, & blisse both in body and soule, we pray not for our brother, and other that be departed in the true faith, but we pray for our selues, that we may haue our perfect consummation and blisse, as we are sure those shall haue which die in the true faith.

Now weigh this reason, there is a prescript forme of burying the dead, and it is made a portion of the ministers office, therefore you will not subscribe to the communion booke.

T.C. Pag. 161. Sect. 1.

And first of all as this almost is a generall fault in them all, that they mainteine in the mynides of the ignorant the opinion of praying for the dead: so is this also another generall fault, that these ceremonies are taken by without any example either of the churches vnder the law, or of the purest churches vnder the Gospell, that is of the churches in the Apostles tymes. For when the Scripture describeth the ceremonies or rites of buriall amongst the people of God so diligently, that it maketh mention of the smallest things, there is no doubt but the holy Ghost doth thereby shew vs a patterne, whereunto we should also frame our burialls. And therefore for so much as neyther the Church vnder the law nor vnder the Gospell, when it was in the greatest puritie, did euer vse any prescript forme of seruice in the buriall of their dead, it could not be but dangerous, to take by any such custome, and in the time of the law it was not only not vfed, but vtterly forbidden: for when the law did forbid that the priest should not be at the buriall, whiche ought to saye or conceiue the prayers there, it is cleare that the Jewes might not haue any suche prescript forme, and yet they had most neede of it, for the causes of obscure knowledge, and weaker faith before alledged. Agayne by this meanes a new charge is layd vpon the minister, and a taking him away from his necessary duties of feeding & gouerning the flocke, which being so greates as a maruellous diligence will scarcely overcome, ought not to be made greater by this, being a thing so vnnecessarie. The Admonition dothe not say that the prayers whiche are sayd are for the dead, but that they mainteyne an opinion of prayer for the dead in the heartes of the simple, and that they declare manifestly enough, when they say that it may be partly gathered, &c.

Leuit. 21.

*Io. Whitgife.*

Your first reason to proue that there ought to be no prescript forme of seruice to bury the dead, and that the minister ought not to execute that office, is this: It mainteyneth in the mynides of the ignorant, an opinion of praying for the dead, therefore there ought to be no prescript forme of seruice to bury the dead, neyther must the minister execute that office. Undoubtedly this is a very ignorant argument, if a man denie your antecedent, howe will you proue it? do you thinke the people (whome you do so greatly in other places extoll) to be so rude, that they vnderstand not the English tongue? Are they not able to discerne what it is to pray for the dead? Surely I do not thinke any to be so simple, that hearing the manner and forme of burying our dead, can or will imagine that we pray for the dead. And I verily beleue that the ignorantest person in a whole countrey, will deride the babishnesse of the argument. The prescript forme that is now vfed and the minister pronouncing the same, will rather perswade them to the contrary, for where as in times past, the minister vfed to say masse and dirige for the soules of the dead, and sundry times moue standers by to pray for the dead, at the time of buriall: now doth he reade most wholesome scriptures, declaring the myserie of the life of man, the shortnesse of his dayes, the happinesse of those that dye in the Lorde, and the certaintie of the resurrection. And who can heresof gather any prayer for the dead?

The prescript  
forme of ser-  
uice maintey-  
neth not pray-  
er for the dead  
but contrarye

Pour



Your second reason is this, these ceremonies (that is a p̄script for me of burying the dead, &c) are taken vp without any example eyther of the Churches vnder the law, or of the churches in the Apostles time, &c. therefore there may be no p̄script for me of service for burying the dead, and the minister may not make it a p̄ce of his office to bury them. I denie this argument: for it is negative from authoritie, because you haue neyther warrant to say that there was no such order in the Apostles time, neither if you had any such warrant, both it follow that it may not be so in our time, seeing that in ceremonies and diuers other orders and externall thinges, we are not bounde to the forme and manner of the Apostolicall Church. And yet if I should say that in the Apostles time, the minister vsed to bury the dead, and ground my reason vpon the place of S. Augustine before alleadged, *quod vniuersa tenet ecclesia. &c.* I know not what you would be able by any reason to say to the contrary.

The replyer  
had rather  
conforme him  
selfe to the  
Jewes than  
to this church

Another argument you conclude thus: It was forbidden in the lawe that the priest should be at the buriall of the dead, therefore the Jewes had no suche p̄script forme. Be it so: but will you d̄iue vs to conforme our selues to the Jewes ceremonies? do you thinke that touching the dead, or being at burialls will now make the minister vn- cleane? I vnderstand not to what end you should alleadge any such p̄sces, vnlesse you would haue vs to retourne againe to Iudaisme. This kind of reasoning from the ceremoniall law is not only of no force, but also very dangerous, as though Christians were bound to behaue themselves according to that law. Surely it should seeme that you could rather consent to the b̄ying in of Iudaisme, than to the Christian orders now appointed in the Church. Where might be and so there was a p̄script forme of burying the dead among the Jewes, although the Priest was absent: therefore, if this kinde of reasoning from the examples of the Jewes were of any force, yet cannot this your argument p̄oue that there ought to be no p̄script forme to bury the dead.

The ductie of  
ministers not  
hindred by  
burying the  
dead.

Pa. 49. Se. vlt

In the fourth place you reason thus: A new charge may not be layd vpon the minister, nor he maye not be taken from his necessary duties of feeding and gouerning his flocke, &c. but by burying the dead, a new charge is layd vpon him, and he is taken from his necessary duties, &c. therefore the minister may not bury the dead. Your Minor is false, for it is no new charge, laide vpon him: is it not his duty to reade the scriptures, to geue thanks, to pray and to exhort in the publike congregation: both he not feede, when he doth? nay when is there a more apt time of feeding? will you giue him time to be absent from his flocke vpon his owne businesse, as before you haue done, and shal he haue no time to bury their dead? Surely I cannot conceiue how this function of burying the dead, should one iote hinder the minister frō any one part of his dutie. And I thinke these reasons of yours too weake to allure any man into your opinion, or to plucke downe any thing that is already builded. If you seeke for alteration, you must vse p̄pound and inuincible p̄sces, for no wise man will be moued to a change, without v̄gent and especiall cause. I passe over this and such like matters the more lightly, because I take the lightnesse of your arguments to be such, as of themselves they be a sufficient discredit to your cause, and adde (with such as be learned, and not led by affection) a greater strength and confirmation both to the doctrine, and also to the gouernment of this Church of England.

### Chap. 6. the. 4. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Page. 199. Sect. 4.

The threefolde peale, mourning apparell, buriall sermons, the place of buriall, which way they must lye, how they must be fetched to the Church, a crosse white or blacke set vpon the dead corps, bread giuen to the poore, offerings in buriall time vsed, cakes sent abroad to friends, you confesse not to be contained within the booke, and so you ease me of some labour. But yet of mourning apparell, and buriall sermons, giue me leaue to speake a little. It is no good reason to say, that

Of mourning  
apparell.



that because mourning apparell is only vsed of custome, therefore it is superstitious and heathenish: many thinges be vsed of custome which be neyther superstitious nor heathenish, as to receiue the communion before dinner, to celebrate the Lords day on the Sunday, not on the Saturday, to preach in pulpits, and such like. Mourning apparell is of greate antiquitie (as you knowe) and I thinke it is no matter of religion, but of ciuillie and order. If any man put religion in it, then no doubt it is superstitious.

Mourning  
apparell aun-  
cient.

## T.C. Pag. 161. Sect. 2.

For the mourning apparell, the Admonition (\*) sayth not simply it is euill, because it is done of custome, but proueth that it is hypocriticall oftentimes, for that it proceedeth not from any sadnesse of mind, whiche it dothe pretende, but from only of custome there being vnder a mourning gowne, oftentimes a merry hart. And considering that where there is sorrow indeede for the dead, there it is very hard for a man to keepe a measure, that he do not lament too much: we ought not to vse these meanes whereby we might be further prouoked to sorrow, and so go a great way beyond the measure, which the Apostle appointeth in mourning, no more than it was well done of the Jewes in the Gospel to prouoke weeping and sorrow for their dead, by some dolefull noise, or sound of instrument, or then it was lawfull for Mary Lazarus sister, to go to her brothers graue, thereby to set the print of her sorrow deeper in her mind. Being therefore if there be no sorrow it is hypocriticall to pretend it, and if there be, it is very dangerous to prouoke it, or to carry the notes of remembrance of it, it appeareth that this vse of mourning apparell were much better layd away than kept. And here M. Doctor theapes a little kindnesse of the authours of the Admonition, and sayth that they know it is very ancient, whome before he denieth to haue any knowledge of antiquitie. Indeede it is very ancient, but M. Doctor is afrayd to shew the auientie of it, for Cyprian, and Augustine, inuigh vehemently against it, condemning it as unlawfull and vndercent.

(\*) Vntreth, for  
their words be  
playne.

1. Thes. 4.  
Math. 9.  
John. 11.

Cyp. 4. ser-  
mone de  
mortalitate  
Augus. 11. 2.  
de consolat.  
mortuorum

## Jo. Whitgiste.

The words of the Admonition be these. For of their strange mourning by changing their garments (which if it be not hypocriticall yet is it superstitious and heathenish, because it is vsed only of custome. Let the Reader now iudge, whether the Admonition dothe conclude this apparell to be heathenish and superstitious, only because it is vsed of custome or no. Truly in my simple iudgement their words be playner, than that they can be excused.

Your reason of Hypocrisie is no more sufficient, to condemne mourning apparell, than it is to condemne any other ciuill and decent order. By the like reason I might impute your wearing of a turky gowne and a hat, because that kind of apparel being a token of such persons, as mislike the gowne and the square cap, and pretende precisenesse aboue the rest, is not withstanding commonly woene of such as in other places than in London, both weare and like the other, and be precise neither in lyfe nor doctrine. And what is it that I cannot disproue, if this be a sufficient argument to say some men do abuse it, or some men do hypocritically vse it, Ergo it is not to be vsed.

Your other reason, that it prouoketh more seruice for the dead than is conuenient, if it were true that it so did (as you are not able to proue that it is) yet muste it receiue the same answer, with the former argumente, being of the same nature: vnlesse you will say, that we must not come nere vnto our friendes graue, or place where he is buried, we must not weare any of his apparell, come in or neare the place where he lyeth, beholde any thing that may put vs in mynde of hym, with an infinite suche like thinges, because all these moue affections in a kynde harte, and prouoke it to weeping. But it is the affection of the mynde that is to be moderated and baided, and not the lawfull vse of decent and ciuill orders to be condemnad. For if we admit



There is  
both a lawfull  
and an unlaw-  
full vse of  
mourning ap-  
parell.

admit such causes and excuses, I see not how any orders, eyther ecclesiasticall or cy-  
uill, especially in indifferent things, can be maintained. If any man weare such ap-  
parell of purpose to prouoke sorrow, he is not to be excused: if for order and ciuilitie,  
he is to be commended. And surely I see not why the wearing of mourning appa-  
rell should not be profitable to put a man in minde of his owne mortalitie, seeing it  
carieth a remembrance of death with it, and I thinke it rather worketh this effecte  
in the wearer, than the other that you speake of.

The antiquitie of this apparell appeareth in this, that (by your owne confession)  
it was in Cyprians time, as it appeareth in that 4. ser. de mortalitate, where he dothe  
not so much speake against the mourning apparell, as he dothe against mourning  
immoderately: and surely if the thing had bin so greatly to be misliked, it shoulde not  
still haue had continuance in the Church as it had, for Augustine likewise speaketh  
of it *serm. 2. de consolac. mort.* to the same effect that Cyprian doth. But there is no  
such immoderate mourning for the dead in these dayes, the contrary rather  
appeareth.

### Chap. 6. the. 5. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 200. Sect. 1. 2.

Funerall  
sermons.

Sermons  
most necessary  
at Burialls.

But wherein haue funerall sermons offended you? or with what  
face of brasse dare you liken them to trentalls? what similitude is  
there betwixt a godly sermon and the wicked Masse? In what one  
poynt are they like? or how dare you condemne such sermons, being  
then most necessary and most profitable? what is there a more fitte  
time to entreate of the mortalitie of man, and shortnesse of his dayes,  
of the vanitie of this worlde, of the vncertaintie of riches, of the res-  
urrection, of the iudgemente to come, of eternall life, and of euerla-  
sting deathe, and of infinite other most necessary poyntes, than that  
wherin we haue a present example before our eyes? when is ther a  
more meete time to beate downe trentalls, sacrificing for the dead,  
prayers for the dead, Purgatorie, and suche like, than that wherein  
they were accustomed to be most bled? Surely there is as much dif-  
ference betwixt our funerall sermons, and the papisticall masses and  
trentalls, as there is betwixt cold and hote, blacke and white, light  
and darknesse, truth, and lies, Heauen and Hell. But belike there is  
some other priuate cause, that maketh you to reiecte funerall ser-  
mons.

Sermons  
wickedly  
compared to  
trentalls.

Funerall ser-  
mons allowed  
of M. Cal-  
uine.

You saye that in the best reformed churches they are remoued: I  
thinke you saye not truly (and I am sure that M. Caluine dothe very  
well like and allow of them, as appeareth in the forme of common  
prayers bled of the English Church in Geneva, & by him allowed.)  
But if it be so, I tell you plainly, for my parte I like not that refor-  
mation, excepte there be weightier reasons than eyther you bley,  
or I can perceiue. I am sure that in auncient churches of long time  
they haue bin bled, and the same you may see in the most aunciente  
and best learned fathers.

T. C. Pag. 162. Sect. 1.

Now touching the funerall sermons, M. Doctor taketh on, and triumpheth maruellously, as  
though he had already gotten & victorie, but he that girdeth his harnesse, should not boast as he that  
putteth it of. Ther is more matter, than peraduenture M. Doctor is aware of, and that which is  
let downe he answereth not, as that it nourisheth an opinion that & dead are the better for it, which  
doth appeare in that ther are none more pestiferous of funerall sermons than & Papists, which although  
they cannot abide the doctrine which is preached, yet they will haue suche sermons, and those  
which will very seldome, or not at all, be at other sermons, will not commonly misse one of these.  
Further.



Furthermore for so much as the minister is drawne oftentimes by this meanes to preach by a suddayne, the worde of God thereby is negligently handled, especially of those whose gifts are not so great, as that they can prouide in so small time, and by this negligent handling of the worde of God, it is brought into contempt.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Surely M. Doctor may well triumphe, that so good a cause hath no stronger aduersaries. Your argumentes are too too slender, and in deede very frivolous: The first is this, that they nourish an opinion that the dead are better for them, of the which argumente, because you are ashamed your selfe, you father it vpon the Admonition, wherein there is not one worde spoken of any such reason. But why doth a funerall sermon nourish that opinio<sup>n</sup>? forsooth, because the Papistes be most desirous of them. First, it is very strange to say that sermons nourish an opinion y<sup>e</sup> the dead are the better for them, when it is well knowne that both he that preacheth, thinketh otherwise, & the ende of preaching is to roote out of mens heartes such persuasions, which kinde of sermons be most mete at that time to be vsed, when such especial occasio<sup>n</sup>s be offered. Secodly, it is as strange to thinke that Papistes should for any such cause desire them, who are perswaded the doctrine that is taught to be flat heresie, and the preacher to be none of the church: and surely it is a strange fanstie that can imagine a Papiste to thinke that sermon to helpe the dead, which condemneth prayer for the dead, Burgatorie, Masses, Diriges, Requies, and such like Popish trash, wherein the Papistes place all their hope of helpe for the dead. Wherefore if Papistes be so desirous of these sermons (which I can not beleue) and in many of them it is indeede vnttrue, it is rather to annoyde the suspition of Papistrie, than to procure any helpe to the dead.

Funerall sermons nourish not an opinion that the dead are the better for them.

The seconde argument you will haue this, The minister is drawen by this meanes to preache of a suddayne, and thereby the worde of God is negligently handled. &c. and is this so good a reason? Do you remember what you answered before, for the defense of preaching twyse in a daye? you sayde it was a very simple Sermon that had not some goodnesse and edifying, and very slender meate, whiche is not better beyng geuen euery daye, than the best and deynpest meate once onely in a month. &c. And howe can he be taken so vnprouided, that is able to preach so often? or why should the worde of God be more negligently handled by a minister preaching a funerall sermon vpon suddayne warning, than by the same minister preaching two sermons euery daye? your memory wareth feble to wardes the ende of your booke, else would you not haue so reasoned against your selfe. But why may not he that preacheth a funerall sermon haue sufficient warning? or if he haue not, why may he not refuse to preache it? There is no order or lawe that doth of necessitie binde him vnto it.

T. C. forgetteth him selfe.

Page. 123.  
Sect. 1.

### Chap. 6. the 6. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 162. Sect. 2.

Moreover, considering that these funerall sermons are at the request of ryche men, and those which are in auctoritie, and are very seldom at the buriall of the poore, there is brought into the church (contrary to the worde of God) an acceptation of persones, which ought not to bee. For although the minister may giue to one more honour than to another, according as the calling or degree requireth, yet in his ministerie, and that which pertepneth vnto his office, he ought to shew him selfe indifferent, and therefore preache as well at the death of the poore, as of the ryche, and because he can not well do both, it is mooste conuenient to leaue both.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

This is your thirde reason, but it toucheth only the persone, and not the cause, for it reponeth the minister for not preaching as well at the buriall of the poore as of the ryche: which if it be a faulte it is the fault of the man, not of the thing: and therefore

Agg.

no good



There is  
both a lawfull  
and an unlaw-  
full vse of  
mourning ap-  
parell.

admit such causes and excuses, I see not how any orders, eyther ecclesiasticall or cy-  
uill, especially in indifferent things, can be maintained. If any man weare such ap-  
parell of purpose to prouoke sorrow, he is not to be excused: if for order and civillie,  
he is to be commended. And surely I see not why the wearing of mourning appa-  
rell should not be profitable to put a man in minde of his owne mortalitie, seeing it  
carieth a remembrance of death with it, and I thinke it rather worketh this effecte  
in the wearer, than the other that you speake of.

The antiquitie of this apparell appeareth in this, that (by your owne confession)  
it was in Cyprians time, as it appeareth in that 4. ser. de mortalitate, where he dothe  
not so much speake against the mourning apparell, as he dothe against mourning  
immoderately: and surely if the thing had bin so greatly to be misliked, it shoulde not  
still haue had continuance in the Church as it had, for Augustine likewise speaketh  
of it *serm. 2. de consol. mort.* to the same effect that Cyprian doth. But there is no  
such immoderate mourning for the dead in these dayes, the contrary rather  
appeareth.

### Chap. 6. the 5. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 200. Sect. 1. 2.

Funerall  
sermons.

Sermons  
most necessary  
at Burialls.

But wherein haue funerall sermons offended you? or with what  
face of brasse dare you liken them to trentalls? what similitude is  
there betwixt a godly sermon and the wicked Masse? In what one  
poynt are they like? or how dare you condemne such sermons, being  
then most necessary and most profitable? what is there a more fitte  
time to entreate of the mortalitie of man, and shortnesse of his dayes,  
of the vanitie of this worlde, of the vncertaintie of riches, of the re-  
surrection, of the iudgemente to come, of eternall life, and of euerla-  
sting deathe, and of infinite other most necessary poyntes, than that  
wherin we haue a present example befoze our eyes? when is ther a  
more meete time to beate downe trentalls, sacrificing for the dead,  
prayers for the dead, Purgatorie, and suche like, than that wherein  
they were accustomed to be most bled? Surely there is as much dif-  
ference betwixt our funerall sermons, and the papistall masses and  
trentalls, as there is betwixt cold and hote, blacke and white, light  
and darknesse, truth, and lies, Heauen and Hell. But belike there is  
some other priuate cause, that maketh you to reiecte funerall ser-  
mons.

Sermons  
wickedly  
compared to  
trentalls.

Funerall ser-  
mons allowed  
of M. Cal-  
uine.

You saye that in the best reformed churches they are remoued: I  
thinke you saye not truly (and I am sure that M. Caluine dothe very  
well like and allowe of them, as appeareth in the forme of common  
prayers bled of the English Church in Geneva, & by him allowed.)  
But if it be so, I tell you plainly, for my parte I like not that refo-  
rmation, excepte there be weightier reasons than eyther you vse,  
or I can perceiue. I am sure that in auncient churches of long time  
they haue bin bled, and the same you may see in the most aunciente  
and best learned fathers.

T.C. Pag. 162. Sect. 1.

Now touching the funerall sermons, M. Doctor taketh on, and triumpheth maruellously, as  
though he had already gotten & victorie, but he that girdeth his harnesse, should not boast as he that  
putteth it of. Ther is more matter, than peraduenture M. Doctor is aware of, and that which is  
set downe he answereth not, as that it nourisheth an opinion that the dead are the better for it, which  
doth appeare in that ther are none more desirous of funerall sermons than the papists, which although  
they cannot abide the doctrine which is preached, yet they will haue suche sermons, and those  
which will very seldom, or not at all, be at other sermons, will not commonly misse one of these.  
Further:



Furthermore for so much as the minister is driue oftentimes by this meanes to preach by a suddayne, the worde of God thereby is negligently handled, especially of those whose gifts are not so great, as that they can prouide in so small time, and by this negligent handling of the worde of God, it is brought into contempt.

### Io. Whitgiste.

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T. C. forgetteth himselfe.

Page. 123.  
Sect. 1.

### Chap. 6. the 6. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 162. Sect. 2.

Moreover, considering that these funerall sermons are at the request of ryche men, and those which are in auctoritie, and are very seldom at the buriall of the poore, there is brought into the church (contrary to the worde of God) an acceptation of persones, which ought not to bee. For although the minister may giue to one more honour than to another, according as the calling or degree requireth, yet in his ministerie, and that which perteyneth vnto his office, he ought to shew himselfe indifferent, and therefore preache as well at the death of the poore, as of the ryche, and because he can not well do both, it is mooste conuenient to leaue both.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

This is your thirde reason, but it toucheth only the persone, and not the cause, for it reponeth the minister for not preaching as well at the buriall of the poore as of the ryche: which if it be a faulte it is the fault of the man, not of the thing: and therefore

Agg.

no good



no good reason to condemne funerall sermons. But you saye, he can not do both, and therefore it is moſte conuenient that he leaue both: ſhall he at no tyme do good, bicauſe he can not do it at all tymes: bicauſe he is not able to preach eueſy daye, ſhall he not therefore preach once in the weeke: or if he be not able to preach once in the weeke, ſhall hee not therefore (being able) preach once in a fortnight: what kinde of reaſoning call you this: And yet if your reaſon for preaching twiſe a day before mentioned, be good and allowable, I knowe not why ſe miniſter may not be able to preach at the buriall, as well of the poore as of the ryche, and yet there may be ſometymes moze occaſion, to preach at the buriall of the ryche, than at the buriall of the poore: neither is this that acceptatio of perſons, which is in ſcripture prohibited: for there be degrees of perſons and ſeuerall dignities. Notwithſtanding, funeral ſermons be rather in the reſpect of the living than of the dead.

### Chap. 6. the. 7. Diuiſion.

T. C. Pag. 162. Sect. 2.

If ſo be that M. Doctor will ſaye, that it is good that notable and famous men, ſhould haue their commendation, to the ende that both the goodnes of God towards them, might be the better knowne, and others the ſooner drawen to followe their example, I graunt it is ſo, and the ſcripture doth both approue it, and ſheweth what meane is beſt to do that by. For ſo we reade that Jeremie the Prophete commended that godly and zealous Prince Ioaſias in writing verſes of his death. He could haue as eaſely preached, but this he thought the beſt waye. So did alſo Dauid write verſes at the death of Saule, and Jonathan, and Abner, in which he commendeth their giſtes and graces which the Lord had beſtowed vpon them. There were in deece of auncient tyme funeral orations, as appeareth in Gregorie Nazianzene, but they ſauoured of the manner of Athens, where he was brought by: where alſo this cuſtome of funeral orations was vſed, as may be ſcene in the ſeconde booke of Thucydides ſtoꝝ by an oration of Pericles. And although this cuſtome was not in Nazianzens time ſo corrupte as afterwarde: yet the departing from the examples of the purer churches, gaue occaſion of further corruption which enſued. And to ſay the truth, it was better vſed amongſt the Athenians, than amongſt the Chriſtians. For there it was merely ciuill, and the oration at the death of ſome notable perſonage, made not by a miniſter, but by an orator appointed thereto: which I thinke may well be done.

2. Chro. 35.  
2. Sam. 1.  
and 3.

### Io. Whitgiſte.

Jeremie lamented Ioaſias death, and wrote verſes vpon it, Dauid alſo wrote verſes at the death of Saule, there were funeral orations in Nazianzens time, and it is lawefull to haue orations at the death of noble perſonages, &c. therefore there may be no funeral ſermons: this argument hath neither neceſſary nor probable concluſion, for they may both be vſed, and be ſo commonly at the buriall of notable perſonages. M. Fore reporting the vſe of the Primitive church in this matter, ſayth thus. In funeralles prieſtes then ſlocked not together, ſelling Trentalles, and Diriges, for ſweeping of purgatorie, but onely a funeral conſecration was vſed, with Pſalmes of praifes and ſongs of their worthy deedes: and alleluia ſounding on highe, which did ſhake the golden ſeelings of the temple, as witneſſeth Nazianzene, Ambroſe, and Ierome. &c.

The order of  
the Primitive  
church in fu-  
nerals.

M. Foxe par. 1  
Pag. 146.

### Chap. 6. the. 8. Diuiſion.

T. C. Pag. 162. Sect. 2.

And if M. Doctor will ſaye that there might be ſermons although they be not mentioned neither in the olde Teſtament nor in the newe, I haue answered before, that ſeeing the holy Ghoſt doth deſcribe ſo diligently the leaſt circumſtances of buriall, he would not haue omitted that being the greateſt. And let it be obſerued, that this deuſe of mans brayne, bringeth forth the ſame fruite that o-ther do, that is, vnueth quite awaye a neceſſary dutie of the miniſter, which is to comforte with the worde of God, the parties which be grieved at the death of their friendes, that conſidering the ſore is particular, he applye vnto it a particular playſter, which is very ſeldome or neuer doone, and yet a neceſſary dutie, as of a good Chriſtian, ſo eſpecially of the miniſter, which can beſt doe it, and to whome it moſte apperteyneth.

Io. Whit.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

So, I saye not only that, which you do not sufficiently improue, but this also, that if there were none such then, yet may there be nowe, being a matter pertainyng to edifying, and to the preaching of the Gospell of Christe. And you can no more proue by this argument, that there ought to be no funerall sermons, than you can proue that there ought to be no women at the receiuing of the communion, or no baptisme ministered in churches, with diuers such like things, whereof there is no expresse mention that they were in the Apostles time.

An other of your weighty arguements is this. The minister ought to comfort with the worde of God, the parties that be greued at the death of their friends, therefore he may not preache a funerall sermon. I must stil deny your argument, being to too simple. For may he not do both if neede require: may he not befoze his sermon, in his sermon, & after his sermon comforte the parties greued? That is one good vse of funerall sermons, especially when ther are a number so greued, whom he can not so well particularly comforte, because of the number, as he may ioyntly, in a godlye & fruitfull sermon: and I haue not heard or red, but that God worketh as effectually in the heartes of the hearers, by publike sermons, as he doth by priuate exhortations, & that euen in matters of saluation, & therfore much more in matters of lesser importance. But as I saide befoze, this preaching at the buriall, doth nothing hinder this priuate exhortation, if he be so disposed: and therfore of all other your argumentes, this is one of the worst.

Funerall sermons serue to comfort those that are greued.

*Chap. 6. the. 9. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 162. Sect. 2.

And where as Mr. Doctor asketh, when there is a better time to speake of death and of mortallitie, than at buriall, surely if it had bene so fit, the Prophets and Apostles should neuer haue lost that opportunitie, or let passe that occasion of aduancing and making effectually their preaching. What if it be answered (\*) that for as much as our life, is a continuall meditation of death, it is not false to vse this custome, for that it tieth our cogitation to so shorte a tyme, as the tyme of buriall is, whiche ought to be extended to the whole course of our life. But I answer that it may be well done without any such funerall sermons, when the minister taketh occasion of the death of any which is lately departed, to speake of the vantage of the life of man.

(\*) It were very fondly answered

*Io. Whitgifte.*

The Prophets and Apostles did not preache at burials, therefore it is not a moste conuenient time to speake of death and of mortallitie. The antecedent is doubtful, and not proued, and though it were true, the argument followeth not, for it is your vsuall kinde of reasoning negatiuely of authoritie. But why haue you not made here any mention of the other thinges contained in my Answer to the Admonition, whiche be necessary pointes to be entreated of, and most fit for that time: as purgatorie, trentals, &c.

Again you reason thus: our life is a continuall meditation of death, and by funerall sermons it is tied vnto a short tyme as the tyme of buriall is, therefore funerall sermons be not lawefull: the putting of vs in minde of our mortallitie by funerall sermons, is no hindraunce to our continuall meditation of it, but an helpe rather and a meanes to stirre it vp & to reuiue it. We ought at all times to meditate of the death of Christ, but must we therfore refuse at some times to receiue the sacrament of the supper, whereby we are put in minde therof: or doth the receiuing of this sacrament once in a moneth, restrain our meditation of Christs death to that time only: doth a sermon preached of the death of Christ, at some times appointed, binde our cogitation to that time onely: surely then are we very vnprofitable hearers. Wherefore although our life be a continuall meditation of death, yet can it not be but most profitable for vs, to be put in mynde therof at some one time, more than at other some tyme, & especially at that time when we see with our eyes that which we heare with our eares. And what can this reason more preuaile against sermons at burials, than it may doe against sermons at the administration of the Sacramentes, or any other appointed or sette tyme?

An absurd argument against funerall sermons.



The like of the same kinde of argument you used before against the feast of Easter, and other such like dayes, where I haue in like manner answered the same. I thinke verily that by this time you are ashamed of it.

At the length you saye that it may be well done, without any suche funerall sermons, &c. and therefore there may be no funerall sermons. And I saye it may as well and better be done in and by funerall sermons, and therefore funerall sermons may be, &c.

*Chap. 6. the. 10. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 162. towards the ende.

Whether M. Doctor liketh the reformation or no, so it is in the church where M. Caluine was pastor, and hath bene for these many yeares. And although the Englyshe church in Geneva had that in the booke of common prayer, yet (as I haue heard of those which were there present) it was not so used. And if it had bene, yet thereby it is not proued that M. Caluine allowed of it. For with things wherin there was no great and manifest disorder, M. Caluine did beare that which hee liked not of. And there being no Papistes in all the citie, and all being well instructed, there was no suche danger in a funerall sermon there, as is here amongst vs, where there be many Papistes and mo ignozant. I will saye nothing of the great abuse of those which hauing otherwyle to lye on of the church, take nobles for euery such sermon, and sometyme a mourning gowne, which causeth the Papistes to open their mouthes wyde, and to say that the marchandise of sermons is much dearer than of the masse, for that they might haue for a groate or sixe pence, and the sermon they can not haue vnder a rounder summe.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Tract. 9. cap. 1  
Dini. 13.

I haue tolde you before howe much M. Caluine him selfe misliketh this ambitious mozositie, which woulde dyne all churches to the example of one. It firste brought Rome to that extreamte pryde & arrogacie, wherewith it is now so greatly puffed vp.

I must beleue that booke that is printed published and vnccontrolled, before I beleue your vncertaine repoyses, although in such matters I do not depende vpon the church of Geneva, which will not I am sure condemne our vse in these sermons, though it vse them not it selfe.

Funerall sermons do most good where there are most Papists.

I heare as yet no probable reason why funeral sermons should not be where there are Papistes, and suche as be ignozante. I am fully perswaded that they be in those places moste necessary, where there are moste Papistes, bicause they minister especiall occasion to confute these errozs, wherein the Papistes be moste blynded, & from the which they are with most difficultie dzawen. But we must permit vnto you your paradoxes, and your fantasies, else all is marred.

You saye you wyl not speake of the abuse of those that take nobles for such Sermons, hauing otherwyle to lye, neyther will I defende them if they either exacte it, or require it, or take it with offence. Yet if it be giuen vnto them by the wyl of the dead, or for the better solemnizing of the burials of suche as be noble or worshipfull, I see no cause why it should be vnlawful for them, to take that which by such meanes is giuen vnto them: otherwyle I thinke it not meete for preachers to make a common or vsuall gayns of it.

*Chap. 6. the. 11. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 163. Lin. 5.

That must be remembred (which I had almoste forgotten) howe vntreuly and slanderously M. doctor sayth that the authors of the Admonitio do compare the sermon with a trentall or a masse. For when I saye in steade of the masse we haue the holy Communion: do (\*) I compare or liken the communion to the masse: and yet this is M. doctors charitable collectio, which gathereth things which no man letterly fall.

(\*) Yea surely if you speake to discredit it.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

If with that mynde and sense you saye, the holy Communion is in steade of the Masse, that



that they saye, buriall Sermons are put in the place of trentals, you saye wickedly and ungodly: for they speake it in the euill parte, to the depauiing of those sermons: therefore I slander them not, but they slanderously speake of the preaching of y word of God. And for my vpight dealing with them in this poynt, I refuse not the iudgement, of any man that hath iudgement.

*Chap. 6. the. 12. Diuision.*

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag 201. Sect. 1.

Touching the place of buriall, I muse what you meane to mislike of it, seeing there hath alwayes bene an appointed place for the same, euen from Abraham to this daye.

The place of Buriall.

T.C Page 163. Lin. 10.

Touching the place of buriall, I haue spoken before. And although it be not to be misliked, that there should be a common place to bury in yet the places which M. doctoz poynteth vs vnto, proue the cleane contrary. For by the story of Abrahams place of buriall, it appeareth that y manner was that every one was buried in his owne seuerall grounde, as may appeare also by that, that the Euangeliste saith, that there was a fild bought to bury the straungers in, which had no place of their owne, which was also vsed sometimes in the churches vnder the Gospell, as appeareth by the story of Theodoct, which I haue before recited, and in the latter ende of a funerall oration, whiche Gregorie Nazianzene made of the death of his brother Cesarius. And so by this reason M. Doctoz would haue every one buried in his owne possession.

Math. 27.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

There haue bene places alwayes appointed to bury the dead in, dedicated to that vse onely, and therefore there may be so now, neither haue you one word in any appoynted wyter to the contrary. The conuenience of the place, & the pointing of it out, is in the power of those that haue anthozitie, and be governours of the comon wealth and church, and with that place that by them is thought moste conuenient we ought to be contented. Neither do I heare any reason to proue that there ought to be any alteration of the places already appoynted.

Whatsoever you haue spoken to the contrary in the other place, I haue there answered.

Tract. 5. cap. 2. Diuis. 7.

Other particular matters for the which they refuse to subscribe to the booke. Chap. 7.

*The. 1. Diuision.*

Admonition.

The first. As for the halfe Communion, which is yet appoynted like to the commemoration of the Masse, we saye little of it, sauing that we may note howe neare the translatour bounde hym selfe to the massebooke, that woulde not omitte it.

Halfe communion.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 183. Sect. 1.

I knowe not what you meane by the halfe communion, I finde no such worde in the Communion booke: If you meane the communion in one kinde, you speake vntreuly and slanderously of the booke, and of this whole church: if you meane the scriptures and prayers appoynted to be read when there is no Communion, then do you vniustly liken them to the commemoration of the Masse, being most fruitful scriptures, and godly prayers.

Agg. 14.

Admoni-



## Admonition.

The eight. The publike baptisme, that also is full of childysh and superstitious toys. First in their prayer they saye, that God by the baptisme of his sonne Iesus Christ, did sanctifie the floud Iordane, and all other waters, to the mysticall washing awaye of sinne, attributing that to the signe which is (i) proper to the worke of God in the blood of Christe, as though vertue were in water to walsh awaye synnes.

i. Iohn. 1. 7.  
Acts. 20. 28  
Rom. 3. 24.

Ansvvere to the Admonition, Pag. 189. Sect. 6. 7. 8.

By the first you saye, that wee attribute to the signe that whiche is proper to the worke of God in the blood of Christe, as though vertue were in water to walsh awaye synne.

Outward sa-  
cramentes do  
not giue grace

You knowe very well that we teache farre otherwyse, and that it is a certayne and true doctrine of all suche as professe the Gospell, that the outward signes of the Sacrament, doe not containe in them grace, neither yet that the grace of God is of necessitie tied vnto them, but onely that they be seales of Gods promyses, notes of Christi-  
tie, testimonies and effectuell signes of the grace of God, and of our redemption in Christe Iesus, by the whiche the spirite of God dothe inuisiblye worke in vs, not onely the increase of faythe, but confirma-  
tion also.

Sacramental  
signes.

You vnderstande likewise, that this difference there is betwixt these externall elementes, being selected to be sacramentall signes, (that is, betwixt water in baptisme, & common water: bread & wine in the Eucharist, & vsual bread & wine) that these now be sacraments sanctified to an other vse, to a spiritual vse, to the nourishing of fayth, and feeding of the soule, to be instruments of the holy Ghost, by the which as by instruments we be fed to eternal life. Furthermore, you can not be ignorant, that whosoever cōtemneth these external signes, and refuseth them, can not be a member of Christe, neither yet saued.

Pag. 190.  
Sect. 1. 2.

Last of all you haue learned, that there is suche a similitude be-  
twixt the signes, and the thing signified, that they are not onely in Scripture vsually called by the names of those things whereof they be Sacramentes (as bread the body of Christe, and water regenera-  
tion) but also that the contumelie or contempte done to the one, doth redounde to the other, that is, the contempte of the signes, is the con-  
tempt of the things signified, and therefore S. Paule saith. 1. Cor. 11. He that eateth and drinketh vnnorthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, *Non dijudicans corpus domini*. And Christ, Iohn. 3. Excepte a man be borne of vwater and the spirite, hee can not enter into the kingdome of heauen.

These things being considered, it is no superstitious toy, but a godly and true saying, that Christe hath sanctified all waters (vused in Baptizing) to the mysticall washing awaye of synne: not ascri-  
bing, or attributing washing awaye of synne to the externall ele-  
mente, anye otherwyse, than instrumentallye, or in anye other respecte than for the similitude that Sacramentes haue with the thynges whereof they be Sacramentes: for wee knowe that wycked men maye receyue these externall signes, and yet remaine the members of Sathan.

It is



**It is certainly true,** that the mysticall washing away of sinne is proper to the worke God in the blood of Christ, and for that purpose you might haue alledged much more playner and directer places of Scripture, than moſte of these whiche you haue noted in your margent: but I thinke your meaning is not therefore to condemne the outwarde signes and Sacraments, as the heretikes called Messalians, did.

Admonition.

They pray that all men may be saued.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 202. Sect. 3.

You say we pray that all men may be saued, we do so indeede, and what can you alledge why we should not so do? S. Paule. 1. Tim. 2. sayth, I exhort therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giuing of thanks be made for all men. &c. And adding the reason he sayth, For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Sauour, vvho vvill that all men shall be saued, and come vnto the knowvledge of the truth. The Apostle doth here will be in plaine words to pray for all men, euen that they may be saued, for therebnto tende the wordes following.

Prayer that all men may be saued is good.

Io. Whitgiste.

To this is nothing answered.

Chap. 7. the. 2. Division.

Admonition.

The thirteenth. In all their order of Service (p) there is no edification according to the rule of the Apostle, but confusion. They tolle the psalmes in most places like tennise balles, the people some standing, some walking, some talking, some reading, some praying by themselves, attend not to the Minister. He againe posseth it ouer as fast as he can gallop: for either he hath two places to serue, or else there are some (\*) games to be played in the after noone, as tyng for the wherstone, heathenish dauncing for the ring, a Beare or a Bull to be bayted, or else Jacke an apes to ride on horsebacke, or an Enterlude to be played, and if no place else can bee gotten, it must be done in the Church, &c. Now the people sit, now they stande up: when the olde Testament is read, or the lessons, they make no reuerence, but when the Gospell cometh, then they all stande up. For why, they thinke that to be of greatest authoritie, and are ignorant that the Scriptures came from one spirit. When Iesus is named, then off goeth the cap, and downe goeth the knees, with such a scraping on the ground, that they cannot heare a good while after, so that the worde is hindered, but when any other names of God are mentioned, they make no curtesie at all, as though the names of God were not equal, or as though all reuerence ought to be given to the sillables. They speake not of ringing, when Mattens is done, and (\*) other abuses incident: because we shall be answered, that by the booke they are not mainteyned, onely we desire to haue a booke to reforme it.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 204. Sect. 1. & 205. Sect. 1. 2.

This is a slanderous vntruth. And the. 1. Cor. 14. abused to confirme it. Whatsoeuer S. Paule requireth in that place, is bled in that booke of Service: for first the whole Service is in a tongue knowne (as S. Paule there requyeth) that the people may understand & say Amen. Then are the Scriptures read, the Sacraments ministered according to Christes owne institution, those that bee Godly disposed persons know what a manifest vntruth this is that you here utter.

A slander of the Communion booke.

Agg. iiii.

But

1. Co. 14. 16

(\*) Games of Sodome.

(\*) Standing at the Gospell came from Anastarius the Pope in An. 404.

(\*) Accidentall abuses.



But mad men, women and children, must haue their wordes. *It* by tossing of Psalmes, you meane the singing of them, *alternatim*, then do you disallow that which is both commendable, and of great antiquitie, as it appeareth in an Epistle that Basilus Magnus, Did write to the Ministers in Neocæsaria, where he sheweth the selfe same order of singing Psalmes to be then vsed in the Church, that we vse at this day.

*It* by tossing of Psalmes like tennise balles, you meane the ouer hastie reading or singing of them, it is indeede to be misliked: but it is no part of the booke, and therefore no cause why you shoulde absteyne from subscribing to it.

T. C. Pag. 163. Sect. 1.

To passe by the prophane prouerbe here vscd, which matcheth mad men, and women, and children together, most vnkinely for a D. of diuinitie, especially handling diuine matters: for the singing of Psalmes by course, and side after side, although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable, and so much the more to be suspected, for that the diuell hath gone about, to get it so great authority, partly by deriuing it from Ignatius tyme, and partly in making the worlde beleue, that this came from heauen, and that the Angels were heard to sing after this sort, which as it is a mere fable, so is it confuted by Hystoriographers, wherof some ascribe the beginning of this to Damasus, some other vnto Flaminus, and Dioscorus. From whence soeuer it came, it cannot be good, considering that when it is graunted that all the people may prayse God (as it is in singing of Psalmes) there this ought not to be restrained vnto a fewe, and where it is lawfull both with heart and voyce to sing the whole Psalme, there it is not meete that they should sing but the one half with their heart and voyce, and the other with their heart onely. For where they may both with heart and voyce sing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore besides that incommoditie whiche cometh this way, in that being tossed after this sort, we cannot vnderstand what is song, these other two inconueniences come of this forme of singing, & therefore is banished in all reformed churches.

Socrat. 6. lib. 8. cap. Platin. cap. Damas. Theod. 2. lib. 2. 4. cap.

(\*) This is flat  
contrarie to that  
you affirme, pag.  
109. Sect. 2.

Jo. Whitgiste.

To the slanderous vntyruth of the Admonition, or to my answer there vnto, you say nothing, but passe it ouer.

Tit. 1.

S. Paule vscd a prophane prouerbe in very serious and diuine matters, when he sayde: *Cretenses semper mendaces. &c. ad. Ti. 1.* and therefore it well becometh a Doctor of diuinitie, aptly and fely applying it. But why doe you not find fault with the Authoz of the Admonition who vse a more prophane prouerbe, (that is, tossing of tennise balles) in as serious a matter?

Sacr. li. 6. cap. 8.

You confesse that singing of Psalmes by course, and side after side is verie ancient, and therefore I shal not neede to labour in prouing that the diuersitie of opinions touching the originall of it, cannot prejudice the thing: and yet if Ignatius were the Authoz of it, as Socrates lib. 6. cap. 8. sayth, it is not the lesse to be esteemed, but I will examine your reasons. When it is graunted (you say) that all the people may prayse God, it ought not to be restrained to a fewe: this is some answered, for all the people may sing if they can and wil: and those that sing not in voyce may sing in heart, for the Psalmes are song in a tong that is knowne: and some there be that can neither read nor sing, such of necessitie must hearken to those that sing, and ioyne with them in heart. You adde, that where they may sing the whole Psalme both with voyce and heart, it is not meete they should sing with heart onely, for where they may both with heart and voyce sing, there the heart is not enough. Where learne you this in scripture? will you set downe generall and absolute rules, and not tell vs vpon what authoritie they be grounded? This is totto Popelike, whose wordes will stande for reason, whom none must aske why both he so, or sayth so. The prayer of the heart alone when a man may also pray with voyce, is of great force, and very effectuell, as the example of Anna in the first of Samuell doth declare. I graunt that in the publicke congregation God is to be called vpon both in heart & voyce, but yet if a man at some times either because of the order appointed by the Church, or vpon some other occasion do holde his peace, and desire that in heart onely, which other sing or pray in voyce, no doubt he prayeth effectually. Saint Paule. 1. Cor. 14. speaking of praying and thanksging in the publicke Congregation sayeth: Else when thou blestest with the spirit, howe shall hee that occupieth therowme of the vnlearned

Prayer by  
heart onely,  
effectuall.

1. Cor. 14.



learned say Amen at thy giuing of thanks, seing he knoweth not what thou sayest. Of the which wordes it may evidently be gathered, that one sayd the prayers, and the rest of the people ioynd with him in heart, and therefore sayde Amen, when he had ended his prayers. And so doth M. Calvin interpret this place. You see then how farre your rule is wide from the rule of S. Paule. For euen in the publike congregation, he alloweth one to pray in heart & voyce, and all the rest to pray in heart only. Wherefore, where they may both with heart & voyce sing, there to sing with the heart is inough. But Lorde how you forget your selfe: befoze you founde fault with the booke bicause the people repeated their prayers after the minister, and that bicause the Minister is the onely mouth of the people to the Lorde, &c. nowe (as though you were not the same man but played some other part) you finde fault with the order of Service bicause they be not their owne mouthes to the Lorde: then to pray with heart was sufficient: now it is not enough: whence this contrarietie should spring I cannot imagin, except I should ascribe it to a frowarde and pzeptorious desire that you haue to deface this Church: but bicause I haue touched this more largely in the proper place, I will content my selfe with the onely noting of it in this place.

Contrarietie  
in the replier.  
Pa. 109 Sect. 2

Tract. 9. C. p. 2  
Diuision. 21.

If you will say it was then the maner of the Church, that one should pronounce the prayers, the rest harkening vnto him, and therefore could not without the breaking of order speake: the same I say vnto you: that this hath bene of long tyme the generall order of the Church to sing by sides, and therefore may not without disorder be broken, so long as the Church both thinke it conuenient to be kept, as a lawfull and conuenient order.

The Psalmes being song, may as well be vnderstanded as being sayde, and better too. If it be otherwise, the fault is not in singing, but in the maner of singing, which is the fault of the persons, not of the thing. And therefore that is but a verie weake reason, and it is a non causa.

### Chap. 7. the. 3. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 205. Sect. 3. 4.

Valking, talking, reading, priuate praying of the people in tyme of common prayers, seruing of two cures, games played in the after noone on the Sabboth day, as lying for the whetstone, &c. be faults worthe of punishment, where they be bled, but they are not within the contents of the booke, and they are here recyted out of place, and to no purpose.

This is verie malicious and vndiscret dealing, to burthen the common order with such faultes, which by the malice of men are growne in vse, and are of all good men misliked. So you might haue burthened Saint Paule, and other Preachers, with the faults of the Churches of Corinth, and Galatians, & the residue of the Apostles, with the superstitions of the Jewes conuerted in the primitive Church, and all good rulers with such faults as corruption of tyme breedeth.

Vndiscrete  
dealing with  
the booke of  
comon prayer.

Standing or sitting at this time or that tyme is indifferent, and therefore may both be well bled, and abused also.

Kneeling at the name of Iesus is of the like nature, ringing when Mattens is done, (as you terme it) curious singing, Organs, &c. All these be without the booke, and therefore without discretion alledged as a reason why you will not subscribe to the booke.

Kneeling at  
the name of  
Iesus.

T. C. Pag. 163. past the midst.

Unto two verie good reasons which the Admonition bledh, to shew the inconuenience of making curtesie, and standing at the name of Iesus, and at the Gospell rather than at other names of



God, and the rest of the Scripture, wherof the one is, that it is agaynst decencie and good order, which is broken by scraping of the feet, and the other that it may breed a dangerous opinion of the inequality either of the sonne of God, with the other persons, or of the Gospels with other Scriptures. M. Doctor sayth that it is an indifferent thing, and neyther taketh away their reasons, nor setteth downe any of his owne: this is a slender defense. And it is no malicious dealing to note those faults which are so generall and so open, and yet notwithstanding uncorrected or reformed by those, by whome M. Doctor would make vs beleue that the Church is best gouerned. But I pray you tell me, why do you condemne the seruing of two cures, that allow the hauing of two benefices? If it be no fault to haue two benefices, howe is it one, to haue two cures? For the Curate is better able to read his seruice in two places, than the Pastor to discharge his office in two Churches.

### *Jo. Whitgiste.*

The first reason of hindring the worde by the noyse made with scraping the feet upon the ground, as it is vsed by them in derision, so is it of it selfe ridiculous, and not worthe to be answered: besides it is vnttrue, for it hindereth no more the worde being read, than halwing and spitting hindereth the same being preached. But I orde how sparing are you of time, that will not spare so much as may serue a man to bow his knee in. Well it is but a pretence, to helpe out with a merie argument: for I dare say neyther they nor you are so vndiscrete, as to vse it in good sadnesse.

Their second reason hath some more grauitie in it, though not much more weight, and your addition, that it may breede a dangerous opinion of the inequality either of the Sonne of God with the other persons, or of the Gospell with other Scriptures, is but supposed, and a man may suppose the Pone to be made of greene cheese. What gesture at the name of Iesus hath hitherto continued in the Church many hundred yeares, and yet neuer any was heard tell of, that fell into eyther of these opinions by the meanes thereof.

Why Christians bowed at the name of Iesus.

One reason that moued Christians in the beginning the rather to bow at the name of Iesus, than at any other name of God, was bicause this name was most hated and most contemned of the wicked Iewes, and other persecutors of such as professed the name of Iesus: for the other names of God they had in reuerence, but this they could not abide: wherefore the Christians to signifie their sayth in Iesus, and their obedience vnto him, and to confute by open gesture the wicked opinion of the Iewes and other infidels, vsed to doe bodily reuerence, at all tymes when they heard the name of Iesus, but especially when the Gospell was read, which conteyned that glad tydings of saluation which is procured vnto man by Christ Iesus, whereupon also he is called Iesus, that is, a Sauioz. Neyther can it be agaynst christianitie to shewe bodily reuerence, when he is named by whom not onely all the spirituall enemies of mankind are subdued, but also the saythfull be made partakers of the kingdome of heauen. Wherefore as I binde no man of necessitie to this reuerence at the name of Iesus, so do I not iudge any man that (hauing knowledge) vseth the same: for I will not bolster and defende superstitious ignorance.

It must needes be malicious dealing, to charge the common order and booke of public prayer, with particular faults of priuate men and places. If you knowe where these abuses be, and will complaine of them either to the Archbishop or Bishop, I dare say they will refozme them.

There is better reason why one Pastor may haue two benefices, than one Curate serue in two cures, for ministring of the Sacraments and reading public prayers daily, both require more bodily attendance than the preaching of the worde. A man may better in one day preach at two Churches, than be can at them both minister the Sacraments, and celebrate public prayers. What Pastor that hath two benefices, and two good Curates at them both, may with much more facilitie do his dutie, both towards his Churches particularly, and the whole Church generallly.

### Of Cathedrall Churches. &c. Tract. 22.

#### Admonition.

As for Organs and curious singing, though they be proper to popish Denes, I meane to Cathedrall



Cathedral Churches, yet some others also must haue them. The Queenes Chappell, and these Churches must be pateras and presidents to the people of all superstitions.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 206. Sect. 1.

Here it pleaseth you to call Cathedrall Churches, Popish dennes, As hap is your wordes are no flaunder. But this bragge I will make of Cathedrall Churches, and such as be nowe in them, I will offer vnto you a dozen Cathedrall Churches in England (which I my selfe do know) the worst whereof in learning, shall encounter with all Papistes, Puritanes, Anabaptists, and what other sectes soeuer in Englande, for the defense of religion now professed, eyther by worde or wytyng. Without arrogancie be it spoken, I thinke there was neuer time wherein these Churches were better furnished with wise, learned and godly men, than they be at this day. I speake not this boastingly, but to Gods glorie, the honour of the Prince, the comfort of the godly, and the shame of flaunderous Papistes, and disdainfull Schismatikes.

Your flaunderous speech of the Queenes Maiesties Chappell, which you also say to be a patterne and president to the people of all superstitions, is rather seuerely to be punished, than with words to be confuted.

T. C. Page. 163. towards the ende. & Pag 164. Sect. 1.

As for the speech of the cathedrall Churches, either it is nothing, or else it is false. For if he say that there is cyther in all those cathedrall Churches one, or in euery of those 12. churches one, which is able to confute Papists, &c. (What great thing sayth he, which sayth no more of all these Churches, than is to be founde in one poore house of the vniuersitie, whose rentes are scarce 300. pounde by yere. Yea what hath he sayde of them which was not to be founde in them euen in Queene Maries tyme, when there was yet some one almost in euery Church, which for feare of dissembling, was able notwithstanding to confute the Papists, Anabaptists, Puritanes. And if he meane that in those twelve houses, the worst of the Prebendaries are able to defende the truth against all Papists, &c. all men do knowe the vnturth of it, so that although this sentence be very doubtfully put forth, yet howe so euer it be taken, it is as M. Doctor hath rightly termed it, a mere bragge. And yet I doubt not, and am well assured, that there be diuerse godly learned men which haue livings in those places, but for all that they cease not therefore to be dennes of loyters and idle persons, whilst there are nourished there some which serue for no profitable vse in the Church, theyr offices being such as bring no commoditie, but rather hurt, of which number certayne are which the Admonition speaketh of in the 22. page: some other which hauing charges in other places, vnder the colour of their Prebendes there, absent themselves from them: and that which they spoyle and rauen in other places, there they spend and make good cheere with, and therefore not without good cause called dennes. Finally there being nothing there, which might not be much better applied, and to the greater commoditie of the Church, whilst they might be turned into Colledges, where yong men might be brought vp in good learning, and made fit for the service of the Church and common wealth, the vniuersities being not able to receyue that number of scholars, wherewith there neede may be supplied.

And where M. D. sayth, that that which is spoken of the Queenes maiesties chappell, is worse rather to be punished, than confuted, if so be that these be abuses, the example of them in hir maiesties chappell, cannot be but most dangerous, which with all humble submission and reuerence, I beseech hir Maiestie duly to consider.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

My speech is verie plaine and without all ambiguitie, I say there is a dozen Cathedrall Churches in England, the worst of the which Churches in learning shall incounter with all papists, &c. My meaning can not be so darke as you would seeme to make it: but because your vnderstanding is so dull, when any thing is spoken to the commendation of any other than of your selfe, I will more plainly declare my meaning: whiche is this, that there is not one of these dozen Churches, but hath a sufficient number of learned men, to performe what so euer I haue promysed, howe so euer boastingly, which



which I acknowledge to be my infirmities, but yet thereunto constrained by the arrogancie of such, *qui cupiunt soli videri aliquid esse*. Your opprobrious speeches spoken of those Churches, as mere slaunders, and proceeding from a minde overcome with envie, and contempt of other, I passe over, affirming still the same that is conteyned in mine Answer to the Admonition, the which you may wel snap and bite at in wordes, but in dede you shall never be able to steyne those places: and whatsoeuer you pretende to the vniuersities, yet your good will is as much towardes the one as it is towardes the other, they both depending vpon one threde.

But if there be abuses in hir Maiesties Chappell (as you suppose) why haue you not sought the reformation thereof orderly? Why haue you sought it tumultuously? why haue you libelled agaynst it: why haue you sought it with spitefull wordes, with disquieting the Church, without all dutie and order?

### The. 2. Diuision.

#### Admonition.

The seuentieth. We should be to long to tell your honours of Cathedral Churches, the demmes and rappe of all loytering lubbers, where maister Deane, maister Vicedeane, maister Canons, or maister Prebendaries the greater, maister petie Canons, or Canons the lesser, maister Chaunceloz of the Church, maister Treasurer, or otherwise called Judas the purse bearer, the chief Chauncer, Singing men speciall fauourers of religion, squeaking Queristers, Organ players, Gospellers, Distellers, Pensioners, Readers, Clergers, &c. liue in great idlenesse, and haue theyr abiding. If you woulde knowe whence all these came, we can easily answere you, that they came from the Pope, as out of the Troian horses bellie, to the destruction of Gods kingdome. The Church of God neuer knew them, neither doth any reformed Church in the world know them.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 224. Sect. vlt. & pag. 225. Sect. 1.

Here you speake both without the booke of common prayer and Scriptures also, for neyther are Cathedral Churches conteyned in that booke, neither haue you any Scripture to proue that which you so impudently affirme.

Learned men  
in cathedral  
Churches.

God be thanked it is well knowne to those that be not with malice blinded, that Cathedral Churches be furnished with godly, zealous and learned men. And that they be the chiefe and principall ornaments of this Realme, and next to the Vniuersities, chiefest maintainers of godlynesse, religion and learning: there be some desire the spoyle of them, whose instruments you be: But I hope both theyr mouthes and yours also shall be first stopped with earth. Maister Deane, maister Vicedeane, maister Canons, &c. as much as they loyter, may thinke themselves fit to be compared with such as you are, in any respectes.

T. C. Pag. 164. Sect. 2.

And as for the reasons which M. Doctor bringeth to establish them, in the. 225. page as that they are necessarie (which he doth barely say) and that S. Augustine alloweth of a Deane, and that the Authours of the Admonition are instruments of those which desire the spoyle of them, and that a man may as well speake agaynst Vniuersities and Colleges, as agaynst them. I haue answered before, saying that it is to be feared, that Colleges in Vniuersities (if M. Doctor may worke that which he goeth about) will shortly be in little better case, than those cathedral Churches, which not only by his owne example, but with might & maine, and all indeuour possible, goeth about to fill and fraught with non residences, and such as haue charges of Churches in other places, (\*) which do no good in the vniuersitie, and partly are such as can do none, onely are pernicious examples of riotous feasting, and making great cheere with the prayes and spoiles whiche they bring out of the countrey, to the great hurt of the vniuersitie presently, and vtter ruine of it hereafter, vnlesse speedie remedie be theretofore provided.

(\*) What will  
this slaunders  
tongue spare?

Io. Whitgife.

If I may worke that which (you say I go about, I trust it shall be nothing that derogateth



gateth either fro the glory of God, the honor of the Prince, the peace of the church, the commendation of the vniuersitie, or the encrease of godlinesse, & learning. I thank god I neither haue gone about any thing, nor intende to do, whereof I am either ashamed or afrayde to make mine accompt. But who seeth not your græfe? In deede I may not suffer those with whom I haue to do, to disquiet the vniuersitie or Colledge with false doctrine and schismaticall opinions: I may not suffer them openly to breake & contemne those lawes & statutes which they are sworne to obserue, and I to execute: I may not suffer any man against the expresse wordes of his othe, against all honesty and conscience to liue vnder me, least I be partaker of his perinrie: these be the things that I haue done, and these be the things that I intende to do: whereby as hitherto I haue kepte the place where I am, in some quiet and good order, so do I trust to continue it, both to the glorie of God, the honour of the Prince, the great encrease of learning, the edifying of Christes Church, and the commendation both of the Colledge and the whole vniuersitie.

The cause of the Replers hotte and bitter inuective.

And howsoeuer you haue by worde and writing sought to deface both me and the Colledge: yea the whole vniuersitie for my sake (contrary to the expresse wordes of your othe, as I sayde in the beginning) yet are you in act and deede confuted, though I should not speake one worde: for contrary to your expectatiō and practise of your instruments, and earnest desire of al that be factious, the Colledge was neuer in better quietnesse, neuer replenished with more towarde scholars, neuer fuller of students of all degrees (I speake it to Gods glory & to deliuer it fro your slaunders) than it is at this presente. A great occasion of all these blessings of God (as instruments and meanes) is the grauitie, the honestie, the wisdom, the learning, the discrete gouernment of those, whom you call *non residents*: whom not I but the noble founders statutes, ratified by the Queenes Maiesties authoritie, and allowed of by the wylle of the realme, for mooste iuste consideration, euen for the better gouernment of the Colledge, beyng otherwise full of youth, haue licensed (beyng in the number of the twelue preachers chosen according to statute) to continue in theyr fellowships with one liuing besides, to a certayne valewe. If there were the like prouision in other places, and the same furnished with such kinde of men, the state of diuers Colledges in Cambridge, would not be so tumultuous, as it is.

The colledge deliuered from the slanderous Replers.

Touching the parties themselves, agaynst whom you so bitterly whette your tongue, vpon the same causes and quarrels you do agaynst me, this I will speake vnfeignedly, as I shall answer before God and the worlde: they are sober, honest, wise, quiet men, saythfull and learned preachers, and that tyme of absence which is giuen vnto them by statute, they do carefully bestowe in their cures, and other places where there is neede, according to their dute and conscience, except the necessarie gouernment of the Colledge, and publike vtilitie do constrain them to the contrary. The worste of them and he that is mooste negligent, dothe more good in the Church and common wealth, than you do, or any of your adherentes. I will not speake all that I might iustly, least I shoulde seeme to flatter, and in parte to commend my selfe: but this is the summe, none of vs refuse triall, eyther of lyfe, gouernment, learning, liuing, or what soeuer is to be requyred in the ministers of God, and dutifull subiectes towarde theyr Prince.

The fellowes defended agaynst the poisoned tongue.

It is an egreious slander when you say, they be pernicious examples of riotous feastinges, &c. I know the contrary: and thinke not you, but God will take due punishment of this your notozious malice, uttered vpon priuate quarrell, as it is well knowne to al this societie. In deede they loue one another, agree among themselves, obey lawes, keepe order, labour to suppress schismes, and this is that, that whetteth your tongue, and the tongues of other disordered persons agaynst them. I could requite all these your harde speeches, if I were disposed to deale so maliciously: But I will temper my selfe, desiring God not to impute these things vnto you: the Reader I shall desire eyther to iudge the beste, or to suspende his iudgement until he haue the triall.



*The. 3. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 225. Sect. 2, 3.

Deane allow-  
ed by S. Au-  
gustine.Barbarisme  
and confusion  
secretely in-  
tended.

You say all these come from the Pope, &c. It is not materiall fro whence they come, so they be good, profitable, & necessarie, for the mainteyning of religion, learning, wise & learned men: but I pray you from what Pope came they: or in what time did the Pope inuent them? I tolde you before that such places and Colledges were in Augustines time, & that he both hath the name of D. Deane, and alloweth of his office. If you had redde any auncient learned Authoꝝ (as your writings declare you haue not) then shoulde you finde that Collegiate churches be of great antiquitie, even since the yeare of our Lord. 235. But what can you speake agaynst Cathedrall churches, which you may not as well speake agaynst the Colledges in the vniuersities? They were not in the Apostles time neyther yet in the primitive Church: must they therefore now be dissolued: your meaning is be-like to bring all to confusion and barbarisme.

You say, no reformed church in the worlde knoweth them, wherein I thinke you speake more than you know. Can you name any reformed church that hath plucked them downe? peradventure in diuers places where the gospell is now preached, they had neuer such rewards for learning. But what haue we to do in such cases with other reformed churches: we haue to consider what is most meete for this church, and state: & not to follow other, as though we were children: I see no cause why other reformed churches should not rather follow vs, than we them, seing in no respect we be inferiour to them. Well, to conclude, your wordes be but vaine, and your proofes none at all: and therefore I doubt not but Cathedrall churches shall be able to with-stande both your opprobrious speeches, & the greedinesse of all their aduersaries, so long as it shall please God to blesse this land with so vertuous & learned a Queene, & so wise and discrete counsellours.

T. C. Pag. 164. Sect. 2.

And where he sayth it is not materiall, although these Deanes, Wycedeanes, Canons, Petycans, prebendaries, &c. come from y<sup>e</sup> Pope, it is, as if he should say, that it shalld not although they come out of y<sup>e</sup> bottomle Te pitte. For whatsoeuer cometh from the Pope which is Antichrist, cometh first from the Deuill: and where he addeth this condition (if it be good, &c.) in deede if of the egges of a Colatrice can be made wholesome meate to feede with, or of a spiders webbe any cloth to couer withall, then also may the things that come from the Pope & the Deuill, be good, profitable, and necessary vnto the church. And where he sayth that Collegiate churches are of great auncientie, he proueth not the auncientie of the Cathedrall churches, onlesse he proue that cathedrall and collegiate be all one. But I will not sticke with him in so small a matter, and if our controuersie were of the names of these churches, & not of the matter, I could be content to graunt his cause in this point as good as antiquitie without y<sup>e</sup> word of god (which is nothing but rottenesse) could make it.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Traſt. 7.

Good thinges  
may come  
from euill me.

This Replie neither answereth directly nor truly, to any thing y<sup>e</sup> I haue set down. For first it is vntrue that all things coming fro an Antichristian Pope, cometh first fro y<sup>e</sup> Deuill. I haue sufficiently proued y<sup>e</sup> contrary in that portion, where I speake of apparel of ministers: an euill man may do some thing that is good, euen as a good mā may do some thing that is euill: & as God both worke y<sup>e</sup> good by y<sup>e</sup> one, so both the Deuill worke y<sup>e</sup> euill by the other. Ethnikes haue made good lawes, they haue appointed stipendes & rewards for learning, & such other like good things, which are profitable & not to be reiected for the Authoꝝs sakes, though they were members of Satan.

Secondly,



Secondly, it is untrue that Cathedral Churches came from the Antichristian Pope: for I tolde you that they were in the yere of our Lorde. 235. at what tyme the Bishops of Rome were godly men and Martyres.

Thirdly, you haue not answered my question, for I demaunded from what Pope they came or in what time they were firste inuented: And to this you say not one worde: wherefore in effect you haue answered nothing. If they be of so late a fundatio, it must needs appeare who was the firste inuentor of them: but if that can not be founde (as belike it can not) then must their antiquitie be very great.

Collegiate and Cathedral Churches be all one, for any thing that I can reade to the contrarie if it be not so, shewe the difference.

### The. 4. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 164. Sect. 2.

But for so much as those auncient Collegiate churches were no more like vnto those whiche we haue now, than things most unlike, our Cathedral churches haue not so muche as this olde woyn cloke of Antiquitie, to hide their nakednesse, & to keepe out the shewer. For the Collegiate churches in times past were a Senate ecclesiasticall, standing of godly learned ministers and elders, which gouerned and watched ouer that flocke which was in y<sup>e</sup> citie or towne where such churches were, & for that in such great cities & townes commonly there were the most learned pastors & auncients, therfore the townes & villages rounde about in harde & difficulte causes, came and had their resolutions of their doubtes at their handes, euen as also the Lord commaunded in Deuteronomie, that when there was any great matter in the countrey, which the Leuites in matters pertaining to God, and the iudges in matters pertaining to the common wealth, could not discusse, that then they should come to Iherusalem, where there was a great number of Priests, Leuites, and learned iudges, of whom they should haue their questions dissolued, and this was the first vse of Collegiate churches.

### Io. Whitgifte.

True it is, that in times past there was in euery citie, *Collegium presbyterorum cui praeerat Episcopus*, a Colledge of ministers ouer whom the Bishop bare rule, the which Ierome calleth *Senatum Ecclesie*, the Senate of the church: and the same is now called a collegiate or Cathedral church. It is also euident that these *Presbyteri*, were all Priests, & that they with the Bishop had the deciding of al cotrouersies in doctrine or ceremonies, & the directio of diuers other matters in al those places that were vnder that citie, that is in all that theyre or Diocese: & therfore sayeth M. Caluine (speaking of the primitiue church) Euery citie had a colledge of Seniors which were Pastors & Doctors, for they all had the office of preaching to the people, of exhorting, and of correcting, the which office S. Paule doth commit to Bishops: and this is that Seigniorie, wherof the auncient wyters speake so much, & which you vntruly & without consideration say to haue bene in euery parish, and to consist as well of other as of Priests, & Ministers of the worde, and although that kinde of gouernment, which these churches had, is transferred to the Ciuill Magistrate, to whom it is due, and to such as by him are appointed, yet is it not so cleane blotted out, as you would make vs beleue. For the Bishop who was then, and is now the chiefe of that colledge or Church, keepeth his authoritie still, & may if he please call to gither those ministers or Priests of the Cathedral Church to consult of such things as are expedient, & in diuers poyntes he can do nothing without them. Howeuer diuerse of the same churches, some by office, and some appointed by election, are bounde to attende vpon prouinciall Synodes, so oft as the Archbishop at the commaundement of the Prince doth call the same. Likewise they be places wherein are nourished for the most parte, the best, the wisest, the learnedst men of the Clergie in the lande, whiche not onely, in the respect of their soundnesse in religiō, profoundnesse in learning, diligēce in preaching, but wisdom also, experience, & dexteritie in gouerning, are not onely an oznamēt to the realme, profitable to the Church, honour to the Prince: but also a stay from barbarisme, a bydle to sectes & heresies, & a bulwarke agaynst confusion. Wherefore as the vse of them then, for those times & states was good and godly: so is the vse of them now in this age and state no lesse conuenient, godly, and necessarie, whiche you nor all your fauours shall euer be able to disproue.

Cathedral churches be- fore the Antichristian Popes.

The Replier answereth not that which is demaunded.

In euery citie a colledge of ministers.

Instit. cap. 8. Sect. 52.

Our Cathedral churches not much differing from those of auncient time.

The vse of Cathedral churches as necessarie now as afore time.



*The. 5. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 164. In the ende.

Aſterwarde the honoz whiche the ſmaller Churches gaue vnto them in aſking them counceill, they tooke vnto themſelues, and that whiche they had by the curteſy and good will proceeding of a reuerent eſtimation of them, they did not onely take vnto them of right, but alſo diſpoſſeſſed them of all authoritie of hearing and determining any matters at all, And in the end they came to this which they are nowe, which is a company that haue ſtraunge names and ſtraunge offices, vnhheard of of al the purer churches, of whom the greateſt good that we can hope of is, that they do no harme. For although there be diuerſe which do good, yet in reſpect that they be Deanes, Prebendaries, Canons, Deacons, &c. for my parte I ſee no profite but hurte come to the church by them.

*Jo. Whitgiſte.*

Traſt. 8. Ca. 2. All this is vntrue, and your owne onely imagination: for theſe Churches haue not encreaſed theyr authoritie, but diminished it rather, as it is euident. The names and offices vſed in them, I haue proued beſore in the title of Archbiſhops, &c. to be neyther ſtraunge nor vnhheard of in the purer and auncient Churches. And though you ſee no profite that commeth to the Church by them, yet thoſe that be quietly diſpoſed in the Church, thoſe that haue a care for the good government of the Church, thoſe that haue not by any ſchiſme deuided themſelues from the Church, ſee great profite and ſingular commoditie.

*The. 6. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 165. Sect. 1. 2.

And where he ſayeth they are rewardes of learning, in deepe then they ſhould be if they were conuerted vnto the maintenance and bringing vp of Schollers, where now for the moſt parte, they ſerue for fat morſels to fill (if might be) the greedy appetites of thoſe, which otherwiſe haue enough to live with, and for holes and denues to keepe them in, which eithere are vnworthie to be kepte at the charge of the church, or elſe whoſe preſence is neceſſary and dutifull in other places, and for the moſt part vnprofitable there.

Laſt of all, whereas M. Doctor ſayth that we haue not to follow other churches, but rather other churches to follow vs, I haue answered beſore: this onely I adde, that they were not counted onely falſe Prophets which taught corrupt doctrine, but thoſe which made the people of God beleue, that they were happie when they were not, and that their eſtate was very good, when it was corrupt. Of the which kinde of falſe prophecie I ſay and I reſpect eſpecially do complayne. And therefore vniſſe M. Doctor amend his ſpeech, and leaue this crying, peace, peace, all is well, when there are ſo many things out of order, and that not by the iudgement of the Admonition and ſauourers thereof onely, but euen of all which are not willingly blinde, I ſay if he do not amende theſe ſpeeches, the crime of falſe prophecie will ſitte cloſer vnto him, than he ſhall be euer able to ſhake of, in the terrible day of the Lorde.

*Jo. Whitgiſte.*

There muſte  
be rewardes  
for learning  
already attemp-  
ned.

There muſte be as well rewardes for thoſe that haue ſpent much time in getting learning, and be learned, as there muſte be meanes to mainteyne men whiles they be in learning. Grammer ſcholes, and the Vniuerſities ſerue for the one: and Cathedrall churches with ſuch other preferments ſerue, for the other: ſpoyle the one and the other can not poſſibly ſtande. Your inmodeſt and vncharitable ſpeeches worke moſt diſcredite to your ſelfe.

That which I ſpeake of other Churches by way of compariſon, I ſpeake for the truth of the doctrine, ſincere adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, and all other poynts of Religion, by publike authoritie eſtabliſhed in this Realme, wherein I ſay agayne, that there is no cauſe why it ſhould giue place to any Church that nowe is. And yet I do not defende the faultes of men, or other corruptions (from the which no Church is free.) But for the crime of falſe prophecie wherewith you charge me, I truſte it be farre from me: I woulde promeneſſe to contention, and vncharitable iudging, were as farre from you. Howbeit we both muſt ſtand or fall to our owne Lorde: and therefore it is no good iudging beſore the time.



## Of ciuill Offices in Ecclesiasticall

persons. Traſt. 23.

A triall of the places alleaged by the Admonition, agaynst ſuch ciuill offices as are exerciſed by Ecclesiasticall persons in this realme.

## Chap. 1. the. 1. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 165. Sect. 3.

The places alleaged by the Admonition to proue that ministers of the church may not intermeddle with ciuill functions: one onely excepted are well and ſitly alleaged: and moſt of them vſed to that ende of writers, which if I ſhould name, (\*) all would confeſſe, that they are ſuch as with whom M. Doctor is not worthy to be ſo much as ſpoken of the ſame day.

(\*) Lorde howe lowe would you throwe him downe.

## Io. Whitgiſte.

This is more than modeſtie would ſuffer, and too outrageous: for whatſoeuer the worthineſſe of theſe men is otherwiſe, yet am I a miniſter of the worde as well as they: I am a member of the Church of Chriſt as well as they: I am bought with his blood as well as they: & therfore to ſay, that I am not worthy to be ſo much as ſpoke of the ſame day wherein they are named: is but extreme immodeſtie, & paſſing contempt. There is not ſo much attributed to Ieſus Chriſt: nor the Popes flatterers, did neuer ſo exceſſiuely extoll him. Are they ſo worthy that a man may not be ſpoken of the ſame day that they are named? who be they trowe we, or what is their names? But belike you are afrayde to name them, leaſt by ſpeaking of me the ſame day you ſhoulde do vnto them ſome great diſhonour: in your iudgement they are better than God himſelfe, for the ſimpleſt that is may be named the ſame day that God is. In deepe a pretie cloake to couer your bayne bragging, for I thinke you woulde haue named them, if you had knowne them. But to the matter.

## Chap. 1. the. 2. Diuision.

Admonition.

Moreover, in that they haue (s) ciuill offices ioyned to the Ecclesiasticall, it is agaynst the worde of God. As for an Archbiſhop to be a Lorde preſident, a Lord Biſhop to be a Countie Palatine, a prelate of the Garter, who hath much to do at St. Georges feaſt when the Bible is caried before the Proceſſion in the croſſes place, a Juſtice of peace, or Juſtice of Quorum, an high Commiſſioner, &c. And therfore they haue their payſons, as Clinkers, Cett houſes, Colehouſes, towres and Caſtles, which is alſo agaynst the Scriptures. This is not to haue keyes but ſwordes, and playne tokens they are, that they exerciſe that which they would ſo fayne ſeeme to waite, I meane dominion ouer theſe brethren.

Anſwere to the Admonition. Pag. 214. Sect. 2.

Bishops priſts popiſhe, Eugenius the firſte bringer of them in.

To proue that ciuill offices ioyned to the Ecclesiasticall is agaynst the worde of God, firſt you note Luke. 9. verſe. 60. 61. where it is thus writtē. And Ieſus ſayd vnto him, let the dead burie the dead, but go thou and preach the kingdome of God. Then another ſayd I wil follow thee Lord, but let me firſt go bid them farevwell which are at my houſe. How conclude you any thing of theſe places agaynst ciuill offices in Ecclesiasticall persons? Chriſts meaning in this place is to teache vs (I meane all Chriſtians) that when he calleth vs, we ought not to be hindred from following (and that forthwith) by any excuſe of doing dutie towards our friends, or reſpect of worldly commoditie, or for feare of any payne or trouble, and this is ſpoken generally to all Chriſtians, and not alone to any one kinde of men.

T. C. Pag. 165. Sect. 4.

9. Lul. c.

For the firſt place if ſo be that the miniſter ought rather to leaue neceſſarie duties of burying his father, and ſaluting his friends vndone, than that he ſhoulde not accompliſhe his miniſterie to the full, much more he ought not to take vpon him thoſe things, which are not onely not neceſſarie duties, but as it ſhall appeare, do in no caſe belong vnto him. And elthough it may be applied to all Chriſtians, yet it doth moſt properly belong vnto the miniſters.

Err. iii.

Io. Whit-



Io. Whitgiste.

This is no answer to that which I haue sayde: for I say that the meaning of Christ in this place is, that when we are called to eternall life by him we ought not to protract the time, nor to seeke any delays, but leaue all and follow him: this is the meaning of Christ, & this is the summe of my Answer: and to this you say nothing: but make a new collection, that the minister ought rather to leaue necessarie duties of burying his father. &c. which (though it be not the direct sense of this place) yet I graunt it to be true: for such ciuill offices as I allow in Ecclesiasticall persons are helpes for them to do their duties. Wherefore as this place is vnaptly applied by the Admonition, so is it vnanswered by you, & it may as well be vsed to debarre any other Christians from ciuill functions, as ministers of the worde.

Chap. 1. the. 3. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 215. Sect. 1.

Secondly, for the same purpose you vse Luke. 12. verse. 14. where Christ speaking to him that sayde vnto him, Master bid my brother deuide the inheritance vwith me, answereth on this sorte, Man vvhom made me a iudge or a deuideur ouer you? Christ came in deede to be iudged, & not to iudge, he came to worke the worke of our redemption, not to decide controuersies touching landes and possessions. But will you therfore take from Christian men authoritie to iudge: for this exaple of Christ can no more be applied to Bishops than it may be to kings, bicause the doings of Christ is a patterne for all Christians, and yet Christians may iudge matters, and decide controuersies amongst their brethren. Looke. 1. Cor. 6. The Anabaptists vse this text for one of their reasons to condemne magistratie among Christians: & therfore a very learned and late wyter, in his exposition of this place, writeth thus: *Hinc colligitur quantopere insaniant, qui ex hoc loco magistratum inter Christianos damnant: nam Christus non argumentatur à re ipsa, tanquam profana sit, sed à vocatione sua, quod missus sit in alium finem, tanetsi res erat per se satis sancta & pia.* Hereof may it be gathered, how greatly they dote vvhich condemne magistrates amongst Christians by this place, for Christe doth not reason of the thing it selfe, as though it were profane, but of his ovvne vocation, bicause he was sent to an other ende, although the thing of it selfe is holy and good.

Argument of the Anabaptists confuted.

T. C. Pag. 155. Sect. 4. & vlt.

And as for the other place of Luke touching our sauour Christes refusall to deuide the inheritance betwene the brethren, it is moste aptly alleaged to this purpose. For although our sauour Christ doth not there take away from men authoritie to iudge, yet he sheweth thereby sufficiently, that it belongeth not vnto the ministers of the worde, to entermeddle in iudgement of ciuill causes. For our sauour Christ framed that answer hauing respect to the boundes of his calling.

For as he being minister of the Gospel did all those things which were pertainyng to his ministerie: so by refusing this office of iudgement in ciuill causes, he gaue to vnderstand, that it did not appertayne vnto the compasse of that office, which he exercised, which was his ministerie. And therefore it is altogether out of season that M. Doctor here alleageth, that the Anabaptistes vse this reason to proue that Christians may not haue magistrates. For howe doth this follow, that by cause this place of Luke proueth not, that we ought to haue no Christian magistrates, that therfore it proueth not, that the minister should be no magistrate, as if there could be no ciuill magistrates, onlesse ministers of the worde were. And the place which he alleageth out of the learned man, doth not only, not make any thing for him, but doth quite ouerthrow his cause. For he sayth that our sauour Christ did not refuse this as a thing in it selfe vnlawfull, but by cause it did not agree with his vocation. Now the vocation of our sauour Christ, was to be a minister of the Gospel, therfore it doth not agree with the vocation of a minister of the gospel to iudge or to intermeddle in ciuill government. And if M. Doctor had bene so studious of M. Caluins workes, as by his often allegation of him, he would make the world beleue, he might haue redde in him this sentence cited 4. Lib. 12. for this purpose, to proue that the ministers haue not to do in ciuill thinges.

Io. Whit-



## Io. Whitgifte.

Neither do you here replie to my Answer, for I tolde you that Christ came to be iudged, not to iudge in matters of lands and possessions: I tolde you likewise that this example of Christ pertaineth no more to Bishops than it doth to Kings, and therefore can no fittly be by you applied agaynst Bishops, than by the Anabaptistes agaynst Christian Magistrates. To all this in effect you haue sayde nothing. Your owne collection is some answered. First, no man giueth to Bishops authoritie to iudge in matters of inheritance, for such controuersies are to be decided by lawe, whiche hath other Iudges appoynted for it. Secondly, Christ spake this to declare that his kingdome was not of this worlde, but of the worlde to come, not earthly, but heauenly, not temporall, but eternall: and therefore he spake it touching his owne person onely, and not as a rule pertainyng to other Christians, as the Anabaptistes seyne. Thirdly, the authoritie in ciuill matters that is committed to ministers in this Church, is committed vnto them by the Prince, for the better government of the Church, and the fuller satisfying of their duetie, consisting for the moste parte onely in punishing and correcting sinne. And lastly, it is not made a thing incident to the ministerie, or as parte of that office, but it is added as profitable, conuenient, and necessarie for the present state of the Church, and fuller accomplishing of the ministers duetie.

Ciuil offices  
in our mini-  
sters tende to  
the government  
of the church.

I haue tolde you in my Answer to the Admonition, that this example of Christ dothe no more pertaine vnto Bishops, than to other Christians (whiche being true and vncoufused by you) then dothe it followe that the Anabaptistes maye aswell alleage it agaynst other Christians, as you maye doe agaynst Bishops or Ministers.

The learned mans interpretation dothe well agree with my cause: for Christ refused it, because he came to be iudged, and to suffer death, for the redemption of the worlde, which is the vocation that this learned man speaketh of, and is onely proper to Christ. I denie not but that M. Caluine may apply this texte to that purpose, but M. Caluine dothe expounde him selfe, writing vpon this same place, when he saythe, that every man must respect his owne vocation, *et quid illi sit aptum*, and what is meete for it. Nowe the ciuill authoritie that Ecclesiasticall persons haue in this Church, is meete for their vocation: And therefore M. Caluine speaketh nothing agaynst it. In the same booke & chapter, he alleageth these wordes of Bernarde, whiche he writeth to Pope Eugenius of this matter: *Ergo in criminibus non in possessionibus potestas vestra*, &c. Wherefore your power is in offences, not in possessions. And this conclusion he bringeth in vpon the wordes of S. Luke chapter. 12.

I would not, as I sayde befoze, haue Bishops Iudges in controuersies of inheritance, I doe not affirme that they may in the right of their ministerie, challenge any ciuill authoritie, as the Bishop of Rome dothe. But soasmuche as the authoritie is in *Criminibus*, in offences, as Bernarde sayth, therfore if it please the Prince to giue it them, they may lawfully execute so muche authoritie ciuill, as shall further and helpe them in suppressing sinne. And this is agaynst nothing that M. Caluine hathe sayde. For M. Caluine and other learned wyrters of this age, doe vse this place of S. Luke and suche like, agaynst the vsurpation of Romishe Bishops, challenging suche authoritie in ciuill matters as due vnto them, *Iure diuino*, and so placing them selues in Princes offices, byd esteeme all their duetie towarde the Church to consist therein, and byd nothing else pertainyng to the office of a Bishop. As for the authoritie that our Bishops haue in suche matters, I thinke that neither M. Caluine, nor any other godly man can disallowe of it.

wherein the  
Bishops au-  
thoritie con-  
sisteth.

## Chap. 1. the. 4. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 215. Sect. 2.

In the thirde place you alleage Rom. 12. verse. 7. He that hathe an

Rrr. liij.

office



The Bishop governeth aswell by discipline as by preaching.

office, let him vwayte on his office, or he that teacheth, on teaching. What is this to the purpose? He that hath an office, muste attende vpon his office, and he that teacheth, on teaching, therefore Bishops may not haue ciuill offices. The office of a Bishop is aswell to gouerne by discipline, as by preaching: this is a very simple argument.

T.C. Page. 166. Lin. 9.

It is certen that diuers of these gifts mentioned Rom. 12. (as teaching and exhorting) maye con- curre in one mā, so that he maye be apt for diuers functions: neyther dothe the Apostle there tye one man to one gifte or function onely.

Furthermoze M. Doctor asketh what S. Paules place to the Romanes (where he wylleth that he which hath an office, must waite of that office, he that teacheth of his teaching) maketh to this purpose. Surely M. Doctor very muche. Neyther can there be a place moze properly alleaged, bothe for the very playnnesse of the wordes, and also for the circumstance of the place. For Saincte Paule speaketh there agaynst those, whiche woulde ouerreache their callings, and hauing certayne callings, contented not them selues with them, but woulde haue an eare in euery mans boate, and woulde take moze vpon them than they were able to doe, or the measure of their giftes woulde stretch vnto. And therefore sheweth that as the body is best preserved when euery member thereof dothe his office, and destroyed when one member wylle take vpon it to doe the office of an other: so the Church is then best gouerned, when euery ecclesiastical person keepeth him selfe within the limits of his calling, not meddling with that whiche perteyneth vnto an other. But M. Doctor sayth, that the bishop gouerneth as well by discipline, as by preaching: so he dothe. But I pray you by what discipline? what a reason is this, he gouerneth by discipline, Ergo by ciuill discipline. You say in the next sentence, that the authors of the Admonition eyther dote or dreame. But if these be your sharpe disputations when you are awake, surely they are very blunt when you dreame. But I had rather iudge the best, that M. Doctor was overwatched.

Jo. Whitgifte.

Ciuill authoritie not claymed, but committed to our Bishops.

Surely M. T. C. it maketh nothing at all to that purpose, neyther doth S. Paule speake it to that ende: but he speaketh it to moue euery one diligently and truly to walke in his vocation and calling, and therfoze in the same place he sayth, *qui praest in diligentia*: and as I haue tolde you, this ciuill authoritie that I speake of, is not claymed, but committed: is no hinderance, but an helpe to the ecclesiasticall function. Neyther is this to vsurpe any other mans vocation, but duetifully to vse that office that is giuen vnto vs by the Prince, to helpe vs forwarde in our owne vocation, and calling.

An ecclesiasticall Pastor must vse that discipline that is appoynted vnto him by the Magistrate and orders of that Church whereof he is minister, be it ciuill or ecclesiasticall, so that if the kinde of discipline vfed in that Church be ciuill, as it is in this Church for diuers crymes, then dothe he gouerne by ciuill discipline, and the argument is good, neyther will you be able to answere it when you are best awake, howsoeuer I made it in my dreame, or being overwatched.

Chap. 1. the. 5. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 216. Sect. 1.

A place alleaged to no purpose.

Fourthly, you cite. 1. Tim. 6. verse. 11. But thou O man of God, flee these things, and follooue after righteousness, godlynesse, fayth, loue, patience, and meekenesse. Truly I thinke you dote, or else dreame, your applications of scripture be so straunge. What speaketh Paule heere agaynst ciuill offices in ecclesiasticall persons? He only willet them in the person of Tim. to flee couetousnesse, and to follooue ryghteousnesse. &c.

Io. Whitgifte.

This is that place that T. C. confesseth to be alleaged to no purpose: and therefore here they are left to answere for theselues, as they be in the most of their quotations.

Chap.



## Chap. 1. the. 6. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 216. Sect. 2. 3.

The last text heere quoted is the. 2. Tim. 2. verse. 3. 4. Thou therefore suffer affliction as a good souldiour of Iesus Christ: no man that vvarreth entangleth him selfe with the affayres of this life, because he would please hym that hath chosen him to be a souldiour. This latter sentence is generall, and perteyneth to all men. The meaning is this, who-soeuer would be a souldiour vnder Christ, muste leaue all worldly things, and followe him. It speaketh nothing eyther of ciuill or ecclesiasticall offices. For if you will knowe what he there meaneth by the affayres of this life, heare what M. Caluine sayth, writing vpon that place: *per negotia vite intelligit familia administrande curam & ordinarias occupationes*: By the affayres of this life he vnderstandeth the care of gouerning his familie, and other ordinary businesse.

Exposition of 2. Tim. 2. 3. 4

Caluine.

If you will learne howe this place is to be applyed, the same M. Caluine teacheth you likewise in these wordes following: *Nunc applicanda est comparatio ad rem presentem, quod quisquis vult sub Christo militare, debet relictis omnibus mundi tricijs & auocamentis se illi totum suag studia addicere*: Nowe this comparison is to be applied to the present purpose, that vvhosoever will playe the vvarriour vnder Christe, leauing all vvorldely matters and impediments, muste giue him selfe vvholly vnto him. This therefore is generall, and perteyneth to all Christians, but chiefly and especially to the ministers of the worde, who maye not occupie them selues in worldly businesse, as other men do: that is, they muste not be marchants, husbandmen, craftes men, or hinder their vocation with suche lyke worldly affayres. As for suche ciuill offices as be committed to them, they be rather helpes to their vocation, than impediments: for the office of a Justice of peace, of an hyghe Commissioner, and suche like, is to punishe vice and iniquitie, to see good order kepte in the common wealth, aswell in matters touching religion, as other common and publike businesse. Wherefore as these offices be not meere ciuill, but partly ecclesiasticall, and be for discipline and correction of sinnes: so in my opinion they be most meete to be committed to some of the wysest and best of the Cleargie, to the ende that suche as by the word will not, by conuenient discipline may be copelled to do their dueties. Neyther are such offices to be accounted worldly affayres, but rather heauenly and spirituall, forasmuche as they serue to the mayntenance of religion and godlynesse, and to the suppressing of sinne and wickednesse. It is true that Augustine sayth: *Seruiunt Reges Christo, leges ferendo pro Christo*. It is also true, *Seruiunt Episcopi Christo, leges exequendo pro Christo*.

Some ciuill offices rather helpes than hinderances to the office of a Bishop.

T. C. Pag. 166. in the midst.

2. Epist. 2.

The last place whych is alleaged by the Admonition, is out of the Epistle to Tim. where it sheweth, that for so muche as the state of a minister, is as that of a souldiour, and therefore as the souldiour, to the ende he might the better please his captayne, and doe his seruice of warfare, quitteth all those things whych he loueth, and wherof otherwyse he might haue care, and might entoyneuen so the minister ought to dispatche him selfe, of all those things, whiche maye be any let to the office of his ministerie, although he might otherwyse lawfully vse them. And if so be for the performing



forming of the ministerie to the full, he must quit those things whiche he may lawfully vse, howe muche more might the Admonition conclude, that he ought not to entangle him selfe with those things, which (out of the places of S. Luke, and to the Romaues) it had shewed to be unlawfull for him to meddle with: And although M. Doctor say the sentence be generall, yet it is particularly ment, and most properly of the ministers, which M. Caluine teacheth M. Doctor in the same place, where he hath cited his authoritie twice to no purpose. For what although M. Caluine doe not there apply in prescript words this sentence to proue that ministers ought not to meddle with ciuill offices, dothe it followe therfore that this place can not be vled thereto? In saying that he ought to abstayne from all lets which may hinder his vocation and ministerie, he doth consequently say, that he ought to abstayne from all ciuill offices, and if so be M. Doctor had bene so well read in the auncient Doctors (as he would seeme) he might haue knowne that this place is vled of Cyprian to the same purpose that it is alleaged heere. For Cyprian speaking agaynst an Elder which had taken vpon him to be executor to one whiche was dead, alleageth this place.

9. Epist. r.  
lib. c.

### Io. Whitgifte.

That whiche is spoken of a souldiour perteyneth to all Christians as well as to a minister: for euery Christian man is a souldiour: these ciuill functions be helpes to the ministerie, and may be lawfully vled as I haue sayde befoze. M. Caluine truly interpreteth the place, and his interpretation maketh fully for my purpose, and directly agaynst you, as the Reader may easily perceiue, so that your many words are sone with this breuities answered.

Cyprian alleageth the place to good purpose: for to be an executor is a troublesome matter, and dothe oftentimes hinder men from their other callings, so that sometimes euen tempoꝝall men (as we call them) doe auoyde the same for the trouble that there vpon commonly ensueth: And yet I doubt whether you woulde refuse to be an executor, or no, if it were offered vnto you by some: neyther doe I thinke it unlawfull, so that the troublesomnesse of it be not too much, and an hinderance in dede to weightier matters.

### Chap. 1. the. 7. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 166. tovvards the ende.

To these reasons of the Admonition, may be added that whych the Admonition hath in the. 230. page, that the regiment of the Church is spirituall, and respecteth the conscience, and therefore hath not to doe wth ciuill offices, which respect properly the common wealth, and the outwarde, godly, honest, and quiet behaitour. And therfore their meaning is, that as the ciuill gouernour dothe vse suche kynde of punishmente as may bydle the outwarde man, and holde hym that he dare not offende in the open breach of that godlynesse, honestie, and quietnesse which S. Paul commendeth vnto vs: so the ecclesiasticall regiment dothe vse that kynde of discipline, whereby the conscience and inwarde man may be kepte in that willing obedience vnto Gods commaundement, touching a godly, honest, and quiet lyfe.

1. Tim. 1.

### Jo. Whitgifte.

The gouernment of the Church in the respect of Christ, whiche by his holy spirite ruleth in the heart and conscience of man, is onely spirituall: but it is not so in the respect of the visibill Church, and earthly members, and ministers of the same: for then must you of necessitie shut out the ciuill Magistrate from all kind of gouernment in the Church, which is the matter you shoute at, cloake it as muche as you can. But of the regiment of the Church, and of the vnturthe of this your assertion I haue spoken befoze: and speake of it also in that which followeth.

### Chap. 1. the. 8. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 230. Sect. 1. 3.

You byd vs in the margent (to proue that the regiment of the Church should be spiritual) reade Ephe. 1. verse. 23. 1. Thes. 5. verse. 13. 1. Tim. 5. verse. 2. Heb. 10. verse. 30.

In



In the .1. Thes. 5. the Apostle beseecheth them to loue suche for their vvorkes sake, as labour among them, are ouer them in the Lord, and admonishe them. What argument call you this? S. Paule moues the Thes. to loue their Pastors: Ergo, the gouernment of the Church is onely spirituall.

T.C. Page. 166. in the ende.

And to note the distinction of these regiments ciuill and spirituall, the place vnto the Thessal. is well alleaged: for by the words (such as rule ouer you in the Lord) the Apostle dothe put a difference betwene the ciuill & ecclesiasticall regiment. For albeit that godly ciuill Magistrates do rule ouer vs in the Lord, yet S. Paule *xat. & foxlw* that is, by excellencie, ascribeth that vnto the ecclesiasticall gouernours, because that wheras the ciuill Magistrate, beside his care for the saluation of the soules of his people, is occupied, in procuring also the wealthe and quietnesse of thys lyfe: the ecclesiasticall gouernours haue all their whole care set vpon that onely, whych pertaineth to the lyfe to come.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Truo it is that the ciuill gouernment is distinguished from the ecclesiasticall: but there is some thing common to them both, as these ciuill offices wherof we speake.

The place to the Thes. which the Authoers of the Admonition vse, pag. 227. to proue that the gouernment of the Church ought to be spirituall, can not be vied to make any distinction betwixt ciuill and ecclesiasticall gouernment. For by your owne confession this portion (are ouer you in the Lord) which you would haue to make this distinction, is as well spoken of the ciuill Magistrate, as it is of the Pastor, and so it is in deede, and therfore this text is abused both by them and you. The Apostle vseth the same manner of speeche, speaking of the obedience of wiues towards their husbands, *Vxores subdite estote proprijs viris, sicuti decet in Domino*: VVives be subiect vnto your owne husbands, as it behoueth you in the Lord. And yet you will not say that the gouernment of the husbände ouer his wife is onely spirituall. And therfore howsoeuer you dally out the matter, with saying that S. Paule here *xat. & foxlw* ascribeth this vnto the ecclesiasticall gouernours, yet it will not serue your turne, for he ascribeth it also to those that be ciuill. The ecclesiasticall gouernours haue all their whole care set vpon that onely whych pertaineth to the lyfe to come: True it is, and to the same ende tendeth the ciuill gouernment which they doe exercise, as I haue tolde you before.

*Chap. 1. the. 9. Diuision.*

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 230. Sect. 4.

In the .1. Tim. 5. verse. 2. he willeth Timothie to exhorre the elder vvomen as mothers, the yonger as sisters: wherbyon you conclude thus: Elder women must be exhorted as mothers, the yonger as sisters, with al purenesse: Ergo, the gouernment of the church must be spirituall.

T.C. Pag. 167. Lin. 5.

And to this ende also is alleaged by the Admonition the place of Tim. wherein the Apostle teacheth part of the ecclesiasticall discipline, whych the minister may vse, to consist in reprehensions and rebukes, which must be tempered according as the estate and age of euery one doth require. Their meaning is not (as M. Doctor doth vntruly surmise) to shur out the ciuill Magistrate, or to barre him of punishing the wicked, but that it appertepneth not vnto the ministers to deale that wayes, whose correction of faults lyeth partly in reprehensions and admonitions, which he speaketh of there, partly in excommunication, wherof is spoken before.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

But how aptly this place is alleaged to this end, euery child may vnderstand. For what a collection call you this. S. Paule willeth Tim. to exhorre the elder women as mothers, the yonger as sisters, therfore the regiment of the Church is only spirituall, & an ecclesiasticall person may not intermeddle with any kind of ciuill affayres: one Christian man must exhort an other, & reprove an other also, as occasion requirerh, therfore he may not execute any ciuill office: the reason is al one. Your defense of this place is very slender, and you might with as muche credite to them haue passed it ouer, as you haue done diuers other.

Chap.



Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 230. Sect. 2.

Spiritual government taketh not away ciuill Magistrate.

In the place to the Ephes. the Apostle sayth, that God hath appointed Christ to be the head of the Church, which is his body, even the fulnesse of him that filleth all in all things. Here we learne that Christ is the head of the Church: but howe proues this that the government of the Church is onely spiritual? Will you heereby take away ciuill Magistrates, and other gouernours that God hath placed in his Church? It is subtilly done of you to quote the places onely, and not to apply them, nor to conclude of them: for surely if you had layde downe the words, and applied them to your purpose, not wyle and learned onely, but very children would haue laughed you to scorne.

T.C. Pag 167. Lin. 12.

Further touching the place of the Ephes. for so muche as our saviour Christ as he is head of his Church, is the spiritual gouernour thereof, it is meete that their government which are appointed vnderneath him, as he is head, should be likewise spiritual, as his is. For as for the ciuill Magistrate, although he be appointed of Christ (as he is God) in which respect there is none about Christ, yet he is not appointed of him, in respect that he is head of the Church, in regarde whereof God is about Christ, and as the Apostle sayth, the head of him.

1. Cor. 11.

Io. Whitgiste.

The government of the Church is not only spiritual

T.C. content to passe by the abridging of ciuill authority.

Christ is the head of the Church, and spiritually governeth the same in the conscience, but because it hath also an outward and visible forme, therefore it requireth an outward and visible government, which Christ dothe execute as well by the ciuill Magistrate, as he dothe by the ecclesiasticall minister, and therefore the government of the Church, in the respect of the externall and visible forme of it, is not onely spiritual. Christ governeth by him selfe spiritually onely, and by his ministers bothe spiritually and externally, and therefore your reason is nothing. But why doe you not answere in this place, to that which I charge them with, touching the ciuill Magistrate? In the former place where I spake no suche thing, you sayde that I brutely surmised, that they shut out the ciuill Magistrate from punishing the wicked: But here when I charge them, that by their application of this place, they take away ciuill Magistrates and other gouernours, that God hath placed in his Church, you answere not one worde. In dede bothe you and they by your false interpretations of this and such lyke places, doe altogether seclude the ciuill Magistrate, from any government of the Church, and in effect say with the Papistes, that he dothe gouerne as he is man, and not as he is a Christian, and that he governeth men in that they be men, and not in that they be Christian men: which may well be spoken of the Turke, having Christians subiect vnder him: but it is wickednesse to thinke it of a Christian Magistrate, and it dothe not muche differ from the opinion of the Anabaptistes.

Chap. 1. the. 11. Diuision.

Ansvvere to the Admonition. Pag. 230. Sect. 5. 6. & Pag. 231. Sect. 1.

In the. 10. Heb. verse. 30. it is thus written: For we knowe hym that hath sayde, vengeance belongeth vnto me, I will recompence sayth the Lorde. And agayne: The Lorde shall iudge his people.

Vengeance



Vengeance belongeth to God, and he shall iudge his people: Ergo, the gouernment of the Church must be spirituall.

I am ashamed of these reasons, and so will you be likewise, if you be not past shame. If you meane that the gouernment of the Church is spirituall, because God by his spirite, gyftes, and ministerie of hys worde dothe gouerne it, you saye truely, although these places be vnaptly alleaged: but if you meane, that therefore there neede no ciuill Magistrates, no ciuill and politike lawes, no externall discipline, no outwarde ceremonies and orders, you are greatly deceyued, and ioyne with the Anabaptistes, whose errour in that poynt is sufficiently by dyuers learned men confuted. And therefore I will not as yet intermeddle therewith, vntill I vnderstande further of your meaning.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

This is leste vnanswered.

The reasons which T. C. vseth agaynst ciuill

offices in ecclesiasticall persons, examined. Chap. 2.  
the first Division.

T. C. Pag. 167. Sect. 1.

Nowe that I haue shewed that the places quoted by the Admonition, are for the most parte to the purpose of that they be quoted for, I will adde a reason or two to this purpose, before I come to answer to those reasons which are brought by M. Doctor. Here I must desire the Reader to remember (which I sayde before, when I spake agaynst non residence) the multitude & difficultie of those things which are required of the minister of the word of God. And withal I wil leaue to the consideration of euery one, the great infirmitie and weaknesse which is in men, both the which considerations ser together, it will easily appeare howe vnmeet a thing it is, that the minister should haue any other charge layde vpon him, seeing that it beeing so weightie an office, as will require all the gyftes he hath, be they neuer so great, it must needes fall out, that so muche as he dothe in an other calling, so muche he leaueeth vndone in this.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

The Reader may easily iudge howe fitly they were alleaged, in that they needed your commentarie to teache the application of them, which otherwise woulde haue asked some cunning to make them to serue the turne. But as the places be vnfitly quoted by them, so are they in dede as slenderly defended by you: as may appeare in your Replies, and my Answers.

Your first argument why ecclesiasticall persons may not exercise ciuill offices is this: The multitude and difficultie of those things which are required of the minister are suche, and the weaknesse and infirmitie of man so great, that the minister can not execute any other offices, &c. This had some likelihood in it, if the minister should execute any office contrarie or repugnant to his ecclesiasticall function. But seeing I haue before declared that such ciuill offices as be now committed to Bishops, and other of the Cleargie, be necessarie helpes to their other callings, and moste profitable for the good and quiet gouernment of the Church, this argument of it selfe falleth to the ground. But why may you not as well reason thus: the multitude and greatnesse of those things that are required of a Christian, be suche, and the infirmitie and frailtie of man so great, that if he did nothing but giue him selfe to spirituall meditation, and neuer meddle with worldly affayres, he were not able to doe his full duetie: therefore no Christian man may practise any suche thing, or meddle in worldly and ciuill matters. This argument is the roote of Anabaptisme.

Sh.

Chap.



Chap. 2. the. 2. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 167. in the midst.

And what the hande of man is able to reache heerein, it is to be considered in the Apostles, whome if the office of the ministerie dyd so wholly occupie and set a worke, that they could admyt no other charge with it, yea and were fayne to cast of that which they had, it is cleare that none of those which yue now can beide that function, admit any other publike calling. The story is knowne in the Acts, that the Apostles euen during the tyme that they kept together at Ierusalem, and taught the Church there, were fayne, that they might the better attende vnto preaching and praying (by which two thyngs S. Luke summarily setteth forth the office of the ministerie) to giue othe the charge of prouiding for the poore vnto others, because they were not able to do both. Now for so much as the Apostles endued with suche giftes as none haue bene since, or shall be hereafter, could not discharge together with the office of the minister that also of the Deacon, howe shoulde any man be founde, that together with that office, can discharge the office of a ciuill Magistrate? And if the Apostles would not haue the office of a Deacon, which was ecclesiasticall, and therefore of the same kynde with the ministerie ioyned vnto it, howe muche lesse wyll they suffer that the ministerie should be ioyned with a ciuill office, and therefore of an other kynde? For reason teacheth that there is an easier mingling of those which are of one kynde, than of those which are of dyuers kyndes.

Io. Whitgifte.

Why the Apostles left of the Deaconship. Caluine.

It is euident that the Apostles, from the ascension of Christ into heauen vntill this tyme, did execute both the office of the Apostles, and the office of Deacons also. Wherby it is manifest that these offices may at sometimes meete together in one, and the selfe same person. And M. Caluine vpon the. 6. of the Actes sayth: That they dyd not altogether caste off this care for the poore, *sed leuationem quaesisse vt suo muneri intenti esse possent*, but that they sought an easing thereof, that they might be intentiue vnto their offyce. The causes therfore that moued the Apostles to leaue off from executing the one, that is, the Deaconship, is to be considered. One cause was, the great encrease of the number of Christians, which was now growne to suche a multitude, that the Apostles coulde not well both make prouision for the poore, and geue them selues also bothe to preaching and praying.

An other cause was the murmuring and grudging of the Grecians, who thought that the Apostles had more regarde to prouide for their owne countrey men the Iewes, than for the Grecians being straungers vnto them. Wherfore the Apostles being willing to eschewe this grudging and repyning, dyd for auoyding the suspition of partialitie, will the whole multitude to chosse them Deacons: and both those causes be expresse in the beginning of the. 6. chapter of the Actes.

The thirde cause was, so that the Apostles knewe, that they shoulde shortly be dispersed, and that their office was to goe from place to place, to plant Churches, and preache the Gospell, so that they coulde not now execute the office of Deacons, as they dyd whyle they remayned together.

This being so (as it can not be denied) there can be no likely argument gathered of this place, that ecclesiasticall persons may not haue some kinde of ciuill functions. And if a man well consider howe busie and troublesome an office the Deaconship was at that tyme (the Church being in persecution, and the number of poore great) he shall easily perceyue, that there is no comparison betwixt the troublesomnesse of that office then, and the ciuill offices now committed to ecclesiasticall persons, which be so farre from hundering their ecclesiasticall functions, that they worke the cleane contrarie effect. And yet it is certayne, that the Apostle S. Paule, and Titus, with Luke, or as some thinke, Barnabas, did together with the office of preaching, make collections for the poore. 2. Corinth. 8.

Chap. 2. the. 3. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 167. somewhat towards the ende.

I sayne, how can we iustly remoue the Papistes for the use of bothe the sworde, spirituall and



materiall, when as we are founde in the same faulte our selues? And surely howsoeuer long some hath caused it to sceme, yet in deede it is a very great and vtterable confusion, which may be the easelyer vnderstanded, if so be we set before our eyes, how vncomely and disordered it is, in the like, or rather in the very same case. For let vs imagine the Mayor or Bayliue of a towne, or the King or Emperour of the lande, to come into the pulpit and make a sermon, afterwarde to minister the sacraments, and from the Church to goe with the scepter in his hande vnto the place of iudgement: who would not be amazed to see this, and wonder at it, as at a straunge and monstrous sight? assuredly the self same deformitie it is, when as the minister of the word is made a Justice of peace, or Quorum, a Commissioner, an Earle, or any suche like, to whom the iudgement of matters pertaining to the court of the ciuill Magistrate is committed, especially seeing there are (God be praised) of the Nobilitie and Gentry of this realme, that are able to discharge these offices much better, than those ecclesiasticall persons to whom they are committed.

### Io. Whitgifte.

The Bishop of Rome doth challenge vnto him selfe the whole power and authoritie of the ciuill Magistrate, and that (as he sayth) by the word of God. He boasteth that temporall Princes haue their authoritie from him: and that it is in his power bothe to displace and place them. This we vtterly and most iustly condemne: but that iurisdiction ciuill that we allowe in ecclesiasticall persons, is not the whole power of the ciuill Magistrate, but onely so muche as may helpe to the good gouernment of the Church, and the suppression of vice. Neyther doe we challenge it as due, but receyue it from the ciuill Magistrate as conuenient, and execute it by his authoritie, not by our owne. This you could not but vnderstande, if you had not bin disposed to quarell.

You say, it is an vtterable confusion, &c. but this is a Popish surmise, and the example vsed craftily to verifie the same: for the Papists doe imagine (or at the least they doe maliciously spread abroad) that by giuing to the Prince chiefe authoritie in ecclesiasticall matters, we also giue vnto him power to minister the sacramentes, and to preache the worde: In like maner you would insinuate vnto the Reader, that by allowing ciuill functions in ecclesiasticall persons, we also allowe them to execute all kinde of ciuill functions: which is spoken of you as well to deface the authoritie of the ciuill Magistrate in matters ecclesiasticall, as it is to improue ciuill offices in ecclesiasticall persons. It is neyther confusion, nor vncomelynesse to come from the pulpit, and administration of the Sacraments, to the punishment and correction of vice and wickednesse. Neyther is it any monstrous or straunge sight, for an ecclesiasticall person to execute that kinde of discipline agaynst offendours, which by lawfull authoritie is established in the Church, whether it be by bearing Justice of peace and Quorum, or a Commissioner, or any other suche like office and function.

But remember I pray you what you sayd before in the treatise of Seniors: you there set it downe that they are ecclesiasticall persons: and yet M. Beza (as I haue there declared) sayth that noble men and Princes maye be of the Seignorie, wherfore eyther may ciuill and ecclesiasticall offices mate together in ecclesiasticall persons (whiche you denie) or else can not noble men and Princes be of your Seignorie, as M. Beza affirmeth: or if they be of your Seignorie, they must cast off their Baronies, Earldomes, and ciuill dominions (whiche I am sure they wyll not) or else to conclude, your assertion is straunge, and your Seignorie confused.

I doubt not but that many of the Nobilitie and Gentry of this Realme are more fitte for these things, than ecclesiasticall men are: neyther can I be perswaded, but that they consider how expedient it is notwithstanding, that such functions be committed to some of the cleargie: and I am well assured that they can not but easily espye the deformitie & confusion that your platfome would bring to this Monarchie.

### Chap. 2. the. 4. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 168. Lin. 2.

And if so be that there fall out any question at any time whyche is to be decyded by the worde of God, and wherein the aduise of the minister is needefull, there the ministers helpe maye and ought to be required. For thereof we haue not onely an example in (\*) Esra, where the Princes in a matter of difficultie, came and asked the counsell of Esra, but we haue a playne commaundment

(\*) This place maketh agaynst your selfe.

Ill. ij.



ment in Moses by the Lorde, who commaunded that the cause of perurie should be heard before the Lorde in the Sanctuary, at the hearing wherof the highe Priest should be present, by which commaundement the Lorde dothe not by bringing this cause into the Sanctuary declare, that the iudgement thereof shold apperteyne vnto the ecclesiasticall courtes, but because it being a matter whiche touched the glory of God very expressely, he would haue the Princes whiche were Iudges there, to be the nearer touched, and the deeper affected wth the glory of God, wherof they sawe the sacrament before their eyes, neyther is the high Priest commaunded to be present to this ende, that he should sit as iudge of that matter, but that he might dissolve the difficultes, if any role of the vnderstanding of the Lawe, and that he might pike forwarde, and stirre by by admonition, the princes to whome the iudgement apperteyned, if so be he should see them colde and slacke to reuenge the iniurie done vnto the Lorde. Which thing may the better appeare, in that the handling of the matter, is there appoynted, not vnto the priests, but vnto the Iudges or princes onely, and so likewise of matrimonie and diuorfe, although the iudgement thereof apperteyne vnto the ciuill Magistrate, yet the minister, if there be any difficultie in knowing when it is a lawfull contract, and when the diuorfe is lawfull, may and ought to be consulted wth. Thus may the common wealth and Church enioy bothe the wisdome and learning which is in the minister, & things may be done in that order which God hath appoynted, without suche confounding and unbling of offices and iurisdictions together.

Jo. Whitgiste.

A greater iurisdiction sought in disposing the lease.

You would not haue a minister to enioy any ciuill office, and yet would you not haue the ciuill Magistrate to determine any thing in matters of weyght, without the aduise and counsell of the minister, that is, the Minister must prescribe vnto the ciuill Magistrate what he should doe in all weyghtie and doubtfull causes. This is your drift in this place, so farre as I can gather: else I knowe not to what purpose you should spende so many words, for they conclude nothing agaynst the cause, but with it rather. In dede I haue heard say, that in some Churches which some of you haue gone about to refoyme, the minister was all in all, and in all affayres his aduise and consent was had, else nothing could be done. Whiche authoritie surely passeth all the ciuill iurisdiction, that I knowe any man hath or desireth in this Church. But you may intermeddle in the offices of Maiors, Bayliues, Iustices of peace, & in dede haue an oare in euery mans boate, and yet nothing hinder your Pastoral office: such is the excellencie of your wit and giftes aboue other men, that the same thing may be lawfull in you, a little portion wherof may not be permitted to others.

Deut. 19.

You make a sayre glosse vpon the. 19. of Deuteronomie: but holwe aptly, the Reader may consider if he marke the place well: the words of the text be these: If a false witnesse rise vp agaynst a man to accuse him of trespassse, then bothe the men that strue together shall stande before the Lorde, euen before the Priests and the Iudges whiche shall be in those dayes, and the Iudges shall make diligent inquisition. &c. First here is no word of the Sanctuary, for this that is sayd (before the Lord) M. Caluin in his harmonie doth interpret on this sorte: *Coram Iehoua. i. corā sacerdotibus & iudicibus qui fuerunt in diebus illis*: Before Iehoua, that is, before the Priests and Iudges which were in those dayes. And in dede God is sayde to be there present, where his true ministers are assembled: wherfore your descaunting of the Sanctuary, is without any ground. Moreover it dothe not appeare, by any thing in this place, but that the Priest had as much to doe in the matter, as the iudge had: wherfore this place can not serue your turne in any respect.

The Replyer overthroweth his owne cause.

The place in the. 9. of Esdras maketh altogether agaynst you: for the rulers came to complayne vnto Esdras, that the people had married with the Gentiles, and Esdras toke vpon him as one hauing authoritie, to refoyme it, and to separate them from their wyues, as it evidently appeareth in the tenth chapter, and. 4. and. 5. verse. For certayne of them came vnto Esdras, and spake vnto him in this maner: Arise, for the matter belongeth vnto thee. &c. It appeareth that you haue very smal care what you alleage, so it may seeme to be something.

You adde in the ende, and say: and so likewise of matrimonie and diuorfe. &c. But the Reader must take heede that he imagine not this assertion of yours, to be conteyned in any of these two places quoted by you. It is but your owne bare affirmation, you alleage no authoritie for it.



T. C. Pag. 168. in the midst.

For although Aristotles  $\delta\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\chi\iota\omicron\nu$  and Platoes  $\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  that is, instruments seruing to two purposes, be lawfull in offices of the common wealth, where things are more free, and left in greater libertie to be ordered at the iudgement and aduise of men, especially considering that vpon the diuersitie of the formes of common wealthes, varietie of regimēt may spring, yet in the Church of God, where things are brought to a straghter rule, & which is but one & vni forme, the same may not be suffered. And yet euen those common wealth Philosophers, whiche doe licence vpon occasion, that two offices may meete in one man, holde that it is best, and conuenientest, that every one should haue a particular charge. For Aristotle sayth, it is moste agreeable to nature, that euery should be  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$  that is, one instrument to one vse. And Plato bleseth the prouerbe,  $\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$   $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  agaynst those whych will take vpon them diuers vocations, and not content them selues with one, and they make the meeting of many functions in one man, to be a remedie only in extreme neede, and pouertie of able men.

Not Hercules  
les himselfe  
agaynst troy

## Io. Whitgifte.

These be but wordes onely conteyning no sounde proofes, and require but a short answer, whiche is, that these ciuill and ecclesiasticall offices, whiche we ioine together in one person, tende to one and the same ende, and serue for the same purpose, that is, the quiet and good government of the Church, and the suppression of vice and sinne. I haue proued before, that the externall forme and kinde of government in the Church is not one and vni forme (as you heere affirme) but variable, according to place, person, and time.

Diuers offices may be committed to one man in a common wealth, though there be more fit for the same, excepte you will make the state popular, and restrayne the Prince from the libertie of bestowing suche offices vpon suche as he thinketh moste meete for them, which, if it be well marked, is parte of your dyste. Belike you or some of your friends, lacke offices, and therefore you woulde gladly haue a newe distribution.

## Chap. 2. the. 6. Division.

T. C. Pag. 168. somewhat past the midst

And although bothe be vnlawfull, yet as the case standeth in our realme, it is more tollerable that the ciuill Magistrate should doe the office of a minister, than that the minister should intermeddle with the function of the Magistrate. For when the accounts shall be cast, it will fall out, that there are more sufficient and able men to serue in the common wealth of this realme, than in the Church, and greater want in the one, than in the other.

## Io. Whitgifte.

This reason of yours if it were true dothe but accuse the Prince and his Countell of lacke of due consideration of the state of this Realme: for this is a reason of Pollicie, and not of Diminitie. Undoubtedly you are set by in the chayre of controlement, and your giftes are so great, that you dare presume to prescribe both newe Diminitie, and newe Pollicie. I doe nothing doubt but that the state of this common wealth is better knowne and considered, than that there shall neede any of your aduertisements for the government of it: and therefore I passe ouer these wordes of yours, as boyde of reason, and full of presumption, and suche, whereby of stomacke ouerly you seeke to discredite and to disable the state of the Church, and ecclesiasticall persons, agaynst whome you haue conceived displeasure.



Chap. 2. the. 7. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 168. somevvhat towards the ende.

And if beside this, both authoritie of the worde of God, & light of reason, we will looke vnto the practise of the church many yeres after the tyme of the Apostles, we shall finde that the church hath bene very carefull from time to time, that this order should be kept, that the ministers should not entangle them selues with any thing beside their ministerie, and those thyngs whych the worde of God both necessarily put vpon them, least the strength of theyr mynde, and of theyr body, bee- yng distracted vnto many thyngs, they shoulde be the lesse able to accomplishe their ministerie vnto the full. Which may also partly appeare by that whych I haue alleaged out of Cyprian, whych he will not permit them so much as to be executors of a Testament. And in the. 80. Canon of those whych are ascribed vnto the Apostles, it is enioyned that they should not entangle themselves with world- ly offices, but attende vpon their ecclesiasticall affayres.

Io. Whitgifte.

If you compare the state of the Church befoze the tyme of Christian Kings, with the state of it vnder Christian Kings, you make an vnequall comparison. For howe coulde ecclesiasticall persons enioy any ciuill function, when there was no ciuill Ma- gistrate christian to commit the same vnto them? How could by this meanes the go- uernment of the Church be thought to be helped by the Ciuill Magistrate, when as it had no greater enemies than ciuill Magistrates, who sought by all meanes to sup- presse and destroy it: but no we to your reasons.

To Cyprians authoritie I haue answered befoze.

The Canons of the Apostles haue nowe bene alleaged by you at the least. 4. 02. 5. times, and yet is not their credite and authoritie so firme. But that Canon mea- neth onely suche worldly causes as be impedimentes to their vocation: and I haue tolde you often that ciuill functions be necessarie helpes, to the doing and full ac- complishing of their ecclesiasticall office. I haue expessed in my Answere to the Ad- monition, what worldly affayres a minister of the word may not intangle him selfe with.

Chap. seconde the. 8. diuision.

T. C. Pag. 168. Sect. vlt.

Further in the (\*) concell of Calcedon it was decreed, that, none of the clearkes & cleargie Tom. 1. can. 30. (as it termeth them) should receiue any charge of those whiche are vnder age, vnlesse they were such as the lawes dyd necessarily cast vpon him, whiche it calleth inexcusable charges, meaning by all likelihood the wardship of his brothers children, or some such thing. Where is also declared the cause of that decret. to haue bin, for that there were certayne ministers whiche were Stewards to noble men. And in the. 7. canon of the same concell it is decreed, that none of the cleargie shoulde euer goe to warfare as souldiours or captaynes, or should receiue any secular honors, and if they dyd, they should be excommunicated, or accursed.

Jo. Whitgifte.

Con. Calced.  
can. 3.

The words of the thirde Canon be these: Relation is made vnto this holy Synode, that certayn amongst the cleargie for filthie lucers sake hyer other mens possessions, & take vpon them the causes of secular businesse, and through slouthfulnesse separate themselves fro diuine functions, and runne to the houses of secular persons, & for couetousnesse take vpon the the government of their substance: therefore this holy vniuersall & great Synode hath decreed, that none of these hereafter, that is, Bishop, or Clarke, or Monke, shall hyer possessions, or intermeddle with secular possessions, except those that by lawe are dryuen to take the tuition and care of suche as be vnder age: or those to whome the Bishop of the Citie hath committed the government of ecclesiasticall things, and of Orphanes and wi- dows, which are without succour, or of such persons which neede the helpe of the Church for the feare of God. &c.

This Canon conteyneth nothing contrarie to my assertion, the words of the Ca- non be playne: I shall not neede to vse any exposition of it, Onely I would haue the Reader



Reader marke the weight of your argument, which is this. The Councell of Chalcedon sayeth, that Clerkes may not for filthy lucre sake hyre other mennes possessions, or take vpon them for couetousnesse sake, the gouernment of other mennes possessions, &c. therefore there may be no ciuill office committed vnto them. I will aske no better commentaries to the Canon of the Apostles before alledged, or any other suche like, than this very Canon of the Councell of Chalcedon.

To what purpose do you alledge the.7. Canon of that Councell: did you euer heare me say that I would haue a minister to be a Souldier or a captaine in warre? or enioy any such secular hono: or offices: wherefore you lacke probation when you are constrained to vse this.

## ¶ The reasons vsed in the Answer iustified.

### Chap. 3. the. 1. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 169. Lin. 4. & Sect. 1. 2.

Now I come to M. Doctors arguments which he bringeth to establish this disorder. And first he sayth ministers of the worde may not occupie themselves in worldly businesse, as to be marchants, husbandmen, craftes men, and such like, but they may exercise ciuil offices. (After first of all I perceiue, M. Doctor is of this mynde, that the order of God is not to be broken for small gayne, or when a man must take great toyle of the bodie to breake it: but if it may be broken with getting of hono:, and doing of those things which may be done without toyle, and with great commendation, then it is lawfull to breake it. In deede so the Doct (but in the person of an vniust and ambitious man) sayde, *ἐὶ χρεὶ ἀδικεῖν, τυραννίδος ἐνεκα χρεὶ*, that is. If a man muste do vniustly, he must do it to beare rule.

Secondarily, I do see that M. Doctor will not be shackled and hindered from his ministerie, by a paye of yron fetters, but if he can get a paye of golden fetters, he is contented to be hampered and entangled from doing the office of ministerie committed vnto him. For vnlesse these should be the causes which should moue him to take the one, and refuse the other, verily I see none.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

This is to deride, & not to answer. M Bucer writing vpon the. 4. to the Ephes. Bucer: rehearsing such worldly businesse as withdraue the minister from his function and therefore be not meete for him to exercise, sayth thus: Such businesse, as warfare, market affayres, marchandise, hucksters craft, the ouersight of Innes, Tauerns, and bathes: to exercise vnliberall craftes, as to digge mettals and stones, to burne lyme, to carie sande, to be schauengers, and such like. You haue not yet proued that Gods order is broken, if the ciuill offices which I speake of be committed to Ecclesiasticall persons. Your telling tauntes I leaue to those that profess that cunning.

### Chap. 3. the. 2. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 169. Sect. 2.

Lib. 4. cap. 11.

For whereas he sayth it is a helpe, and maynteyneth religion, in deede that is the reason of the Papistes which M. Calvin confuteth in his institution.

And although it be good and necessary to punish vice and iniquitie, by corporall punishmentes and by ciuill corrections, yet it doth no more followe that that should be done by the ministers, than it followeth that for that preachyng and ministring the Sacramentes, and excommunication are good and necessarie, therefore the same is fitte to be executed by the ciuill magistrate. I graunt the ministers haue also to punish vice, for as the ciuill magistrates punish lighter faultes with some penaltie of monie or losse of member: so the church and the minister especially with the church, hath to punish faultes by reprehensions and rebukes. And as the ciuill magistrate punisheth greater faultes by death: so the minister with other which haue interest, hath with y sword of excommunication power to kill those which be rebellious, and to cut them from the church, as the other doth from the common wealth. And if it be a helpe to the ministers office, that he should meddle with ciuill punishmentes, why should it not be a help vnto the Magistrates office that he should excommunicate and do other thinges pertyning to the Ecclesiasticall discipline?



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

In what wordes doth M. Caluine confute it, or by what reason? you cut of the matter very short: in that booke and chapt. of his Instit. which you haue quoted in the margin, there is no such reason either alleaged or confuted. Only in the 9. Section, he speaketh agaynst the temporall dominion of the Popish Bishops, whiche deriue their excessive power not from the ciuill Magistrate, but fro the Pope, cloking it with this pretence, that it is an ornament and beutie to the kingdome of Christ: which is far from any thing alleaged by me, why it is conuenient that our Bishops haue ciuill authoritie committed vnto them.

It is not so lawfull for the Prince to preach, &c. as for a minister to vse corporall punishment.

1. Sam. 15.

1. Sam. 3.

Excommunication nor the only punishment vied in the Church, Gualter.

I would gladly heare a reason either of the Scripture, or any other authenticall wyter, why it should be as lawfull for a ciuill Magistrate to preache, minister the Sacraments, and excommunicate, as for the Ecclesiasticall minister to vse corporall punishment: it was lawfull for Samuell to kill Agag, being the office of Saule: but it was not lawfull for Saule to offer by sacrifices, that being the office of Samuell. The office and function of a mynister is not in his owne power to commit to whom he list: but the office of the ciuill Magistrate may be committed to whom soeuer it shal please him best to like of, and to thinke most fitte for gouernment.

True it is that excommunication is an Ecclesiasticall censure which the mynister may exercise if the state of the Church will beare it (for reprehension is a discipline lawfull for euery Christian to vse) but it is not the onely censure: for the ciuill magistrate may appoynt other, as shal be to the state of the Church moste conuenient. You know what M. Gualter sayeth. 1. Cor. 5. As the Romaine Bishops vpon this place and such like, haue grounded their excommunication, which is the most effectuell instrument of their tyrannie, whereby they haue cruelly vexed not onely priuate men, but also Kinges and Emperours, and haue bene the causes of ciuill warres and sedition: euen so the Anabaptists whilest they perswade themselves, that there can be no discipline without excommunication, they trouble the churches euery where, and make themselves laughing stockes to all the world, &c. Let euery church follooue that kinde of discipline vvhich is most meete for the countrie vvherein they liue, and vvhich may be moste commodious in respect of time and place: and let no man here rashly prescribe vnto an other, or seeke to binde all men to one and the same forme.

Of old time there hath bene other kinde of punishments, than either reprehensions or excommunication, as it may appeare euen in that Canon attributed to the Apostles which you haue befoze rehearsed: where the punishment appoynted, is deprivation, as it is also in the most of the other Canons, and in diuerse other counsels.

You say that if it be a helpe to the ministers office, that he should meddle with the ciuill punishments: why should it not be a helpe to the magistrates office, that he should excommunicate, &c. The answer is some made. The Magistrate may do that by corporall punishment that the minister can not do by Ecclesiasticall discipline: neither is there any man so desperate, whom the magistrate by his authoritie may not brydle, but such is y time now that fewe regarde the greatest censures of the Church.

*Chap. 3. the. 3. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 169. Sect. 2.

And whereas M. Doctor sayeth they may not be husband men, craftes men, &c. and yet may haue ciuill offices, I thinke far otherwise, that although neyther be lawfull, yet the one were more tollerable than the other. For seing after the ministerie of the worde there is no calling vnder the sunne weightier, & which requireth greater exercise of the minde, than the office of the magistrate, it is agaynst all reason to lay this heauie burthen vpon a man, that is already loden, and hath as much as he is able to beare. It were more equall if they will needes adde vnto the weight of this burthen, to laye some lighter charge of exercising a handy craft, than to breake his backe with the charge of a ciuill Magistrate.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

These worldly assayes of husbandrie, occupations, &c. must needes withdraue him



him from his booke & so make him more vnapt to do his dutie : and they be not at all incident to his office, nor meete for his calling : but the Ciuil offices, that I speake of be both meete for his calling, pertainyng to discipline, and helpe to his office & function, as I haue sayde : wherefore they be so farre from breaking his backe, that they make the rest of his burthen a great deale the easier.

### Chap. 3. the. 4. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 169. Sect. 3.

And whereas in the pollicie of M. Doctor it seemeth a furtherance to the Gospel to ioyne these together which was also the pollicie of the Idolaters (as I haue before declared) in the wisdom of God it hath seemed farre otherwise, which I doubt not did therfore separate the ministerie from this pompe, which is commendable in the ciuil magistrate, least the efficacy and power of the simplicitie of the worde of God and of the ministerie should be obscured, whilst men would attribute the conuersion of soules vnto the gospel due vnto the worde and to the spirit of God, to these glorious shewes. And least whilst the Minister haue the word in one hande, and the sword in the other, men should not be able to iudge so well in their consciences, of the mightie operation of the worde of God in them : for they might doubt with themselves whether the feare and outward shewes of the minister, caried some stroke with them in beleuing the worde.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

One of your reasons conteyned in this place, in effect is this, If ministers should enioy ciuil functions, men would attribute the conuersion of soules vnto these shewes : but that ought they not to do : therefore, &c. I denie your Maior as a sonde and vaine imagination. Another reason you frame on this sorte : If the minister haue both ciuil and Ecclesiasticall power, men should not be able to iudge in their consciences of the mightie operation of the worde of God in them : for they might doubt whether the feare of the outward shewe of the minister caried some stroke with them, &c. This is as bayne an imagination as is the other : and they both may as aptly be applied agaynst the authoritie of the ciuil Magistrate, as agaynst the ciuil iurisdiction of the minister : yea in dede they serue to the ouerthrow of all kinde of ciuil punishment. For if the Magistrate make sharpe lawes for comming to the Church, hearing the worde of God, condemning religion, and such like, men that by such meanes are driuen to heare the worde of God, &c. & so at the length conuerted, may doubt whether the worde hath wrought this in them or the feare of outward punishment. Do you not marke how he still limiteth at the Magistrate ? Perceiue you not how neare he approacheth to the opinion of the Anabaptistes, who would haue no kinde of discipline in the Church but only excommunication ?

The Replis argument limiteth as well at the ciuill magistrate as at the Ecclesiasticall.

But to Answer you briefly, God vseth corporall punishments as a meanes to driue euen the elect to the hearing of the worde of God, & to honestie of lyfe. He vseth it also to bypde the wicked, that by their exaples other men might learne to beware, and that they themselves also may be kepte in order. And no man that is truly conuerted by the preaching of the worde, can doubt but that God by the working of his spirit, thorough the ministerie of his worde, hath wrought that good in him, though by externall meanes (as feare of punishment, and such lyke) he was first as it were enforced to heare the worde, and to keepe himselfe in order. In dede if these reasons of yours were of any force, the Magistrate might put vp his sword, specially in Ecclesiasticall matters, and so might the minister lay aside his authoritie also, least any thing be ascribed therevnto. Your glaunce (that this was also the pollicie of the Idolaters) though you haue no where proued it, yet haue I answered it before.

God vseth corporall punishment as a meanes to saluation.

### Chap. 3. the. 5. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 169. Sect. vlt.

But M. Doctor sayth that ciuil offices are not to be counted worldly affayres, but heavenly and spirituall, it is so : and yet when they are compared with the Ecclesiasticall offices, they may be called secular offices, for so much as they together with the care of religion, procure and prouide for



for the things whereby we may quietly and commodiously live here, where the Ecclesiasticall offices are immediatly and onely bent to procure the glory of God and the saluation of men, and in that signification of heavenly and spirituall which you take, merchandise, husbandry, and the handicrafte be heavenly, and spirituall, although not in the same degree. All lawfull callings came from God, and returne to him agayne, that is, he is both author of them and they ought to be referred to his glory, so that if the mynister may exercise all things which be heavenly and spirituall, you may as well byng him downe to the plough, as promote him to the court.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The civil jurisdiction now used is in some respect ecclesiasticall.

I call them Ecclesiasticall, because they pertaine to the inward man, to the reformation of manners, to the punishment of sinne, to the mayntenance of Religion, to the quietnesse of the Church, and good order in the same: so do not all cyvill offices, much lesse, husbandry, merchandise, handicraftes, goyng to the plough and suche lyke, whiche onely pertaine to the body and to this lyfe, not beyng referred to the endes, that I have befoze named. Wherefoze here your wittes sayled you, and I looke for a better Answer.

*Chap. 3. the. 6. Division.*

T.C. Pag. 170. Lin. 6.

**Interlocutor** M. Doctor sayth that the office of a commissioner is Ecclesiasticall, because it handleth Ecclesiasticall causes, I marvel that he is so ignorant, that he can not put a difference betwene giving iudiciall sentences, and appoynting bodely punishments, (whiche are meer cyvill) and betwene the understanding the truth of every such cause according as the worde of God deserveth of it: which is a thing common as well unto the magistrate as unto the mynister, & where in the mynister because he ought to be most ready, ought (if neede be) consulted with.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Surely I thinke you scarce understande your selfe: for if the causes be Ecclesiasticall, why may not the punishment by the Magistrate appoynted unto them be executed by Ecclesiasticall persons, having authoritie from the Prince by commission so to do: and if the Ecclesiasticall person may give sentence and iudgement in these Ecclesiasticall causes, why may he not consent also to the punishments appoynted for the same: I do not meane he should be the Jaylor, or tormentor himselfe, but to iudge the person offending worthy of this or that kinde of punishment, and to give sentence of the crime that he hath committed, & to determine of the cause that is called into iudgement.

*Chap. 3. the. 7. Division.*

T.C. Pag. 170. Sect. 1.

An other of M. Doctors reasons is, that as Kinges do serve Christe by making lawes for him, so Bishops do serve Christe by executyng lawes for him: as though it perteyned not unto the Magistrates to execute lawes as well as to make them, and as if the magistrate were not therefore called a speaking lawe, because by executing them he dothe cause the lawes after a fashion to speake. This is to deuide the stake of the magistrate, betwene him and the Bishop, yea to give the Bishop the best parte of it. For we know that with vs, the people be at making of the lawes, which may not meddle with the execution of them. And if M. Doctor say, that he meaneth not hereby, to shut the Prince from executing the lawes, then as his similitude (when it is at the best) proueth nothing: so by this meanes it halts downe right, and is no similitude.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The Prince executeth his lawes by himselfe, & he also executeth them by other to whome he hath given that authoritie for the fuller and better execution of them: in this number are the Bishops, for the authoritie they have in suche matters, they have from the Prince: and therefore their executing of it is not to deuide stake with the Cyvill Magistrate, but to do good service both to God and the Magistrate.



## Chap. 3. the. 8. Diuision.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 217. Sect. 1. 2.

What say you to Elye and Samuell, were they not both Priests and iudges: what office did the Prophete Elias execute, when he killed the false prophets of Baal. 1. Reg. 18. or Christ when he whipt the buyers and sellers out of the temple: what office did Paule committe to Timothy, when he sayde *aduersus Presbyterum, &c.*

I woulde not haue a mynister to be a warriour, or a farmer, or a marchant, or haue any such like office, which consisteth in gayne or boddy labour only. But why he may not haue suche an office as is profitable to encrease godlinesse, and punish bngodlinesse, I heare as yet no reason. As for the office of an high commissioner, it is Ecclesiasticall, for they haue to do only in causes Ecclesiasticall.

T.C. Pag. 170. Sect. 1.

And for Elye and Samuell, they are extraordinary examples, whiche may thereby appeare, for that both these offices first meeting in Helchisedech, and afterwarde in Moyses, were by the commaundement of God seuered, when as the Lorde toke from Moyses (beyng so wise and godly a man) the Priesthoope and gave it to Aaron, and to his successors. And so, for so much as when the Lorde would polishe his church & make it famous & renowned in the world he gave this order: it appeareth that he would haue this to be a perpetuall rule vnto his church. And by so much it is the clearer, for that the Lorde did not tarie vntill Moyses death, but tooke the priesthoope away from Moyses, which was a man as able to execute both, as either Elye or Samuell.

## Io. Whitgiste.

It is not certayne whether Moyses were euer Priest or no: for where it is sayd in the 99. Psalm. *Moses & Aaron in sacerdotibus eius*, the Hebrew worde is doubtfull and signifieth as well a Prince, as a Priest: & therefore vpon this place it cannot necessarily be concluded, that Moyses was a Priest. Moreouer at that time the chiefe rulers & men of greatest authoritie were called Priests: but you neuer redde that Moyses offered by any sacrifices for sinne, which was the proper office of the Priest: Neyther can you tell vs where he was euer consecrated Priest. In deepe Harding against the Apologie doth alledge this example of Moyses, being as he sayeth both a ciuill Magistrate and a Priest, to proue that the Pope may be both King and Priest.

But be it as you say, that these two offices were distinguished in Moyses & Aaron, & that the Priests office which consisteth in offering oblations & sacrifices was taken from him, yet did he keepe still his former authoritie in gouerning the church, and in prescribing to Aaron what he should do, euen in matters perteyning to the worship of God: so that these two offices (I meane ciuill and Ecclesiasticall) are not so distinct, but that they may both aptly & well meete & ioyne together. Furthermore you know that howsoever the priesthoope & ciuill Magistracie were deuided in Moyses and Aaron, yet mette they both together againe not onely in Elye & Samuell, but in Eldas, Achemias, Mattathias and some other, which examples proue that vpon occasion these offices may meete together in one Person, & they quite ouerthrow your allegation of Moyses.

It is doubtfull whether Moyses were priest.

Ciuill and ecclesiasticall offices mette in one.

## Chap. 3. the. 9. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 170. Sect. 1.

And this may be also easily seene, for that in a manner alwayes, where there was any good & stayde estate of the church, these offices were ministered by seueral persons, and then mette and were mingled, when the estates were very ruinous and miserable. And if this be a good reason to proue that ministers may exercise ciuill offices, it is as good a reason to proue that princes may preach, and minister the Sacraments. For if the ministers may exercise ciuill offices, because Elye & Samuell (beyng ministers) did so: the Princes and iudges may preach the worde and minister the Sacraments because Elye and Samuell (being Princes and iudges) did so. And so we see how Mr. Doctour going about to defend one confusion, bringeth in an other.

Io. Whitgiste.



*Io. Whitgifte.*

**T. C. confesse**  
seth the ground  
of all these con-  
trouersies.

Here you confesse that which hitherto in your whole booke you haue denied, and that which is in deede the whole grounde of the chiefe matters in controuersie, that is, that the gouernment of the Church may be diuerse according to the diuersitie of the time and state of the same: as in the time of persecution it may be otherwise gouerned than in time of peace, otherwise when the state is established, than when it is ruynous and in decaye, for say you: In a manner alwayes where there was any good and stayed estate of the church these offices were ministered by seuerall persons, and then mette and were mingled, when the estates were very ruynous.

Thus haue you granted of your owne accorde, that which hitherto you haue so stidly and stoutly denied: such is the might & force of the truth. And yet the church was in good state all Samuels time, and the mooste parte of Elyes also, for any thing that I can reade to the contrarie.

The state of  
the controuersie  
altered by the  
Replier.

I brought in those examples to proue that these offices haue mette together, and therefore be not so diuers as you would make them. I do not vse them to this end, that I would haue a Priest to be a King, you know the state of our question is onely whether Bishops may exercise those ciuill functions of Iusticeship of Peace, and such like, which the Prince committeth vnto them or no, and not whether they may sitte in the Princes throne, and take hir Scepter out of hir hande whether she will or no, as the Pope doth. And therefore whereas you say that by these cruples of Elye and Samuell, I may as well conclude that Princes may preach the worde and minister the sacraments, as Priests and ministers execute ciuill offices: I thinke you do not consider that these ciuill offices be but accidents to the priesthode, & therefore may well be remo- ued, as they were from Samuell when Saule was chosen King: for Samuell kepte his Priesthode though he lost his ciuill authoritie: but the Priesthode is not so to the ciuill magistrate, except he will be ordinarily and lawfully admitted therevnto. I thinke that there is no degree of dignitie that maketh a man vnniete for the mi- nisterie, if he be therevnto lawfully called, and haue other giftes meete for the same: wherefore as it followeth not that a minister in the respect that he is a minister ought to haue a ciuill office, but that he may haue one if he be by the ciuill Magi- strate therevnto appoynted, so it doth not follow that a ciuill Magistrate ought to be a minister of the worde, but that he may be if he be meete and therevnto ordinarily and lawfully called and admitted. The Priestste may not take vpon him the office of the ciuill Magistrate, vnlesse he be called lawfully vnto it: nor the ciuill Magistrate may not take vpon him the office of a Priest, vnlesse he be ordinarily therevnto ad- mitted. And this is no confusion at all.

*Chap. 3. the. 10. Diuision.*

T. C. Pag. 170. Sect. 2.

As for Elias killing the false Prophetes, and our Saviour Christs whipping out of the temple, it is strange that M. Doctor will alledge them, as thinges to be followed, when he may as well teach, that we may call for fire from heauen, as Elias did, and being demanded an- swere nothing, as our Saviour did: as to followe these actions whiche are mooste singular and extraordinarie. And if these one or two examples be enough to breake the order that God hath sette, by this a man may proue that the ministers may be fishers, and tente makers, because Peter and Paule (being ministers) did fishe and make tents. And truly these are not so extraordinary, and from the generall rule as the other be. And it was permitted in a Councell, that rather than a minister should haue two benefices, he might labour with his handes to supply his wante withall.

rom. 7. cō.  
Nict. ca. 15.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Yet by these examples, & especially by the examples of Christ, it may appeare, that Ecclesiasticall persons haue vsed corporall punishments, which you call ciuill.



I knowe examples make no rule, and therfore al your argumentes out of the scrip-  
tures, alleadged before to proue that the election of ministers ought to be popular, re-  
ceyue the same answer that you giue to me in this place: and yet examples if they  
be not agaynst any commaundement, or god order established, declare what hath  
bene, and what vpon the lyke occasions may be done, but not what of necessitie  
ought to be done. If you can proue any order of God sette downe, that an Eccle-  
siasticall person may by no meanes exercise any ciuill offices, I yelde vnto you: if  
you can not do it, then do I alledge no examples tending to the breaking of any order  
that God hath set. I knowe not why the ministers of the Gospell may not do as Peter  
& Paule did vpon the lyke occasion. And therfore your alleddging of p corrupt Councel  
of spice (which notwithstanding you haue not truly alleadged) is not necessitie. I haue  
spoken of that Canon before, and therfore will not trouble the Reader with it  
nowe, being from this purpose.

### Chap. 3. the. 11. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 170. Sect. 23.

When Sanct Paule willed Tim, that he shoulde not receyue an accusation agaynst an elder,  
vnder two or three witnesses, he did committe nothing lesse, than any ciuill office vnto him. And  
M. Doctor himselfe hath alleadged it before, as a thing incident to the office of a Byshop; and  
therefore he doth forget himselfe maruellously now, that maketh this a ciuill office.

And doth M. Doctor thinke that S. Paule made magistrates? Or is he of that iudgemente,  
that the Church in the time of persecution, may make ciuill officers? But it is true, that he that is  
once ouer the shoules, sticketh not to runne ouer his bootes.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

I alleadged it before, to proue the superiortie of Bishops ouer other ministers:  
Now I do alledge it to proue that the same byshops may exercise that iurisdiction  
which you call ciuill: for in that the iudgement of such causes were committed vnto  
him, it argueth his superiortie: In that there is named accusers, and witnesses, it de-  
clareth a kind of ciuill iurisdiction, to the which those wordes do pertain. So that this  
moethie being an ecclesiasticall person had prescribed vnto him that kind of proceeding  
to iudgement, that may be called ciuill.

The iurisdic-  
tion of Timo-  
thy in some  
respect ciuill.

### Chap. 3. the. 12. Diuision.

Answer to the Admonition Page. 218. Sect. 1.

It pleaseth you to say that it is against Gods worde for Bishops  
to haue prisons, but your margent is very barren of proofes: for you  
haue not quoted one place of scripture to proue it: onely you say that  
Popish Eugenius did first bring them in, whiche is a very slender ar-  
gument to proue them to be against the word of God. Did not Pe-  
ter punish Ananias and Saphira very streightly for their dissimula-  
tion: Surely farre more greuously than if he had put them in pri-  
son, and yet their offence was not against any ordinarie law made in  
the Church or common weale. But where reade you that Eugenius  
did first inuent them?

T. C. Pag. 170. Sect. vii.

And last of all to proue that byshops may haue prisons, he citeth Peter which punished Ana-  
nias and Saphira with death, M. Doctor muste vnderstande that this was ecclesiasticall  
power, and was done by vertue of that function whiche Saynte Paule calleth a *tyxan*,  
whiche is one of those functions that the Lorde placeth in hys Church for a time.  
But is this a good argumente. Because Saynte Peter punished with the worde,  
therefore



therfore the minister may punish with the sword: And because Saint Peter didde so once, therfore the Bishop may doe so alwaye: And because Saint Peter did that whiche appertayneth to no ciuill magistrate, and whiche no ciuill magistrate, by any meanes maye or can doe, therfore the minister maye doe that whiche apperteyneth vnto the Ciuill magistrate: For if there hadde bin a ciuill magistrate, the same coulde not haue punished this faulte of dissimulation whiche was not knowne, nor declared it selfe by anye outwarde action: So that if this example proue any thing, it proueth that the minister may doe, that no man may doe, but the Lorde onely, whiche is to punish fautes that are hidde and vnkowne. If this bee ignorance it is very grosse, and if it be against knowledge, it is more dangerous. I haue determined with my selfe, to leave vnto M. Doctor his outcries, and declamations, and if I shoulde haue vsed them as often as he giueth occasion, there woulde be no ende of writing. The Lorde giue M. Doctor eyther better knowledge, or better conscience.

Jo. Whitgife.

Ministers may vse temporall punishment.

I vse this example of Peter, to shewe that is not agaynst Gods worde for the ministers of the Gospell to punish any by imprisonment: For Peter being a minister of the Gospell dyd punishe with death, whiche is muche more than to imprison: and as Peter did this lawfully by an extraordinarie power, so maye the ministers of the worde punish by imprisonment whiche is a farre lesse kynde of punishment, beyng lawfully therunto authorized by the ciuill Magistrate, according to the orders of the common wealth and state of the Church. Therfore my reason is this: Peter punished with temporall punishment, being a minister of the worde, and he dyd nothing repugnant to his vocation, therfore it is not repugnant to the office of a minister of the worde to punish with temporall punishment. Agayne, Peter punished with death: therfore the minister maye punish with imprisonment: I speake *de facto*, of the dedde done, not *de modo*, of the maner of doing it. And I doubt not but that seeing it was lawfull for Peter to kill by an especiall and extraordinarie power: so it may be lawfull for the minister of the word to imprison, by an vsuall and ordinarie power. And so are all your Collections made in vaine, and framed according to your owne pleasure, not to my meaning. If you haue done it of ignorance, you are to be excused: if of set purpose, you are to be blamed.

Peters punishing of Ananias was by ciuill iurisdiction. Beza de Heret. a Magistr. puniendis.

And whereas you say, that M. Doctor must vnderstand, that this was ecclesiasticall power: I say on the other side that you must vnderstand, that this was not ecclesiasticall but mere ciuill, which you might haue learned of M. Beza in diuers places of his booke de Hereticis a Magistratu pun. For thus he writeth. *Cedo igitur, Christus quo iure flagellum his corripuit? quo iure Petrus Ananiam & Saphiram occidit? quo iure Paulus Elymam excecavit? Num ecclesiastici ministri? minime profecto: nisi iurisdictiones confundas. Ergo ciuili Magistrate iure: Nihil enim est tertium.* Tell me therefore, by what lawe did Christ take the whip in hand twice: by what lawe did Peter kill Ananias and Saphira: by what right did Paule strike Elymas with blindness: did they those things by the right of the ecclesiasticall ministerie? no truly, except you will confound iuridictions. They did it therefore by the right of ciuill magistracie: forther is no meane. And to the same purpose doth he speake sundry times in that booke.

What outcries I haue vsed, or declamations which you haue not in ample manner requited, adding to the same al opprobrious kind of speeches, and iesting taunts that you woulde deuise, let the indifferent Reader iudge: wherfore I hartely wish vnto you, both better knowledge, and better conscience.

Chap. 3. the. 13. Diuision.

T.C. Page. 171. Sect. 1.

Vnto M. Doctor asking where it appeareth that Pope Eugenius brought in prisons into the Church, as also vnto the three or fouer such like demands which he maketh in this booke, the authours of the Admonition answer at once, that this, and the other are found in Pantaleon, and M. Sales Chronicles.

Io. Whitgife.



## Io. Whitgifte.

What authoꝛs doe they alleadge foꝛ them? foꝛ bothe these be but very late wꝛiters, and this is a matter of hystorie, and therfoꝛe requireth some greate antiquitie neuer vnto the tyme of Eugenius, who liued Anno. 650. but you knowe verie well that our Bishops claim not this authoritie by any constitution oꝛ canon of the Pope: neither doe they exercise it in their owne name: but they haue it from the Prince, and in his name, and by his authoritie do they vse it.

## Chap. 3. the. 14. Diuision.

Bishop of Sarum.

Both these governments were confounded in Moses. Therefore they may be confounded, and the Priestes of Israell had the iudgement and government of the people, and S. Augustine was troubled with hearing and determining of causes, as it appeareth by Possidonius. And where you say, to be a chief or a ruler is a ciuill government: nay, in ecclesiasticall causes, it is ecclesiasticall government, and not ciuill. And these differences of government may not so vnaduisedly be confounded. This is the key of ecclesiasticall correction, and belongeth onely to the ecclesiasticall officer, and to none other. Hereof Sainte Paule sayth, *Seniorem ne corripueris nisi sub. &c. Tradidi illum Satanae. &c.* This iurisdiction, is not ciuill but ecclesiasticall, and therefore may be exercised by an ecclesiasticall person.

Ecclesiasticall and ciuill iurisdiction confounded in Moses.

Augustine heareth ciuill causes.

T. C. Pag. 171. Sect. 1. 2.

Here I will take in that whiche the Bishop of Sarisburie hath in the last page of his hault sheete touching this matter.

And first of all I well agree that he sayth, that to giue vnto Sathan (which is to excommunicate, and to correct an ecclesiasticall person by reprehension, oꝛ putting him out of the ministerie, if the cause so require) is mere ecclesiasticall, and not ciuill, and that those things ought to be done of the officers of the Church. This onely I denye, that the ministers ought to meddle with ciuill offices. Foꝛ prooꝛe whereof, the Bishop alleageth the example of Augustine, whiche as Possidonius writeth was troubled with the hearing & determining of causes. Wherin Possidonius sayth nothing, but that I willingly agree vnto. Foꝛ the minister with the elders ought both to heare and determine of causes, but of such causes, as pertaine vnto their knowledge, whereof I haue spoken before. And that Possidonius ment such causes as belonged vnto Augustine, as he was a minister, and not of ciuill affaires, it appeareth by that which he writeth immediately after, where he sayth: Being also consulted of by certain in their worldly affaires, he wrote epistles to diuers, but he accounted of this, as of compulsion, and restraynte from his better busynesse. Wherby it appeareth, that S. Augustine medled not with those worldly affaires, further than by way of giuing counsell, which is not vnlawfull foꝛ a minister to doe, as one friende vnto another, so that his ministerie be not thereby hindered.

## Jo. Whitgifte.

What S. Augustine did in such matters, and whether he were occupied in worldly matters oꝛ no, and that he was not a counsell giuer only, but also a iudge, it shall best appeare by his owne wordes spoken of himselfe, whiche are so playne and euident, that after you haue hearde them, you will be ashamed of this answer to Possidonius, and of your former assertion also. Augustine therfoꝛe in his booke *de opere Monachorum*, of this matter writeth thus: VVho feedeth a flock, and doth not receiue of the milke of the flocke? And yet I call to witnesse vpon my soule the Lorde Iesus, in whose name I doe boldly speake these thinges, that touchyng myne owne commoditie, I hadde rather euerye daye (as it is appoynted in well ordered Monasteries) to worke some thyng wyth my handes, and to haue the other houres free, to reade, and to praye, or too dooe some thyng in the Holye Scriptures, than too suffer the

Augustine iudge in worldly matters.

Aug. lib. de opere Monac.

Tit ij.

tumult.



Augustine thinketh that the holy ghost hath bounde Bishops to ciuill causes.

tumultuous perplexities of other mennes causes touchyng secular busynesse, eyther in determining them by iudging, or in cutting them off by intreatyng: to the whyche troubles the Apostle hath bounde vs, not by his owne iudgement, but by the iudgement of hym whyche hadde speake in him, and yet hee himselfe did not suffer these troubles, for the discourse of his Apostleship was otherwyse. Here in playne wordes hee declareth, that it was secular busynesse aboute the whyche he was occupied: and although he seeme to complayne of the multitude of suche busynesse, yet dothe hee acknowledge the same to be lawfull, iuste, and conueniente, and therefore he addeth, and sayeth: VVhyche laboure notwithstandyng, wee suffer not without the consolation of the Lorde, for the hope of eternall lyfe, that wee maye bryng forth frute wyth pacience: for wee are seruautes of that Church, and especially to the weaker members, what members soeuer wee are, in the same bodie. And a little after hee sayeth, That hee coulde not omitte those busynesse, withoute the omitting of his durye. To the same effecte dothe he speake in that Treatise that is among his Epistles in number an hundred and ten, where he desyrez the people that they woulde not moleste hym for the space of fyue dayes wyth theyr worldly matters, by reason of certayne busynesse committed vnto hym, as it appeareth in these wordes: It pleaseth mee and you, for the care of the scriptures, whych the brethren and fathers, my fellowe Bishops dydde vouchesafe to laye vppon mee in the Councells of Numidia and Carthage, for the space of fyue dayes no man shoulde trouble mee. These thynges were propounded, you were contente, youre decree and consente was reherfed: it was kepte but a small tyme, and afterwarde you did violently brust in vnto mee, neyther coulde I bee suffered to doe that whyche I woulde: In the forenoone and in the after noone, I am troubled with mennes busynesse: I desyre you for Chrystes sake, to suffer me to committe the care of my troubles to Eradius this yong man, and prieste, whome thys daye in the name of Christ, I appoynt to be your bishop and my successour.

Ang. epi. 110.

Possidonius nameth no elders, but speaketh onely of Augustine, and whosoever shall with diligence peruse the nintenth chapter of Possidonius, shall be enforced to confesse that he meaneth Augustine was occupied as well in ciuill, as ecclesiasticall matters, and in determining of them, as in writing of letters for them, or in giuyng of counsell. Wherefore this example of Augustine is moste fitly alleaged of the Bishop of Sarum, and manifestly declareth what was the vse in his dayes touching suche matters.

### Chap. 3. the. 15. Diuision.

T. C. Pag. 171. Sect. 2.

(\*) But you shall not fynde him contrary to himselfe, as you surmise.

And for the truth of thys matter, that ministers oughte not to meddle wyth ciuill affayres, (\*) I will appeale to no other, than to the Bishop himselfe, who doth affirme playnly the same that the admonition here affirmeth.

The Bishop of sarum in the defense of the Apol. in the. 5. parte. 4. chap. 2. lect.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

Mr. Jewell speaketh not againste ciuill offices in ministers simply but allowed them by his owne practise

In that place the Bishop of Sarisburie speaketh onely of the Pope, who usurpeth the whole and full authoritie of a secular Prince, and doth chalenge the same iure diuino, by the authoritie of Gods worde. He speaketh not of suche Bishops, to whom so muche ciuill authoritie is committed by the Prince, as maye serue to the correction of vice, and good and quyet governmente of the Church: for so much as hee did himselfe exerceise the same. And surely it is not well done of you, thus to charge that worthy man with contrarieties vniustly. For doth he that confuteth the Popes vniust claime, and vngodly usurpation of both the swordes in that maner y he claymeth & vseth them, condemne al maner & kind of ciuill iurisdiction by christian Princes



Princes committed to Bishops, being helpees vnto them in doing their duetic, and tending to the good and quiet gouernemente of the Church? Surely you are good in confounding, but too bad in distinguishing: wherefore you haue vntuly reported of that worthy Bishop.

### Chap. 3. the. 16. Diuision.

T.C. Pag. 171. Sect. 3.

And therefore I conclude that forsomuche as (\*) bothe the holie scriptures do teache, that ministers ought not to meddle with ciuill offices, and reason, and the practise of the Church do confirme it, that they ought to kepe themselves within the limites of the ministerie and ecclesiastical functions, least whylest they breake forth into the calling of a Magistrate, in stead of shewing themselves εὐσεβεῖς, that is ouersers, they be founde to declare themselves ἀλλοτρίοις κόπας that is busy bodies, meddling in things which belong not vnto them. And thus putting them in remembrance of that whiche they knowe well mough that they ought κοσμεῖν ὁπάρτην ἢ ἐλα- κοσμεῖν. χου, that is to say, studie to adorne that charge whiche they take in hand, and do professe, I leaue to speake any further of this matter.

(\*) Wherefore you are not ashamed of vntuly

### Io. Whigifte.

Melchisedech being a Priest did exercise ciuill iurisdiction, for he was king of Salem. Gen. 14. Aaron being a Priest did iudge the whole people in temporall matters euen in causes of inheritance. Num. 27. In the. 17. of Deuteronomie, there is a commaundement, that ciuill matters of difficultie shal be referred to the Priests and to the iudge. Elye and Samuel Priests did iudge the people in matters temporall. The people of Israell after theyr captiuitie were gouerned by Priests and Prophets, as by Elisha, Jehonias, Mattathias. &c. The Scripture in no place commaundeth the contrarie, nor moueth vnto it, yet you are not ashamed to say, that the holie scriptures doe teache, that ministers ought not to meddle with ciuill offices.

The scriptures teach that ecclesiastical persons maye haue ciuill iurisdiction.

Gen. 14.

Num. 27.

Deut. 17.

1. Sam.

Likevise in Augustines tyme it is euident by the wordes befoze recited, that it was not strange, but vsuall, and counted a peece of duetic for Bishops to deale in Ciuil causes, and that as Judges. The authours of the Centuries, in the fourth Centur. chap. 7. say that Bishops in that age did giue sentence in ciuil causes, if anye didde appeale from the Ciuill courtes to their authoritie. Sozomene lib. 1. cap. 9. wryteth thus of Constantine the Emperour. This was a greate argumente of his good affection towards Christian religion, that he made a lawe for the freedome of clearkes in all places, and also hee gaue libertie for those that were called into iudgemente to appeale to the Bishops, if they were disposed to refuse the ciuill magistrates: and he commaunded that their sentence should stand, and be of more force, than the sentence of the other iudges, euen as though it had proceeded from the Emperour hymse. And that the Magistrates and their ministers should see that accomplished, that was determined and iudged in suche causes by the Bishops.

The practise of the church concerning ciuill offices in ministers.

Bishops gaue sentence in ciuil causes

Cent. 4. cap. 7.

Sozom. li. 1.

cap. 9.

Appeale graffed from ciuill magistrates to Bishops.

Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 9. maketh mention of one Phileas a Bishop, that was greatly commended, for his wisdom and dexteritie in determining ciuill matters committed vnto him. Sozomene lib. 6. cap. 32. testifieth of Epiphanius Bishop of Salamine that together with his pastozall office, he was occupied, and that with greate commendation in ciuill and politike affaires.

Niceph. lib. 7.

cap. 9.

Soz. li. 6. c. 32.

Epiphanius busied with ciuil causes.

Euseb. lib. 7.

Eusebius lib. 7. cap. 32. testifieth, that Dorotheus being a Priest of the Church of Antioche, and wel learned, did serue the Emperour in ciuill businesse.

cap. 32.

Dorotheus.

Theodosius the Emperour made a lawe, wherein it was decreed, that all ciuil tryes and controuersies shoulde be referred to the iudgemente of the church, if either of the parties did desire it. And the same lawe did Carolus Magnus, afterwards reneued and confirme: and yet doe you saye, that the practise of the church dothe confirme that

Duaren. lib. 1.

Utr. iii.

Bishops



**Bishops may not meddle with ciuill offices.**

Some ciuill  
iurisdiction  
giuen to Bi-  
shops is agre-  
able to reason

If you see to reason: is it not good reason, that a Bishop shoulde haue that of-  
fice, and that authoritie, that maye helpe hym, in doing his due tie, in correcting  
vice, in procuring peace, in mainteyning good order, in cutting off sedes, schis-  
mes, and suche lyke: in accomplishing all whiche he that seeth not howe muche  
he is helped by suche ciuill authoritie, as the Prince committeth vnto hym, is ey-  
ther voyde of reason, or wilfully blynded.

The conclu-  
sion of this  
matter.

Wherefore I may moste iustly conclude, that for so muche as the holpe Scriptures  
doe teache, that Ecclesiasticall persons maye meddle with ciuill offices, the practyse  
of the Church confirmeth the same, and reason telleth that it is conuenient: and see-  
ing that suche as practise them both in the maner and forme before declared, breake  
not forth into any other mannes calling, but not themselves in things whiche belong not vnto  
them, but walke in their calling, occupie themselves in matters incidente vnto it,  
and do good seruice both to God, their Prince, and their countrey: these offices may  
very aptly concurre and meete together in one person, and be profitably linked  
and ioyned together in one man. This did Augustine confesse, and acknowledgeth  
that the Apostle hath bounde them to these troubles, not by his owne iudgement, but by  
iudgement of him that did speake in him: as I haue before declared: This haue the  
godlie Bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, &c. consented vnto: this do the graue, wise  
and learned Bishops in our tyme in this Church by experience knowe.

Bishops  
bounde by the  
holpe ghost to  
ciuill troubles

Admonition.

The eightenth. And birds of the same fether, are couetous patrones of benefices, persons, bi-  
carn, readers, parish priests, stipendaries, & riding chaplains, & vnder the authoritie of their masters  
spoule their flocks of food of their soules, (a) such seeke not the Lord Iesus, but their own bellies  
(b) cloudes that are without rayne, trees without fruite (c) painted sepulchers full of dead bones,  
fatted in all aboundance of iniquitie, and leane locustes, in all feeling, knowledge and syncretie.

a  
Phi. 21. 2. 8  
b  
Iud. 12.  
c  
Mat. 23. 27.

Ansvere to the Admonition. Pag. 226. Sect. vlt. & 227. Sect. 1.

Couetous  
patrones.

It is true that couetous Patrones of benefices be a great plague  
to this Church, and one of the principall causes of rude and ignorant  
ministers. God graunt some speedie reformation in that poynt.

Neither can I excuse all persons, bicarns. &c. but all this is spo-  
ken without the booke, and therefore not fitlye of you alleadged a-  
gaynst the booke.

T. C. Pag. 171. Sect. 4.

Vnto the two sections I haue spoken in that which hath bene sayde touching excommunica-  
tion, canons, and Prebendaries, &c. And vnto that whiche is contayned in the. 226. and. 227.  
I answere that I can not excuse couetous patrones of benefices, but couetous parsones and bi-  
carns be a greates plague vnto this Church, and one of the principall causes of rude and igno-  
rant people.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I confesse that the couetousnesse of some of them one waye, and the contentious-  
nesse of some of you an other way, hath done muche harme in the Church, & brought  
no small hinderance to the Gospell. I pray God open the heartes of all, that euery  
man may espye his owne deformitie, and be therof ashamed.

T. C. Pag. 171. Sect. vlt.

Lykewise vnto the two next sections, I haue answered before, in speaking against the spiritual  
courtes, which are now vsed, & vnto the next after that in speaking of the orderyng of ministers.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

You haue not answered to this contayned page. 233. I vwill neither iustifie that  
vvhich is amisse, nor condemne that vvhich I knowe not. Only this I say,  
that this taunting spirit of yours seketh rather defamiation than reformation,  
uttereth spitefulnesse of stomacke rather than godlie zeale: for what a deri-  
ding of authoritie & disdayn towards the same is this? three of them would  
be



be enough to sting a man to death, for why they are high commissioners. VVhat example haue you of any godly man, that vsed thus to deride and floure magistrates, you say all this springeth out of that Pontificall, whiche you must allow by subscription. &c. But it had bin well if you had tolde vs out of what part of that Pontificall they spring, and how they be thereof gathered. This you passe over in silence.

## Admonition.

And thus much be spoken as touching this booke, against which to stand, is a wonder to two sorts of men, the one ignorant, the other obstinate. The Lord giue those that be his, understanding in all things, that they may haue iudgement: as for the other, whome the God of this world hath blinded, least they (s) should see and confesse the truth, and so be saued, and that do in the full growth of wickednesse, maliciously resist the truth, God confound them, that his peace may be vpon Israel, and his sauing health vpon this nation.

Ansver to the Admonition. Page. 234. Sect. vlt.

May surely it is a wonder to wise, learned, and godly men, to see this booke so painefully penned, with such aduise perused, and by so long practise allowed, now to be defaced, as it were with friuolous, vnlearned and vnapt reasons, and that by fower sorts of men, Atheists, Papists, and Anabaptists, and as you woulde be counted Puritanes. God of his infinite mercie, giue you charitable, quiet, & thankful minds, and eyther conuert your harts, or roote al such disturbers out of this Church, that we may with one hart and mind serue our Lord God.

Four sorts  
of aduersaries  
to the  
Church.

T.C. Pag. 171. Lin. vlt.

And vnto that which is conteyned in the latter end of the. 234. and the beginning of the. 235. I say that the Church shall iudge of the aptnesse or vnaptnesse of our reasons, & albeit we do fynde faulte with diuers things in the booke, yet we neither oppugne as enemies, nor are by the grace of God eyther Papists, Anabaptists, Atheists or Puritanes, as it pleaseth M. Doctor to call vs. And to the prayer against disturbers of the Church, I say with all my heart. Amen.

## Io. Whitgiste.

I would to God you did not oppugne it as enemies. &c. Surely then would not your fiercenesse nor your bitternes of speech haue bin such as it is. But God forgive you, and to the prayer I say agayne. Amen, Amen.

## Admonition.

If this be not playne enough by that which is already set forth, we trust by Gods grace to make it playner, and shoulde do it better, if it were as lawfull for vs (as for our aduersaries) to publish our mindes in print, then shoulde appeare what slender stiffe they bring that are so impudent by open writing to defend it. And if it might please hir Maiestie, by the aduise of you right honorable, in this high Court of Parliament, to heare vs by writing or otherwise, to defend ourselves, then (such is the equitie of our cause) that we would trust to find fauoure in hir Maiesties sight: then those patched Pamphlets, made by lodeine vpstarts, and new conuerts, shoulde appeare in their colours, and truth haue the victorie, and God the glory: if this cannot be obteyned, we will by Gods grace addresse ourselves to defende his truth by suffering, and willingly lay our heads to the blocke. And this shall be our peace, to haue quiet consciences with our God, whome we will abide for, with all patience, vntill he make our full deliuerance.

Ansvere to the Admonition Pag. 243.

And I will not spare my labour from time to time to vtter my mind and conscience in these matters: protesting that if by learning you can perswade me, I will say agayne with Augustine, *Errare possum, hereticus esse nolo*. All the rest of your stoute and suspicious braggs, of your vnderent and vnseemely words, I let passe, and leaue them to be considered as notes of your spirit and modestie. The Queenes Maiestie may assure hir selfe that she hath of learned men a number sufficient, able by learning to mainteine both hir authoritie and lawes

Tit. liij.

which



which his Maieslie hath hitherto vled, and made for the furtherance of the Gospel, and mainteyning of good order and peace in the Church. The Lord of his infinite goodnesse long preserve him, and give vs thankfull hearts to God for him.

T. C. Pag. 172. Sect. 1.

Unto the next section I have answered in the treatise of the apparell. And unto the next after, in the treatise which declareth to whome it both apperteyne to make ceremonies and orders of the Church. And unto the section contained in the. 243. page I say that M. Doctor being asked of opinions, answereth of garlike. For the Authours of the Admonition, desiring that it might be as lawfull for them to publish by print their minds, or to be heard dispute, or that their mind put in writing might be openly debated, M. Doctor answereth with Augustines sentence which he hath made the fore of his song nothing to the purpose, of that which they sayd, the perfozance of which promise we will notwithstanding wait for.

### Io. Whitgifte.

Why? what have they sayd there worth the answering, that I have not directly answered unto? they boast of their writing and of their disputing: And I tell them that I will not spare my labour from time to time, to vnter my mind and conscience in these matters also. What other answer would you have me to make unto them? The saying of S. Augustine commeth in due place: you call it the foot of my song, and I am very well content you should so do, for I intend to sing that song, so long as I live, neither can any mislike it, but such as either be, or intende to be heretikes. I purpose God willing to perfozme all the promises that I have made, and when I thinke from any of them, let me heare of it.

### Admonition.

For the Articles, concerning the substance of doctrine, being a godly interpretation in a poplite or two, which are eyther too sparsely, or else too darkly set downe, we were and are ready, according to due tie to subscribe unto them. We would to God that as they hold the substance together with vs, and we with them, so they would not demie the effect and vertue thereof: then should not our words and works be deuozed, but Christ should be suffered to reigne, a true ministerie according to the word instituted, discipline exercised, Sacraments purely and sincerely ministered: this is that we strue for, and about which we haue suffered, (1) not as evil doers, but for resisting poperie, and refusing to be stoong with the tayle of Antichristian infection, ready (1) to render a reason of our sayth, to the stopping of all our enemies mouths. We therefore for the Church of Gods sake, whiche ought to be most deare unto you, beseech you, for our soueraignes sake, vpon whome we pray that all Gods blessing may be poured abundantly, we pray you to consider of these abuses, to reforme Gods Church according to your duties and callings: that as with one mouth we confesse one Christe, so with one consent this reigne of Antichriste, may be turned out headlong from amongst vs, and Christ our Lord may reigne by his word ouer vs. So your seates shall be established and setled in great assurance, you shall not neede to feare your enemies, for God will turne away his threatned plagues from vs, which he in mercy do for his Churche sake. Amen.

Doctrine.  
The right  
gouern-  
ment of the  
Church  
cannot be  
separated  
from the  
doctrine,  
1. Tim. 3. 2.  
k  
1. Pet. 3. 17  
l  
2. Pet. 3. 15.

Answer to the Admonition. Pag. 245. 246.

Of subscri-  
bing to the  
Articles.

It is very well, that you so like of the articles, but yet it pleaseth you not to subscribe unto them: you say bycause of a point or two which are eyther too sparsely, or else too darkly set downe: but indeede your meaning is to subscribe to nothing, which by authoritie you are required to do, and that argueth an arrogant mind, and a disposition that loueth alway to be singular.

The argumēt  
of the aduer-  
sary retorted  
agaynst him-  
selfe.

You note in the margente that the right gouernment of the Church can neuer be separated from the doctrine: but by your owne confessiō we haue the doctrine, Ergo of necessitie we also haue the righte gouernment. Here in few words you haue cast downe whatsoeuer you seemed befoze to build, so do commonly unskillfull builders.

I would to God that for so much as (contrary to your former as-  
section



section) you now confesse that we haue the veritie of doctrine, you could be content to say, do wne great heart, and submit your selues to the Queenes Maiestie, and his lawes, according to your dutie: then no doubt Christ should without resistance reigne in this Church, and the frutes of the Gospell would much more appeare.

You bragge much of your suffering, you are little beholding to your neighbours, when you are thus constrained to prayse your selues. But I pray you whether dothe he persecute that modestly and soberly defendeth the truthe, or he that vnlawfully reuengeh himselfe, with rayling and backbiting: you loue very well to haue the worlde knowe howe greatly you be persecuted, and therefore if one of you herein Cambridge be punished but twenty pence for his open contempte of statutes to the whiche he is swozne, in post hast it is carried into all quarters, and especially to London, where greate complaynte is made of this greuous persecution, when as you and your disciples, cease not (as I sayde) mosse fallselly and flauderously to repute of such as executing good lawes, discharge theyr conscience to God, and their dutie towarde the Prince.

Persecution  
pretended  
wher none is.

We therefore exhorde you, if there be any feare of God before your eyes, any reuerence towards the Prince, any desire of promoting the Gospell, any louing affection towarde the Church of Christe, to submit your selues according to your duties to godly orders, to leaue off contentiounesse, to ioyne with vs in preaching of the word of God, and beating downe the kingdome of Antichriste, that thys your diuision procure not Gods wrath to be poured vpon vs.

T.C. Pag. 172. Sect. 2.

Here M. Doctor contrary to the protestation of the authours of the Admonition, whiche declare that for the abuses and corruptions, they dare not simply subscribe, saith, that therefore they will not subscribe, because they are required by lawfull authoritie, which how both presumptuous and vncharitable a iudgement it is, let all men iudge, especially vpon this matter, whiche hath bin declared. And where M. Doctor would vpon a marginal note prync. & we haue good discipline, because we haue good doctrine, & ther vpon doth wonderfully triumph, he playeth as he of whome it is said *ὡς ὁ σαῦν κροτῆ καρτεῖα*, that is hauing gotten nothing holdeth it fast. For can M. Doctor be so ignorant, that this manner of speech (doctrine and discipline cannot be seuered) is bled of that that they ought not to be seuered: when as we say (following S. Paule) that we can do nothing against the truth, do we not meane that we ought to do nothing or can do nothing lawfully against it? And do not all men know when we say that a man cannot be separated from his wife, but for the cause of Adultery, that we meane he ought not, or he cannot lawfully? Therefore this is (as all men may see) a meere quill and triumph over his owne shadow. There is no bragge of suffering made by the authours of the Admonition. The modestie wherewith he hath defended this cause, cannot be hidden. That he would haue other men punished for well doing, when he is not content that the open wrongs which he doth, should be once spoken of, I haue shewed how unreasonable it is.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I speake of their denying to subscribe to the Articles concerning the substance of doctrine, which they confesse to be sound vsing a godly interpretation in a poynt or two, &c. What other abuses so euer there be in the booke of common prayer, or in the Church, yet that is no sufficient cause, why they shoulde refuse to subscribe to the truth of doctrine professed in this Church, and conteyned in those Articles. Wherefore saying they



they confesse them to be sound, and yet denie to subscribe, who can otherwise iudge of them, than I haue signified in my Answer.

Can is not  
taken for  
ought, if it be  
spoken simply

I acknowledge my selfe to be ignorant that in this and suche like phrases this word Can, is taken for ought. When Saint Paule saith, that we can do nothing against the truth, he meaneth simply as he speaketh, and doth not there vse Can, for ought. For in dede we can do nothing against the truth, though we do the worst we can. It is no vsuall phrase, but an vnproper kind of speech to say, that a man cannot do a thing, when he should say that he ought not to do it, except he adde some thing, as he cannot do it lawfully, or well, or orderly, and such like. Wherefore my dulnesse is such that I cannot vnderstande suche darke speeches, vntill they be interpreted, and yet whether they woulde so interpret themselves or no, it maye be doubted.

If they bragge not of persecution, wherevnto tende these wordes of theirs, this is that we strue for, about which we haue suffered, not as euill doers, &c. and quote in the margent to proue it. 1. Pet. 3. as though they were persecuted by infidels :

Schismatiks  
deserue to be  
sharply re-  
proued.

How immodest soeuer I am in defending this cause, yet if it be compared eyther to their passing bitterness, or to your spitefull speeches, and vnseemely tauntes and iestes, I shall appeare too simple : and although I must needs say thus much, that disturbers of the common peace of the Church, and Schismatiks, deserue to be with sharpe wordes reproued, yet haue not I vsed that sharpenesse and bitterness, whiche diuerse learned menne bothe olde and newe haue vsed in the lyke case.

If I haue done any man wrong let him come forth and proue it, and I will render vnto him quaduple.

T.C. Pag. 172. Sect. 3.

Finally as you exhort vs to submitte ourselves to good order, whiche haue bin alwayes, and yet are ready to do : to leaue to be contentious, whiche neuer yet began : to ioyne with you in preaching the word of God, whiche haue stopped our mouthes, and will not suffer vs to preache : so we exhort you in Gods behalfe, and as you will once answer it before the iust iudge, that you will not willingly shut your eyes against the truth, that if the Lord vouchsafe to open it vnto you, you like not against it. Wherefore we pray you to take heede, that neither the desire of keeping your wealth and honoure which you are in, nor the hope which you may haue of any further promotion, nor yet the care of keeping your estimation, by mainteining that whiche you haue once set downe, nor the sleight suggestion of craftie and wily Papists, do driue you to stumble against this truth of God, whiche toucheth the gouernment of his Church, and the purging of those corruptions whiche are amongst vs, knowing that you cannot stumble vpon the word of God, but forthwith you runne your selfe against Christ, which is the rocke. And you know that he will not giue backe, but heareth all to fitters, whatsoeuer that rusheth against him.

### Io. Whitgifte.

You do not submit your selues to the order of the Church, which is a good and decent order : you haue filled the Church with maruellous contentions, and haue strangely deuided, euen such as professe the Gospell : your mouthes are not stopped but through your owne procuring.

I do not withstand that which you vntruly call the truth, for any such cause as you surmise, (God who seeth my hart knoweth) but bycause I see these your deuises to be set downe by you without any sufficient warrant in the word of God : agaynst the practise and order of the primitive Church, tending also to dangerous errors, and mere confusion both of the Church and of the common wealth.

T.C. Page. 172. Sect. vlt.

And if the matter herein alleadged, do not satisfie you, then I desire euen before the same G O D, that you confute it, not by passing ouer thynges whiche you cannot answer,



The reuening eye.

answer, or by straining both the words and the meaning of the booke, and taking your owne fanſie to conſute, or by wrangling with the fault of the print, or by carping at the translation, when the wordes being changed the ſenſe remaineth, or by alleadging that ſuch a one, or ſuch another was of this or that iudgement, as you for the moſt part hauing nothing but his bare name) haue done. All which thinges you haue committed in this booke, but that you conſute it, by the authoritie of the worde of God, by good and ſound reaſons, wholly, and not by peecemeale. And if you bring the praſtice of the churches, we deſire that it may be out of authorities which are extant, which are not counterſepte, and which were in the beſt and pureſt times. And if you thinke that the credite of your Doctours, or Deareſt will beare out that which you cannot answer your ſelfe, beſides that which you ſay, in neuer ſhut, remember Mr. Doctoz that lighte is come into the world, and men will not be deluded with nothing, nor abuſed with words, neither let it embolden you (which peraduenture hath made you preſume the more in this booke) to ſay any thing vpon hys that no man dare answer it. For neither the Queeneſſe Maieſtie nor his honorable counſell, as we are perſwaded, will deale to ſhuffle with thoſe, whome they know to be faithfull, and lawfull ſubjects, which pray that all the treaſures of Gods wiſedome may be poured vpon them: neither haue we cauſe to thinke, but that as the euill opinion which is in part conceiued of vs, hath growen vpon falſe and vnttrue informations, which you and ſuch other haue giuen in crying in their eares, that we be Anabaptiſts, conſpired with Papists, Puritanes, Donatiſts, bringers in of conſuſion and anarchy, enemies to ciuill gouernment, and I know not what: euen ſo when his Maieſtie, and their honours ſhall vnderſtand how farre we are from thoſe wicked opinions, they will leaue that opinion of vs, and rather eſteeme of vs, by what we haue preached, taught, and now write, than that which other men report of vs, being thinges which we neuer taught, ſpoke, or ſo much as dreamed of.

*10. Whitzifte.*

It is so farre from suffering me in any point, that it greatly confirmeth me in some thing, whereunto before I did but incline. Such is the weakenesse of your grounds.

¶ Your request made unto me is against all reason, for how can you require that of me towards you, which you haue in no respect performed towards me: for firste, you haue not set downe my booke, that the Reader mighte perceiue, how uprightly you deale with me: secondly, you haue passed ouer many things and left them unanswered: Thirdly, you haue vnrasonably wrested my words, and in most places you do nothing but wangle: you haue mangled my booke, and so skipt from place to place, that the Reader shall hardly perceiue, what you take or what you leaue: to be short, you haue cited few scriptures, and those vtterly wrested. How then can you require the contrary of me? But I haue satisfied your request to the full I trust: saue only I do not intend to learne of you how to answer, what authoritie to vie, but if the authorities and reasons that I bring shall be found to be light, they shall the more easily by you be remoued.

I depend not vppon the credit of my Doctorship: Dearey, neither would I with you too much to trust to the opinion of your owne learning and wite: I say with Saunte Augustine, Let scripture be compared with scripture, reason with reason, authoritie with authoritie, cause with cause, and let vs both according to the same be iudged.

I doubt not of the answering of my booke, neyther do I feare it : you knowe that I haue offered you diuerse tymes this kind of conference, though not in thys publike manner. I haue spoken nothing agaynst you, before hir maiestie, wch the your bookes and doings, haue not proued to be true. Vir Maiestie and their honours know what they haue to do, the Lord blisse them with his holy spirit, and in all their doings guide them.

The Rephe  
requireth  
that of others  
which he him  
selfe woulde  
not performe.

Conference  
by writing  
hath bin often  
offered to the  
Replier.

Of



## Of the additions, detractions, and alterations

made by the admonitors in both the partes of

the Admonition,

T.C. Pag. 173. Sect. 1.

Besides that often times *Dr. Doctor* doth account the exposition and explanations, correctors, be enough to somewhat the same hope, that he will correct his errors, for that he purfueth the authors of the Admonition to haue, correcting their very small and few slips, which they haue made, calling this singular modestie and commendable humilitie amongst other reproches, saying and discourses, when it is our profession every day to learne better things. For into what end should we live, if time, if opportunity, if vantage, if conference should teach us nothing? And therefore when things are printed againe, it is good and payseeworthy, to polishe those things which are somewhat rude, to mitigate those things which are too sharpe, to make playne & to give light to those things which seeme darker, and to correct that which is amisse. I thinke *Dr. Doctor* should not be ignorant, that wise men haue their *Auxiliaries* or *Second* counsellors, and those also wiser and better than their first, as that sentence doth declare. I will therefore say no more heretofore, but admonish *Dr. Doctor*, that he receive more louingly those which correcte themselves, seeing that the best defense to his booke, must be, not a correction here and there, but a cleane blotting, or striking out, not an amending, but a new making almost of his whole booke. Other matter in his censures, he hath almost none at all worth the answering, saying that he hath a place or two, which toucheth the matters before entreated of.

*Jo. Whitgife.*

They which  
will put down  
the olde, and  
place a newe  
platforme,  
oughte to be  
well circumspecte.

It behoueth such as will take vpon them to plucke downe that which is wel builded, and to make a newe platforme, to be well aduised what they do, and assured of their cunning: if this ought to be in humane matters, and in externall affaires of the life of man, how much more ought it to be in diuine matters, and things perpertaining to the kingdome of heaue. I do not mislike that modestie and humilitie, that is contente to be corrected, and to acknowledge that which is amisse. But I can by no meanes allowe that pryde and arrogancie, that presuming to condemne the whole state of a Church, and to prescribe vnto the same a newe platforme, to be by and by after, through unskillfullnesse, and lack of discretion at the first, constrained to mislike that newe platforme also, and to put it and patch it like a beggers cloke, with putting to and taking fro, with altering and changing sometyne this, and sometyne that, like vnto foliis and unskillful buylders. It behoueth such as will take vpon them in church matters to plucke downe that which is already buylded, and to prescribe a newe platforme, to be certain of their cunning, expert in their doings, grounded in learning and experience: not yonglings and nouices, whose yea to day is nay to morrow, whose heads are full of newe toys and deuises, who publish in print their first cogitations and counsels, before they haue any leysure to thinke of their second. This is that which I mislike, and reprove in the authors of the Admonition: for if they had published their mynutes as scholars, and not as maisters: as learners, not as teachers: as putters in mynde of that which best liked themselves, not as prescribers what all other men ought of dutie to followe, they: sodaine corrections had bene much more tollerable. But I will not multiplie wordes with you, neither will I requite that which you contemptuously enoughe haue spoken of my selfe, only I admonithe the Reader to take heed howe he both credite such rash and yong buylders, which so soone as they haue ended their buylding, must be constrained to plucke downe the same againe.

Answer to the Additions, detractions, &c. of the fyrst  
parte of the Admonition,

Doctors and  
Bachelers of  
diuinitie mis-  
liked.

In the preface, to Archbishops, Bishops, Suffraganes, Deanes, &c. they haue added Vniuersitie Doctors, and Bachelers of diuinitie. It would seme that they would haue a confusion of degrees (which they call equalitie) as well in vniuersities, as in Parishes, and other their imagined congregations: marke whether this geare tend not to the ouerthrow of vniuersities, and of all good learning.

T.C.



T.C. Pag. 173. towards the end of the first Section.

For whereas he accuseth the Authors of the Admonition in the first leafe, as though they should condemne Doctors and Bachlers of diuinitie, and so bring in confusion of degrees, he vpon the .5. leafe confelleth that they allow of a Doctor. Although he that taketh away degrees of Doctor of Bachler of diuinitie, doth not bring in confusion, nor taketh not away all degrees of schooles, especially seeing they are now made bare names without any offices, and oftentimes they are admitted to these degrees, which neyther can, nor will teach.

*Jo. Whitgife.*

I say that belike they allowe of a Doctor of law, because they haue left that title out in their seconde edition: and haue in stead thereof placed Doctors, and Bachlers of diuinitie. The cause why you leane so much vnto them in this barbarous opinion, may be coniectured, to be the repulse that you suffered when you earnestly desired the one of them. If the degrees be bestowed vpon vnto these persons (which you are not able to proue at this day) the fault is in the persons that so bestow them, not in the degrees, the taking away whereof, must needs in the ende bring in confusion and barbarisme: and in beede they can by no meanes stand with your platforme, and therefore do you here insinuate that you are content to allow all the degrees in schooles, but onely the degrees in diuinitie, and yet as I sayde before, not long since you greatly desired euen the highest of them.

The cause why the Replier togethly agaynst degrees in diuinitie.

Additions, detractions, and alterations in the first part of the Admonition.

*In the Preface.*

In the margent, for the .15. of Mathew. vers. 23. they haue quoted the .15. of Math. vers. 13. to proue that tyrannous Lordship cannot stand with Christs kingdome: the wordes be these: But he answered and sayd, every plant which my father hath not planted, shall be rooted vp, meaning that such as be not by free adoption and grace grafted in Iesus Christ, shall be rooted vp. But this proueth not their proposition: I do not allow tyrannous Lordship, but I disallow such vnapt reasons.

In the same Preface speaking of Bishops. &c. they haue added these wordes: they were once of our minde, but since their consecration they be so transubstantiated, that they are become such as you see. It may be that consideration of the tyme, place, state, condition, and other circumstances hath altered some of them in some poynts, as wise (and not wilfull) men in such matters by such circumstances be oftentimes altered: but that any one of them were euer of your minde in most things vttered in those two treatises, I can not be perswaded.

*Fol. 1.*

For the .1. Act. vers. 12. is noted. Act. 2. vers. 21. to proue that in the olde Church there was a tryall had both of the Ministers abilitie to instruct, and of their godly conuersation also. The text is this: And it shall be that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lorde shall be saued. Which is farther fro the purpose a great Deale, than the other place is. There is also in the same leafe left out, King Edwards Priests: whiche argueth with howe little discretion, and lesse aduise, the first Admonition was penned.

King Edwards priests left out.

Speaking of learning master Nowels Catechisme, these wordes be added: and so first they consecrate them, and make them Ministers, and then they set them to schoole. This scoffe is answered before, and might very well haue bene left out. And a little after, where it was before, then election

A scoffe.

Abb,

was



A correction  
of a place.

was made by the common consent of the whole Church: now it is thus corrected, then election was made by the Elders, with the common consent of the whole Church: which altereth the matter something, but yet is not proued by the text alleaged out of the first of the Acts, and by me answered before.

Fol. 2.

For Act. 14. verse. 13. is quoted Act. 14. verse. 23. which oversight I my selfe haue corrected in my answere to that place.

Albe left out.

There is also left out an Albe, which before was sayde to be required by the Pontificall in the ordering of ministers. As I sayde before, so I say agayne, that in the booke of ordering ministers, now bled, and printed since Anno dom. 1559. there is neyther required albe, surples, vestiment, nor pastorall staffe.

This lyne is also added, these are required by their Pontifical, meaning surplesse, vestiment. &c. which is untrue, as I haue sayde before.

For thr. 1. Tim. 1. verse. 14. now it is. 1. Tim. 1. verse. 19. but it is not to proue any matter in controuersie, onely it is bñcharitably and bñiustly applyed.

For 1. Sam. 9. verse. 28. is placed. 1. Sam. 9. verse. 18. the selfe same place that I haue answered before.

Where before it was thus wrytten: Then ministers were not so tyed to any forme of prayers inuented by man: now these wordes inuented by man be leste out, and there is added, as necessitie of tyme required, so they mighte poure. &c. I knowe not their meaning, excepte they woulde neyther haue vs bounde to the Lordes prayer, nor any other.

Fol. 3.

Alteration of  
wordes.

It was before, remoue Homilies, Articles, Iniunctions, a prescript order: now it is that prescript order. Wherby it should seeme that they haue learned to allowe of a prescript order of prayers, but not of that prescript order which is in the booke of publike prayers. This is no dallying, neyther yet inconstancie.

For the 3. of Mat. ver. 12. is placed. 3. of Mat. ver. 1. to proue that in the olde time the word was preached before the sacraments were ministred: the place now alleaged is this: In those dayes Iohn the Baptist came and preached in the vvildernesse of Iudea. This proueth that Iohn preached, but it proueth not, that whensoever Iohn did baptise, then he did preach.

A protestation  
by the way.

Queragaynst these wordes, the Nicene creede was not read in their cōmunion, is wrytten in the margent, Note that we condemne not the doctrine coneyned therein. If you condemne not the doctrine therein, what do you then cōdemne? or why mislike you the cōmunion, bicause that creede coneyning true doctrine is read at the celebration therof? It is well that you make this protestation, if you meane good sayth.

Here is also added the 42. ver. Act. 2. to proue that then the sacrament was ministred with cōmon & vsual bread: which place I haue answered before, in answering to the 46. verse of that chapter.

They allowe  
godfathers &  
godmothers  
at the last.

Whereas before it was thus, interrogatories ministred to the Infant, Godfathers and Godmothers brought in by Higinus: now Godfathers and Godmothers brought it by Higinus is left out. It is happy that you are so soone persua-  
ded to



ded to allow of godfathers and godmothers: I perceyue you tooke  
bpon you to set downe a platfome of a Church, befoze you had well  
considered of it.

Fol. 4.

For, some one of the congregation, is now we, some of the congregation: wherby  
they seeme to allowe mo godfathers than one, whiche they dyd not  
befoze.

For the .14. of the Acts, verſe .4. is noted the .15. of the Acts, verſe .4.  
to proue that the office of Seniors was to gouerne the Church with  
the rest of the ministers: but without reason. For it is onely there  
written, that at Jerusalem there was Apostles and Elders, & that  
Paule and Barnabas declared vnto them what things God had  
done by them. I denie not the thing it selfe (whereof I haue suffici-  
ently spoken befoze) but the argument.

These Seniors then bicause their charge was not ouer muche, did execute their office  
in their owne persons: Nowe these wordes, bicause their charge was not ouer much  
be leste out. Wherfoze they haue left them out I knowe not.

Fol. 5.

They haue leste out Doctors three tymes in this lease, whiche be-  
foze they recited with Chauncelors, Archdeacons, Officials, Com-  
missaries, Proctors. Belyke they haue remembred that this worde  
Doctor, is founde in the newe Testament, and especially Doctor  
of lawe.

Why Doct-  
tors of lawe  
be left out.

To proue equalitie of ministers, they haue added Phil. 1. verſe .1.  
1. Thes. 1. 1. The first place is this, Paule and Timotheus the seruants  
of Iesus Christ to all Saints in Christ Iesus that are at Philippi, vvith the  
Bishops and Deacons. The seconde is this: Paule and Syluanus and  
Timotheus vnto the Church of the Thessalonians. &c. Truly I knowe  
not howe to conclude of those places an equalitie of all ministers:  
I would to God you would set downe your places, and frame your  
arguments your selues.

Fol. 6.

They haue forgotten to quote Heb. 6. 1. and haue left out the body and  
braunche of Antichrist, and for the same haue put in the taylor: But these are  
but trifles, and very slender corrections.

Taylor of Ana-  
tichrist.

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

To all these there is nothing sayde, belike the Authoers of the Admonition muste  
answere for them selues, or else prouide another Doctor.

Answer to the additions. &c. of the seconde parte of the admonition.

Fol. 2.

For the first of Tim. 3. verſe .3. nowe they haue quoted. 1. Tim. 3.  
verſe .6. agaynst reading ministers: Where S. Paul would not haue  
a minister to be a yong scholer: but he speaketh nothing agaynst  
reading.

T. C. Pag. 173. Sect. 2.

Vnto the seconde lease of the addition of the second parte of the Admonition, D. Doctor sayth  
that bicause the .3. to Titus, maketh not agaynst reading, therfoze it maketh not agaynst reading  
ministers, that is, ministers that can doe nothing but reade.

Vv. j.

Io. Whit.



*Jo. Whitgiste.*

It is in the .1. Tim. 3. and it maketh agaynst vnlearned Ministers, not agaynst the reading of Ministers: for he may be a reading Minister, and yet learned.

Answer to the Detractions. &c.

Correction of  
a sobeyne.

It was before reading is not feeding, nowe it is thus amended, for bare reading of the worde, and single seruice saying, is bare feeding: whereby they now confesse, that reading is feeding, although it be (as they say) but bare feeding. We were in good case if the platforme of our Church depended vpon these men, which alter their iudgements so sodenly. It is a true saying, *Conueniet nulli qui secum dissidet ipse*. Howe can he agree vwith other, that doth not agree vwith himselfe?

T.C. Pag. 173. Sect. vlt.

(\*) This is ane-  
four, and contra-  
dit to that which  
you haue pa. 158.  
lin. 15. &c.

And where as he would picke out a contradiction in the wordes of the Admonition, because they say bare reading is but bare feeding, the discord is in his eares, not in their wordes. For when they sayde it was no feeding, they ment such feeding as could saue them, and so in calling it bare feeding, they note that there is not (\* enough in that, to keepe them from famishment. And indeede vntill the Lord worke miraculously and extraordinarily (which is not to be looked for of vs) the bare reading of the Scriptures without the preaching, cannot deliuer so much as one poore shepe fro destruction, and from the wolfe. And if some haue bene conuerted wonderfully, yet, *Q. D.* should remem- ber that *πὸ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἔστι ἀγίασμα πέρι*. That is, the water doth not alway beare yron.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

The Replier  
falleth into  
contrarietie  
whiles he see-  
keth to cleare  
the Admoni-  
tion of it.  
Pag. 158. Lin.  
15. &c.  
Iohn. 5.  
2. Tim. 3.  
Tract. 13.

Reading is not feeding, and reading is beare feeding, be both vnturthes, and derogate from the Maiestie and dignitie of the worde of God: but yet in these speeches there is contrarietie, for bare feeding is feeding. What they ment by, not feeding, their wordes following doe declare, for (say they) it is as euill as playing vpon a stage and worde to, &c. whereof I haue spoken before. But whilst you go about to excuse them of contrarie- tie, you fall into it your selfe, for page. 158. of your booke, comparing the reading of the Scriptures, with reading of Homilies, you say, that the worde of God is also plaine and easie to be vnderstanded, & such as giueth vnderstanding to Idiots and to the simple, &c. And now you say, that there is not enough in the reading of the Scriptures, to keepe the people from famish- ment, &c. the which how farre it differeth, from your former wordes, no man is so blind that can not see. Beside this, it is a Popish, and an vngodly opinion, contrarie to the worthinesse and profitableness of the Scriptures: contrarie to the wordes of Christ Iohn. 5. Search the Scripture, &c. contrarie to the wordes of the Apostle. 2. Tim. 3. *Omnia scriptura diuinitus inspirata*. &c. And contrarie to all that, that I haue alleaged before for the reading of the Scriptures, to the which for the further confutation of this vngodly error, I do referre the Reader.

Answer to the Detractions, &c.

Fol. 3.

Correction  
with exceptio.

In the same leafe and fift reason, to these wordes: Besides, that we neuer reade in the new Testament that this worde (Priest) as touching office is vsed in the good part: In the seconde edition is added, except it speake of the Leuiticall Priesthoode or of the Priesthood of Christ. Here as I thinke they haue forgotten that which Peter speaketh to all Christians, in his. 1. Epist. cap. 2. ver. 5. And ye as lyuely stones be made a spirituall house and holy Priesthod to offer vp spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God, by Iesus Christ. & ver. 9. But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood. &c. And Apo. 1. And



And make vs Kings and Priests vnto God &c. I willed them before to  
 Me w me one place in the whole new Testament, where this word  
 Priest as touching the office, is take in euill part; I may be deceyued,  
 but I desire to learne.

T.C. Pag. 174. Sect. 1.

And vpon the .3. leafe, where he giueth instance in the Apocalips of the word (Priest) to be taken  
 otherwise, than for the Levitical priesthood, and priesthood of our saviour Christ. M. D. cannot be  
 ignorant that the Admonition speaketh of those which be priests in deed, & properly, and not by those  
 which are priests by a metaphore and borrowed speech. And whereas he desireth to learne where the  
 worde priest, is taken in euill part in all the new testament. Although all men see how he asketh this  
 question of no man to learne, yet if he will learne (as he sayth) he shall find that in (\*) the Acts of the  
 Apostles it is taken diuers times in euill part. For seeing that the office & function of τὸν ἱερέων,  
 that is, of priests was (after our saviour Christs ascension) naught & vngodly: the name wherby they  
 were called, which did exercise that vngodly function, cannot be otherwise take than in the euill part.

(\*) In what  
 Chapter 1

### Io. Whitgiste.

And what say you to the places of S. Peter, is not this worde (priest) taken in good  
 part there also? I desired to haue one place in all the new Testament named vnto me,  
 where this word priest is taken in euill part, & you send me ouer to the Acts  
 of the Apostles naming neither text nor chapter: & yet that satisfieth not my request,  
 for the Authoys of the Admonition in their corrections, except the Levitical priesthood,  
 and the priesthood of Christ, whereof onely there is mention made in the Acts of the  
 Apostles, except it be in the .14. of the Acts, where Luke speaketh of heathnish priests,  
 as of the priest of Jupiter: so that my question is as yet vnanfwered by you.

Ansvereto the Additions. &c.

Fol. 5.

But of the Bishops benediction by laying on of his handes heare  
 master Caluines iudgement in this Instit. cap. 19. Section. 4. *Talem manu  
 um impositionem quæ simpliciter loco benedictionis fiat, laudo, & restitui boni in purum vsu  
 pelim.* Such imposition of handes as is simplicie made in the stead of blessing, I  
 do commende, and wish that it were restored at this day to the pure vse.  
 There shall you also read the verie self same forme and maner of con-  
 firmation allowed, which is now bled in this Church of England.

Imposition of  
 handes in con-  
 firmation al-  
 lowed by  
 Caluin.

T.C. Pag. 174. Sect. 2.

Master Doctor vpon the .5. leafe, cyteth M. Caluins authoritie to proue that the laying on of  
 the handes vpon yong childzen, & the confirmation which is here bled is good. In the which place,  
 although he allow of a kinde of confirmation, yet he doth not commende that which we haue. For  
 he doth plainly reprove Jerome, for saying that it came from the Apostles, which notwithstanding  
 the confirmation with vs doth affirme. Besides that there are other abuses which I haue noted  
 there, which M. Caluin doth not by any worde allow. He alloweth indeede of a putting on of  
 handes of the children, when they come out of their childehoode, or begin to be yong men, but as  
 well as he doth allow of it, he was one of those which did thrust it out of the Church where he was  
 Pastor. And (\*) so he alloweth of it, that he bringeth (in the first Section of the same Chapter) a  
 strong reason to abolish it. Where he asketh what the imposition of handes shoulde do now, seeing  
 that the giftes of the holy Ghost by that ceremonie is sealed. Therefore seeing that we haue M.  
 Caluins reason agaynst this imposition of handes, his name ought not to be preiudiciall vnto vs:  
 especially seeing that we haue experience of great inconueniences which come by it, which master  
 Caluin could not haue, that thing being not in vse in that Church where he liued. Which inconue-  
 nience in things which are not necessarie, ought to be a iust cause of abolishing of them: And this is  
 not my iudgement onely, but the iudgement of the Churches of Heluetia, Berne, Tigurine, Ge-  
 nena, Scotlande, and diuers others as appeareth in the .19. Chap. of their confession.

(\*) Here you  
 make M. Caluine  
 contrarie to him  
 selfe, but vn-  
 truly.

### Io. Whitgiste.

Here you would shift of M. Caluins authoritie if you knew how: but having ouer-  
 pressed with his manifest wordes, you flee to your common & vsual refuge, that is,

The common  
 refuge of the  
 Kephers is to  
 discredit the  
 Authour.

Abb. ig.

to



Caluin vn-  
truly char-  
ged with con-  
trariety by the  
Replier.

Caluin inst.  
cap. 9. sect. 4.

A kind of con-  
firmation de-  
scribed by  
Caluin, not  
disagreeing  
from ours.

The abuse of  
confirmation  
in the popish  
Church.

to discredit the Author, by charging him with contrarieties in this matter: for you confesse that he alloweth a kind of confirmation: you say also that he alloweth in deed of a putting on of handes of the children, when they come out of their chuldhoope or begin to be yong men: and againe you affirme: that he was one of those, that did thrust it oute of the Church where he was Pastor: and that he bringeth in the 6. Section of the same Chapter a strong reason to abolish it. Thus you set Master Caluine against himselfe, and that in the same Chapter, which cannot but turne to his great discredit, if it were true: but you greatly abuse both the Reader and him: for in the. 4. section which I haue alledged, he speaketh of that maner of confirmation & imposition of handes which was vsed in the olde Church, and the same that is now vsed in the Church of Englande, which he alloweth and wisheth restored: In the fifth and sixth sections he speaketh of the maner and forme of confirmation, and laying on of handes vsed by the Papists, and disproueth that: as his owne wordes, (which I haue for that purpose more at large set downe) do plainly declare: for in the fourth Section of the. 19. Chapter thus he wyrteth. This was the maner in tymes past, that the children of Christians shoulde bee set before the Bishop, after they were come to yeares of discretion, that they might performe that, which was required of them, that being of age did offer themselves to baptisme. For these sat among the Catechumeni, vntill (being rightly instructed in the mysteries of sayth) they were able to viter a confession of their sayth, before the Bishop and the people. The infants therefore that were baptised, because then they made no confession of sayth in the Church: at the ende of their chuldhoope, or in the beginning of their youth, they were againe presented of their parents, and were examined of the Bishop, according to a certaine and common forme of a Catechisme. And to the intent that this action (which otherwise ought of right to be graue and holy) might haue the greater reuerence and estimation, there was added also the ceremonie of laying on of handes, so the childe was dismissed, his sayth being approued with a solemne blessing. The auncient fathers make often mention of this order. Pope Leo, If any man returne from heretikes, let him not againe be baptised, but let the vertue of the spirite (which was wanting) be giuen vnto him by the laying on of the Bishops handes. Here our aduersaries will crie, that it is rightly called a Sacrament, wherein the holy Ghost is giuen. But Leo himselfe doth in another place expounde what he meaneth by those wordes: He that is baptised (sayth he) of heretikes, let him not be rebaptised, but let him be confirmed, with the inuocation of the holy Ghost, by the imposition of handes: because he receyued only the forme of baptisme without sanctification. Hierome also maketh mention hercof, *contra Luciferianos*. Although I doe not denie, that Hierome is somewhat herein deceyued, that he sayth that it is an Apostolicall obseruation: yet is he most farre from these mens follies. And he mittigateth it, when he sayth that this blessing was graunted only to the Bishop, rather for the honour of priesthood, than by the necessitie of the law. VVherefore such an imposition of handes which is simply in stead of a blessing, I commend, and would wish it were at these dayes restored to the pure vse.

These wordes be euident, & declare a maner of confirmation correspondent to ours. In the fifth Section he wyrteth thus. But the latter age haue brought in a counterfeit confirmation in stead of a Sacrament of God, the thing it selfe beeing almost quite blotted out. They feyne this to be the vertue of confirmation, to giue the holy Ghost vnto the encrease of grace, whiche was giuen in baptisme to innocencie of lyfe, to confirme them vnto battail, which in baptisme were regenerated vnto life. This confirmation is wrought with annointing, and this forme of wordes: I signe the with the signe of the holy Ghost, and I confirme thee with the oyntment of saluation, in the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the holy ghost. &c. And in confuting this maner of confirmation, and imposition of handes, he proceedeth on in this fifth Section, & in the sixth Section. Wherefore Master Caluine is not contrarie to himselfe, neyther disalloweth that kinde of confirmation and imposition of handes in the sixth Section, which he alloweth in the fourth. But in the one he approueth the maner of the auncient and purer Church touching confirmation: in the other he disproueth the vse & doctrine of the papistical church, concerning the same. This might you haue sene, if you had bin disposed: but you care not whom you discredit so that you may winne credit to your selfe.

The



The confession of the Churches of Helvetia, Berne, &c. speake only of the Popishe confirmation, which the Papists make one of their seuen Sacraments, as it is manifest by the wordes of the confession which be these. Confirmation and extreame unction or anealing, are the inuentions of man, which the church may wante without any damage: Neither vse we them in our churches, for they haue some things which we can not allowe. Nowe to vse that against Confirmation, reformed & purged from these things which they mislike, which is spoken of the Popishe confirmation with all the abuses, can it be (thinke you) the parte of an honest, and playne dealing man?

The Replie  
bieth that a-  
gainst our  
confirmation  
which is spo-  
ken of the Pa-  
pists.  
Confess. Hel-  
uet. cap. 19.

Answer to the Additions, &c.

Fol. 6.

In the ende of that fiftenth article of reason, this is added: And whiche of them haue not preached against the Popes twoo swordes: now whether they vse the not them selues? Touching the Popes twoo swordes, we are of the same minde still, for the Pope contrary to the word of God taketh from Princes vnto him selfe, that authoritie which is due vnto them by the worde of God, and would haue them to receiue that authoritie from him, whiche he hath no power to giue: the Pope also requirerth the full authoritie of a ciuill magistrate, and exempteth him self from all subiection, which is flat contrary to the word of God: our Bishops in this church do not challenge (as of their owne right) any such ciuill authoritie, but only according to their dutie execute that, that by the Prince, and lawes of this realme, for iust considerations is laide vpon them. Neither do they meddle in all ciuill causes, or exercise all ciuill iurisdiction, but suche only as helpeth to discipline, and to the good gouernment of this church and state: wherfore we may safely preach against the Popes twoo swordes, and yet lawefully defend that iurisdiction and authoritie, that any Bishop hath in this church for any thing that I knowe.

Bishops doe  
not vse the ci-  
uill swordes as  
the pope doth.

T.C. Page. 174. Sect. 3.

Upon the first lease M. Doctor saith that the Pope taketh the swordes from Princes, but our Bishops take it at their handes, and giuen of them: as though challenge were not made against the Pope for vsing the materiall sword, and not only for vsing it against the wil of the Princes. For by that reason if Princes would put their swordes in his hande, as sometimes they haue done; he might lawefully vse them. And whereas he saith that our churchmen meddle not with all ciuill causes, or exercise all ciuill iurisdiction, but such as helpeth to discipline, and the good gouernment of the church, & the estate. What sayth he, that is not truly sayd of any ciuill magistrate in the realme. For no one doth meddle in all causes. And further I would gladly knowe what ciuill iurisdiction is in this realme, which helpeth not vnto the good gouernment of this church and estate. For if they medle with al that, there is none which they haue not to do with.

Io. Whitgiste.

The thing it selfe declareth and the practise of this church is euident, in what sorte and condition such ciuill offices are committed to ecclesiasticall persons: and that they do not rule as kinges, but as subiectes to kinges, nor that they challenge not this of any other authoritie, but from the Prince, and that they vse it to no other end than the good and godly gouernment of the church: whereas the Pope ruleth as Emperoure and kyng, not as subiecte: challengeth his authoritie of dutie, and by the word of God, not by the graunte of Princes, and vseth it moste Tyrannically, even to the placing and displacing of kinges and Emperours at his pleasure. And this is that vsurped iurisdiction which all good men crye out of, and mislike, and not the other which is ordinary, vsuall and lawefull. When I saye that Bishops haue that ciuill iurisdiction which helpeth to discipline, and the good gouernment of the church and state: all men may vnderstande that I meane suche ciuill iurisdiction, as is

Differēce be-  
twixt the ciuill  
iurisdiction of  
the Pope, & of  
our Bishops.



meete for them to execute, and agreeable to their vocation and calling.

Answer to the Additions. &c.

Fol. 7.

**Whereas before it was thus in the margin, and. 19. reason:**  
To proue that the regiment of the Church should bee spirituall, reade **Ephes. 1. 23.**  
**1. Thes. 5. 13. 1. Tim. 5. 2. Heb. 10. 30.** nowe it is thus altered: to proue that  
the regiment of the church should be spirituall, reade Caluine in his Commentaries vpon  
these places **Ephes. 1. 23. 1. Thes. 5. 13. 1. Ti. 5. 2. Heb. 10. 30.** Belike bicause  
the scriptures them selues doe not sufficiently proue your assertion,  
therefore you would haue vs to leaue them, and to rest vpon Caluines  
interpretation, which is nothing else but to preferre mans iudgement  
before the word of God, or to giue M. Caluine authoritie to conclude  
that which is not determined by the scripture. If this be not your  
meaning why flie you from those places them selues to M. Caluines  
interpretation vpon them? But what if you now abuse M. Caluines  
Commentaries vpon these places as you did before the places them  
selues? In his commentaries vpon **Ephes. 1. vers. 23.** This is al that  
he sayth touching this matter. *Nam dicuntur Christus omnia perficiat, nuntius virtutes  
sua: tamen specialiter loquitur hic Paulus de spirituali ecclesie gubernatione. Quamquam nihil interea  
impedit quominus de vniuersali mundi gubernatione accipias.* For howe soeuer Christe  
maketh perfecte all things with his becke and by his powver, yet Paule spea-  
keth here especially of the spirituall gouernment of the church. Although  
that in the meane time it is no hinderance, why thou maist not also vnder-  
stande it of the vniuersall gouernment of the world. These wordes serue  
little for your purpose. There is no man that doubteth, but that  
Christe doth spiritually gouerne his church, and reigne in the hearts  
of the faithfull by his spirit: But your meaning is that the gouern-  
ment of the church is only spirituall, which you can no more gather  
of these wordes of Caluine, than you may that of the gouernment the  
whole worlde ought only to be spirituall.

The same Caluine writing vpon **1. Thes. 5. vers. 12.** for the which  
you haue noted the **13.** sayth on this sorte: *Hoc additum videtur, ad notandum  
spirituale regimen, tamen si enim reges quoque & magistratus Dei ordinatione praesunt, quia tamen ec-  
clesie gubernationem dominus peculiariter vult suam agnoscere, ideo nominatim praesse in Domino di-  
cuntur, qui Christi nomine & mandato ecclesiam gubernant.* This seemes to be added to note  
the spirituall regiment, For although kings also and magistrates do gouerne  
by the ordinance of God, yet bicause the Lorde would haue the gouernment  
of the church knowen peculiarly to be his, therefore namely they are sayde  
to rule in the Lorde, which gouerne the church in the name of Christe and  
by his commaundement. Hether to Caluine also affirmed that which  
no man denieth, that God doth by the ministerie of his worde, spiri-  
tually gouerne his church. But this taketh not awaye the ciuill ma-  
gistrate, neither yet ciuill lawes made by the Magistrate externally  
also to gouerne the church. In his Commentaries **1. Ti. 5. vers. 2.** he  
speaketh not one worde of this matter for any thing that I can per-  
ceiue. Upon the place to the Hebrewes, he onely sheweth that God  
doth gouerne his church, the which I thinke no man is so wicked as  
to de-



to denye. You must more plainly set it downe what your meaning in this matter is, before you can be fully answered. For to proue that God doth spirituallly gouerne his church is needlesse, being Denied of none, either Papiste or Protestante: but thereupon to conclude that the ciuill Magistrate is secluded from the gouernment of the church, or that there nedeth no externall regiment, is dangerous and sa-  
Anabaptisme after a sort de- sended.

T. C. Page. 174. Sect. vii.

Upon the seuenth leafe he sayth that he knoweth not the meaning of the Admonition, when it proueth that the gouernment of the church is spirituall, their meaning is playne enough and I haue declared it more at large to be, not only that our Saviour Christ ruleth by his spirite in the hearts of his elect, (besides which gouernment M. Doctor seemeth to knowe none) but that there is also spiri-  
tuall gouernment, which is in the whole church visible and to be scene, exercised by those whom God hath appointed in his steade, called spirituall, because wheras the ciuill gouernment bleth the sworde, this bleth the worde, and where the ciuill gouernour adzeleth him selfe vnto the body, and hath that for speciall matter to worke on: the spirituall gouernours be occupied in reforming the mynde, and subduing that with those punishmentes & corrections which God hath appointed for that purpose. Which signification of spirituall gouernment, M. Caluine doth speake of in both the places alleadged by M. Doctor, and especially in the latter, vnto whom the Admonition sent the Reader, not thereby to giue more weight vnto the trueth, but that he might haue there a playner, and fuller vnderstanding of that which is ment, and could not for that breuitie and shortnesse which it followeth throughout, better at large. Whereby it is manifest, that the Admonition is so farre fro shutting out either ciuill gouernment or externall gouernment in the church, that it teacheth of an externall gouernment which M. Doctor seemeth not to haue heard of, albeit there be nothing either more common in the scriptures, or ecclesiasticall writers.

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

You replie not to my answere, neither doe you tell vs why you haue lefte out the places of Scripture befoze quoted, and in place thereof put M. Caluine: Neither haue you salued their vnapt and vnfitte alleadging of M. Caluine, who is farre from prouing their purpose in those places which they haue noted. In dede the true spiri-  
The whole externall go- uernment of the church is not spirituall.  
 tuall gouernment of the church is the ruling of Christ by his spirite in the heartes of the elect: neither do I denie but that admonition, exhortation, and excommunication pertaine also to the spirituall gouernment of the church, because they pertaine to the inward man, and vse no corporall force or punishment: but I denie the whole go-  
The ciuill ma- gistrate exclu- ded from go- uernment of the church.  
 uernment of the church to consist here in, for I haue proued befoze, and it cannot be denied, but that God hath chiefly and principally committed the gouernment of his church to the Christian magistrate, by the sworde also, and by conuenient lawes and orders to gouerne the same with an externall kinde of gouernment: and therefore that which I denie, neither you nor they haue as yet proued, or can proue: that is, that the gouernment of the church is only spiritual. But still the Reader may note holde you labour cleane to shut out the ciuill magistrate from the gouernment of the church. For if the gouernment of it be only spiritual (which you labour to proue) then what hath the ciuill magistrate to do therewith: Admonish and exhort he may not: exco-  
Subtil speech of the Replier. Gouernour in the church, not of the church.  
 municate he cannot: and therefore hath he by your doctrine no more to doe in the go- uernment of the church, which consisteth in these and such like spirituall actions, than the poorest subiecte in this lande. For when you saye that the Admonition is farre from shutting out either ciuill gouernment or externall gouernment in the church, you speake subtilly in saying in the church, not, of the church, for you confesse that the ciuill magistrate is a gouernour in the church, but not of the church, that is, he gouerneth the common wealth which is conteyned in the church, but he doth not gouerne the church. And howe simply and playnely you deale.

Answer to the Additions. &c.

Fol. 8.

In the margent ouer against the. 21. reason, there is this note: It con-  
 teyneth



teyneth manifest blasphemie as may appeare. Ephes. 1. 17. meaning this saying of the Bishop to those that are admitted mynisters: Receyue the holy Ghost. The place in that chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians proueth no such thing, these be the wordes: I cease not to giue thanks for you making mention of you in my prayers, that the God of our Lorde Iesus Christe the father of glory, might giue vnto you the spirite of wisdom, and reuelation thorough the knowlledge of him. What sequele is there in this argument? S. Paule prayed that God would giue to the Ephesians the spirite of wisdom and reuelation through the knowlledge of him: Ergo, this saying of the Bishop (Receyue the holy Ghost) to those that are admitted into the mynisterie, conteyneth manifest blasphemie. Such is your vsuall manner of reasoning.

T.C. Pag. 175. Sect. 1.

Upon the 8. leafe, M. Doctor sayth he seeth nothing how the place of the Ephes. maketh any thing agaynst this manner of speech of the Bishop, (Receyue the holy Ghost) and yet it maketh thus much, that for as much as the Apostles did vse to pray that the grace of God might be giuen vnto men, the Bishops should not vse this manner of speache, whiche conteyneth the forme of a commandment.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Tract. 4. Cap.  
2. lib. 4. Di-  
uis.

This is farre from prouing the wordes to conteyne a manifest blasphemie. Of the manner of speaking these wordes, vpon what consideration the Bishops vse the same forme, and that they may do it, I haue shewed before.

Answer to the Additions. &c.

Fol. 9.

All this is added: Neyther is the cōtrouersie betwixt them and vs as they would beare the world in hand: as for a cap, a tippet, or a surplesse, but for greater matters concerning a true ministerie and regiment of the Church according to the worde. Which things once established, the other melt away of themselves: and yet consider I pray you, whether their owne argument doth not choake themselves, for euen the very name of trifles doth playnly declare that they ought not to be maynteyned in Christes church: and what shall our Bishops winne by it? forsooth that they be maynteyners of trifles, and trifling Bishops, consuming the greatest part of their time in those trifles, whereas they should be better occupied, VVe strue for true religiō and gouernment of the Church, and shew you the right way to throw out Antichrist both head and tayle, and that we will not so much as communicate with the tayle of the beast: But they after they haue thrust out Antichriste by the head, go aboute to pull him in agayne by the tayle, cunningly colouring it, least any man should espie his foote steps, as Cacus did when he stole the oxen.

What other men haue done, I know not, but for my parte, I alwayes suspected & partly knewe, that some of you had greater matters in hand, and of more importance than cap, tippet, and surplesse, which surely was one of the firste causes that moued me to be more earnest agaynst you, than I was accustomed: for I did vnderstand that you were hatching opinions tending not only to Anabaptisme, but to the ouerthrow of the Gospel, & disturbing the quiet state of this church:

Great mat-  
ters preceded  
not yet bite-  
red.



church: and yet who knoweth not that you haue made the cappe, and surplisse your pretence hether to, vntill now of late when you see almost all men condemne your folly.

You say, we choake our selues with our owne argumēt, for euen the very name of trifles doth playnely declare, that they ought not to be maynteyned in Christes church. Surely of themselues they be but trifles, as all other externall Ceremonies and indifferent thinges be: it is the circumstances that maketh them no tryfles, but matters of weight: For thinges indifferent beyng commaunded thus or so to be bled by the Magistrate (not as necessarie to saluation and iustification, but as conuenient and necessarie for order and decencie) be not now trifles. And whosoever without a lawfull bygent cause, or in a case of necessitie dothe breake the lawe made of them, sheweth himself a disordered person, disobedient, a contemner of lawfull authoritie, and a wounder of his weake brothers conscience. And if any man shall say, that this is to bring vs agayne in bondage of the lawe, and to deprive vs of our libertie: I answer, no: for it is not a matter of iustification but of order: and to be vnder a lawe, is no taking away of Christian libertie. *Christian libertie what it is.* For the Christian libertie is not a licence to do what thou list, but to serue God in newnesse of minde, & that for loue, not for seruaile feare. Of themselues therefore they be but trifles, but beyng commaunded by the Magistrate to be bled, or not to be bled, they are no trifles, no more than it was for women to come into the Church bareheaded, or a man to pray hauing his cappe on his head, after that S. Paule had made an order to the contrarie. And therefore these scoffes and floutes (And what shall our Bishops winne by it? forsooth that they be maynteyners of tryfles, and tryfling Bishops, consuming the greatest parte of their time in these tryfles, whereas they should be better occupied) might with more commendation of your modestie haue bene well forborne. They see your doinges tende not onely to contention but to confusion: not onely to disobedience towarde the lawes of the Prince, but also to dangerous errors, yea to the ouerthrow of Religion: & therefore they are neither maynteyners of tryfles, nor tryfling Bishops, but wyse, discrete, vigilant, and learned fathers, whiche seeke to maynteyne peace, preserue good order, defende the authoritie of lawfull lawes, and in time suppress erroneous doctrine.

You rather spende the time in trifles, when you might be better occupied, for you (omitting all other necessary pointes of doctrine, and profitable exhortations to good life) stuffe your sermons, and furnish your table talke with nothing else, but with bitter inuectiues against those rites, as though they were matters of damnation, and against those learned and discrete ministers of the woorde, who (according to their dutie vsing of them) seeke in deede to beate downe Antichrist to plante necessary pointes of Religion in mens heartes, and to teach repentance with newnesse of life: which your vnfruitfull, frowarde, and contentious dealing, reioyseth the Papiste, discrediteth the sounde and learned preacher, offendeth the godlye, woundeth the weake, worketh contempte of Magistrates and superiours in the hearts

*Inuective  
Sermons.*

*Unfruitfull  
sermons.*



heartes of the hearers, destroyeth that which other men buyld, and finally doth good to none. For what fruite can there come to the hearers, by inueighing continually against Cappe, Tippet, Surplesse, Ring in marriage, womens whyte ketchers, baggepipes, funerall sermons, mourning aparel. &c. Bishoppes, Preachers, Magistrates, Prince & These and suche lyke be onely the common places, you encrease of.

T. C. Pag. 175. Sect. 2.

Upon the ninth leafe he hath sundry greivous accusations and charges of disorder, disobedience, and contempt, against those which refuse the aparel, and labourer to perswade that they are great and weighty matters. But his ppoofes were spent before.

### *Io. Whitgiste.*

The ppoofes that I haue here bled gawles you shewely, & will not be answered with such disdaine: let the learned Reader consider of them, and marke howe well you haue spoken for your selfe.

Answer to the Additions. &c.

Fol. 1.

There is added Portuis, for where before they sayde that our booke of Common prayers was culled and picked out of that Popyshe dunghill the Massebooke, nowe bypon better aduiselement, they saye that it was culled out of the portuis and Masse booke. It derogateth nothing from the booke of Common prayers, bicause something therein is in the portuis and massebooke, no more than it derogateth from the scriptures, that some portion of them, as the whole Psalmes, and certain other portions of the Epistles, Gospels, and other Scripture, bee in the same: neyther are they allowed bicause they be in the portuis and massebooke, but bicause they be either Scripture, or moode agreeable thereto.

They also adde in the firste reason, that the comming of women in bayles to be Churched, is not commaunded by lawe, but yet the abuse to bee great, by reason that superstition is growen thereby in the heartes of many, and other are iudged that vse it not. This is an argument of their former rashnesse, but not worthy any answer, especially being confessed to be without the booke.

For the. 120. Psalme. is now quoted the. 121. Psalme, which I haue also corrected before.

Fol. 2.

For the. 26. of Math. is noted the. 28. And this also I corrected in answering that place.

Where it was before, and minister a Sacrament, nowe is added, according to their appointmente, to what purpose I knowe not.

There is also added in the same leafe these wordes: are not the people well modified thinke you, when the homely of sweeping the church is read vnto them:

Surely such flouting termes are bled of none but of nodies in deede, and suche as are moze meete to be scoles in playes, where they maye iest, than to be platformers of churches, in whom wisdom, learning, grauitie,



graftie & godlinesse is to be requyred: I know no Homelie entituled of sweeping the Church, one there is of repaying and keeping cleane of churches: whether it edifie or no, I referre to the wise and discrete Reader to iudge, when he hath perused it.

Before it was in the second reason, for the very name *Apocrypha* testifieth that they ought rather to be kept close than to be vttered: Now it is, for the very name *Apocrypha* testifieth that they were read in secrete, & not openly: This is some correction of their former rashnesse. But of this matter, that is, of reading Homelies in the Church, I haue spoken before. I omit .2. Tim. 3. vers. 6. which is now vers. 19. & 2. Pet. 1. vers. 20. which is now vers. 19. 20. 21. For these be not matters of any great importance, & they be quoted to proue a matter not doubted of among vs. In the former edition a fourth reason, it is thus wrytten: In this booke we are enioyned to receyue the Cōmunion kneeling, which beside that it hath in it a shewe of papistrie, doth not so well expresse the mysterie of this holy Supper. For as in the old Testament eating the Paschall Lamb stāding, signified a readinesse to passe: euen so in receiuing it now sitting, according to the exāple of Christe, we signifie a rest, that is, a full finishing thorough Christ, of all the ceremoniall lawe, and a perfect worke of redemption wrought that giueth reste for euer, and so we auoyde also the daunger of Idolatrie. In the second Edition these wordes be thus altered: In this booke we are enioyned to receyue the Cōmuniō kneeling, which beside that it hath in it a shew of popish Idolatrie, doth not so well expresse a Supper, neither agreeth it so well with the institution of Christ, as sitting doth: not that we make sitting a thing of necessitie belonging vnto the Sacramēt, neyther affirme we that it may not be receyued otherwise, but that it is more neare the institution, and also a meane to auoyde the daunger of Idolatrie. Here is the signification of sitting (which they before made) cleane dashed out, as a thing vnadvisedly before put in. It is also here graunted that the Cōmunion may be receyued otherwise than sitting, with other circumstances, wherof they haue now better cōsidered. Surely this is a great alteration vpon such a sodaine: & I would hardly haue bene perswaded that these men would so sone haue discredited theselues by theyr inconstancie. But peradventure the selfe same had not the correction of the booke which were the first penners of it, and therefore how they will like of this correction, it may be doubted. But although the wordes in the texte be altered, yet the quotations in the margent remayne still: Be like they are to be applied as it please the platfōrmers.

All this is added in the seuenth reason: But some will say that the baptisme of women is not cōmaunded by law, if it be not, why do you suffer it, & wherfore are the childe so baptized accordingly? cōmon experience teacheth that it is vsed almost in all places, & fewe speake against it: & this I am sure of, that when it was put in the booke, that was the meaning of the most part, that were the present, and so it was to be vnderstāded, as cōmon practise without cōtrolement doth plainly declare. All these be but cōiectures. Diuers things be suffered & in many places bled without cōtrolement, which not withstanding by no lawe be cōmaunded. What the meaning was of those that penned the booke, I know not, neither as I thinke do you. And surely for cōmon practise I can say litle, but for mine own experience this I dare affirme, that I haue not knowne one childe so baptised in places where I haue had to do, no not since the beginning of the Q. Maesties reigne. I speake not of the thing it self, but only of your cōiectures: I thinke if the circumstances of the booke be well considered, it will appeare that the meaning is, that priuate baptisme is rather to be ministred by

Err.

some

Fol. 3.

*Apocrypha.*

Correction.

Fol. 4.

Baptizing by  
women not  
collected out  
of the booke.



some minister (which in tyme of necessity may soonest be come by) thā by any womā. But in this poynt I submit my iudgemēt to such as better know the meaning of t̃ booke (being pēners therof) thā I do. In the same lease & ninth reason speaking of cerreyne things vsed about mari-

Toyes about  
marriage.

age, they adde these wordes: VVith diuers other heathenish toyes, in sundry cōtries, as carying of wheat sheafs on their heads, & casting of corne, with a nūber of such like, whereby they make rather a maygame of marriage, thā a holy institutiō of God. These be but toyes in deede, vsed I know not where, not conteyned in any part of the booke of cōmon prayers, & therfore without my cōpasse of defense. They lacke matter whē they stuffe theyr booke with such baine & sciuolous trifles.

Fol. 5.

In the .10. reason to these wordes, (as for confirmation) is added, which the Papists and our men say was in times past Apostolicall, grounding their opinion perhaps vpon some dreame of Hierome: And in the same place these wordes be left out: VVe speake not of other toyes vsed in it, & how far it differeth, & is degenerated from the first institution, they theselues that are learned can witnesse: And in the place hereof this is inserted, as though baptisme were not already perfect, but needed cōfirmation, or as though the Bishop could giue the holy Ghost. You your selfe in effect haue confessed in your first edition, that confirmation of children is very auncient, & that it hath bene wel instituted, for there you say that now it differeth & is degene-

Confirmation  
of children al-  
lowed at the  
last.

rate frō the first institution: But vpon better aduise mēt you haue left out these wordes in your second Edition: as you haue also left out these, with other toyes vsed in it, whereby you confesse (contrary to your former sentence) that the confirmation of Children now vsed is without any toyes. Howsoever it pleaseth you to accompt Hieromes iudgemēt (touching the antiquitie of confirmation) a Dreame: yet his Dreame may be of as much credite with wise men, as your bare deniall of the same. The wordes that you haue added in the second place might wel haue bene spared: for you know that confirmation now vsed in this Church is not to make baptisme perfect, but partly to trie how the godfathers & Godmothers haue performed t̃ which was enioyned thē whē the children were baptised: partly that the childrē theselues (now being at the yeares of discretiō, & hauing learned what their Godfathers & Godmothers promised for thē in baptisme) may with their owne mouth & with their owne consent openly before the church ratifie & confirme the same, & also promise that by the grace of God they will euermore endeuour themselves faithfully to obserue & keepe such things as they by their own mouth & confessiō haue assented vnto. And this reason is alledged among other euē in the booke of cōmon prayers. And that it is not to make baptisme perfect, t̃ booke of cōmon prayers it self declareth in these wordes: And that no mā shal thinke any detrimēt shal come to Childrē by deferring of their cōfirmatiō, he shal know for truth that it is certaine by Gods word that childrē being baptised, haue all things necessary for their saluatiō, & be vndoubtedly saved.

The ende of  
confirmation.

You adde, as though the Bishop could giue the holy Ghost: the Bishop may vse the ceremonie vsed by the Apostles, that is, imposition of handes, & may safely say this godly prayer conteyned in the booke: Defend O Lord this childe with the heavenly grace, that he may continue thine for euer, and dayly encrease in thy holy spirit, more and more, vntill he come vnto thy euerlasting kingdome. Amē. And other such godly prayers there cōtained. Of any o- ther kind of giuing t̃ holy ghost, there is no mētion in that booke, & ther- fore



foze these additions might very well haue bene left out of your libel. To the end of the eleuenth reason, these wordes be added, and open our eyes that we may see what that good and acceptable will of God is, and be more earnest to prouoke his glory: to the which I onely answere, Amen.

In the ende of the. 12. there is something left out which they haue placed in the. 13. reason: but it is answered before.

There is nothing added or altered worth the noting: onely in the fiftenth reason, where they sayd before that we honored Bishops by the titles of kings: nowe they haue recanted that, and condemned themselves of an vntruth, for they haue left out that title.

Fol. 6.

In the seuenth leaf and 19. reason these wordes be left out, banners and belles: which argueth that they were before vntruly sayd to be vsed in gang weeke: But to lye, is a small matter with these men.

Fol. 7.

For Lordes grace of Yorke, there is the Archbishop of Yorke. The cause of this alteration I know not.

Fol. 8.

When you say that you strue for true Religio & gouernment of the Church, &c. You say, that you do that, which is to be wished you should do. But your doings tede to y defacing of true Religion, & ouerthrow of the right gouernment of the Church, & although you be not the head of Antichrist, yet are you his taylor: for the taylor of the beast, (as learned me say) be false Prophets, Hypocrites, such as stirre by Schismes & factions among true Christians, and by pretence of zeale, by cloaked and coloured meanes, seeke to draw into the church Antichrist backward, as Cacus did the oren into his denne.

Fol. 9.

Taylor of Antichrist what it is.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

To these things y Replier hath giuen his consent as it should seme by his silence.

Articles collected out of the former Admonition,

and vntruly sayd (of the fautors of that Admonition) to be falsified.

To the end of the second Admonition there is ioyned A reproofe of certaine Articles, collected (as it is thought) by the Bishops, (for so they say) out of a litle booke entituled, An Admonition to the Parliament. &c. But as I thinke, it may rather be termed, a recantation, or (if you will) a reformatio or mitigatio of certain articles in that first admonition rashly set downe, & without learning or discretion printed.

1. Fol. 3. lib. 1. pag. 2. First they hold & affirme that we in England are not yet come to the outward face of a church agreeable to Gods worde. Here you finde fault that this worde scarce is left out. In deede this word scarce was written in the margent of diuers copies of the first Admonition: whether it were so in all, or no, I know not: no more do I whether any such collectio (as you pretend) was made. But what neede you so muche sticke in wordes, when the thing is manifest: for in effect they denie as much as that proposition importeth: they wholly condene the mynisterie, the ceremonies, & the gouernment of this church. They say the sacraments be full of corruptions: & in their second Admonition Fol. 42. they say that the sacraments are wickedly magled & prophaned: they betterly condene our order & maner of common prayer: yea in effect our doctrine also, for in their second Admonitio, Fol. 7. they say, that although some truth be taught by some preachers, yet no preacher may without dauger of the lawes;

Scarce the face of a Church.



Vix, significeth  
sometime non.

viter all truth comprised in the booke of God. What can be spoken more slenderly of the doctrine preached in this church: A mā may truly speake as much of the Romische church: for some truthe is taught by some Papists: yea some truth is taught by some Jewe & Turke. When therfore you say, that in this church neither the worde is truly preached, nor the sacraments sincerely ministred, nor yet Ecclesiasticall discipline (which thze in the first Admonition Fol. 3. is sayde to be the outward marks, whereby a true Christian church is knowne) and also condemne our mynisterie as Popish and vnlawfull, with the whole gouernment of our Church (as you do in playne termes) may it not be truly sayde, that you affirme vs in England as yet not to be come to the outward face of a church agreable to Gods worde: Furthermoze what doth this word scarce helpe the matter, doth it not importe as much: it is a rule in Philosophie, *Quod vix fit non fit*, that vvhich is scarce done is not done.

T.C. Pag. 175. Sect. 3. 4. 5.

As for Answer to the Articles collected out of the Admonition, it is made in the Replie vnto M. Docters booke, where I haue shewed how the Admonition is misconstrued and taken otherwise, than eether it meameth or speaketh, wherevnto I will referre the Reader.

And albeit I haue shewed how vnttrue it is, that the Admonition, affirmeth that there is no church in England, yet I can not passe by the secreete Philosophie, whereby M. Doctor woulde proue, that the Authoers of the Admonition affirme it. For sayth he by y rule of Philosophie, *Quod vix fit, non fit*, that which is scarce done is not done. I say this is secreete, for it was neuer taught, neyther in Academia, nor in stoa, nor Lyceo, I haue redde *Quod fere fit, non fit*, that which is almost done is not done. But I neuer remember any such rule as M. Doctor speaketh of.

And besides that in our tongue, those things which are sayd to be scarce, are notwithstanding oftentimes supposed to be. As when a man sayth that there is scarce a man alive, &c. the scripture also bleth that phrase of speech, of things which are, as when it sayth, the iust man shall scarce be saued, it doth not meane, that iust men shall not be saued. The rest of that I haue answered.

### Io. Whitgifte.

at that y word  
(vix) importe-  
teth.

I proue by their owne manifest wordes, that they in deede affirme that we in England are not yet come to the outward face of a Church agreable to Gods worde, all whiche poves you omit and let passe cauilling onely at this worde (scarce,) which is a manifest argument of a wangler. And yet is not this manner of speaking, *Quod vix fit, non fit*, so straunge Philosophie, as you would gladly haue it, for this worde (vix) eether significeth with violence, & great difficultie to do a thing: or else it is referred to the time: or else it significeth (non) as in *Diuide vix Priamus tanti*, that is, *non tanti Priamus*, as Donatus doth expound it. I thinke you will not haue it to be taken in the first significatiō, by the Authoers of y Admonitiō, for then there is no sense in their wordes: if it be taken in either of the latter significations (as it must of necessitie be) then the Philosophie is not secreete, but open and knowne to euery yong Grammarian.

Vix, in english  
commonly taken  
for (non).

In our English phrase, it is commonly taken for non, as when we say a thing is scarce done, we signifie that is not yet done. Likewise when a man sayth that he is scarce well, he meaneth that he is not well. He hath scarce made an end of his sermon, y is, he hath not made an end of his sermon. It is scarce ix. of y clocke, that is, it is not yet ix. of the clocke. Euen so we are scarce come to the outward forme of a church rightly reformed, &c. that is, we are not yet come, &c. Every child y cā speake knoweth this to be so.

When the scripture saith, that a iust man shall scarce be saued: this worde (vix) is taken in y first significatiō, that is, with great difficultie, & in this significatiō it is oftentimes taken in the scripture: but so can it not be in their manner of speech.

Answer to certayne Articles. &c.

2. They will haue the mynisters to be called, allowed, and placed by the people. You say, that this Article is falsified: & yet their wordes in that place of their Admonition be these: Then election was made by the cōmon consent of the whole Church. And a litle after: Then no mynister was placed in any congregation

without



without the consent of the people. **W**herfore the collection is very true, and they belike ashamed of their doings: and therfore they haue corrected these assertions in their second edition of the first Admonition on this sorte: Then election was made by the elders, with the comon cōsent of the whole church. Surely these men be past shame, else woulde they not denie their owne written assertions.

T. C. Pag. 175. Sect. 6.

And whereas he sayth that it is al one, to say that the election of the mynister must be made by (\*) the church, & to say, It must be made by the people: it is a great oversight to make the parte & whole all one, seing y<sup>e</sup> people be but one part of the church, & the mynister and the other gouernours are, albeit not the greatest, yet the principallest part. I graunt that sometimes a parte is taken for the whole, and so we do call sometimes the gouernours of the church, the church, and sometimes the people: But where the question is of the propriete of these speeches (the Church and the people) there all men that haue any iudgement, can easily put a difference.

(\*) A manifest falsification, for you leaue out this worde (whole.)

### *To Whitgiste.*

**W**hat I haue sayde, how truly you haue reported my wordes, & how aptly you haue replied to my Answer, euen the very simple Reader may easily vnderstand: & therfore for answers to this, I shall only desire him to compare our wordes togither: and then it shall easily appeare how you haue falsified my wordes: for whereas I gather out of these wordes of y<sup>e</sup> Admonition, Election was made by the common cōsent of the whole Church, therfore their collection is true which say, that they would haue the mynisters to be called, allowed, & placed by the people, you either of purpose, or by oversight (which is very vsuall with you) haue left out y<sup>e</sup> worde (whole) & make as though I should say, that it is all one to say that the election must be made by the church, & to say, it must be made by the people: & should confound the people & the church, the part with the whole: which is a manifest vntruth. But by y<sup>e</sup> way it is to be noted, y<sup>e</sup> you seeme to separate the people frō the election of mynisters, for you will not haue the worde (Church) in the Admonition to cōprehend the people, else why haue you these wordes, when the question is of the propriete of these speeches, (the church and the people)? and surely it may seeme that this is their meaning, bicause in their second edition they say the election was made by the Elders, with the common consent of the people, so that, the election should be made by the Elders, and the people only should cōsent to the election: which is contrary to the rest of your assertion.

Answer to certayne Articles. &c.

4. Lin. 9. They hold that a Bishop at no hande hath authoritie to ordeyne ministers. **T**his Article you confesse to be truly gathered: but now you make this glosse (not alone) and yet in their Admonition it is in flat termes, that the ordering of mynisters doth at no hand apperteyne to Bishops.

6. Lin. 28. They will haue the mynisters at theyr owne pleasure to preach without licence. **T**his is true by your owne cōfessiō, for you will haue no other licēce, but your calling to the ministerie, which must be (as you say) by the congregation. Here you shut out both the Princes licence, and the Bishops.

7. Lin. 13. fol. 17. Lin. 6. pag. 1. **W**hatsoever is set down in this Article is manifestly affirmed in the Admonitiō, & your answer to it is frivoulous, and nothing to the purpose. For in the firste parte of the Admonition, Fol. 2. pag. 1. These be the wordes: In those dayes knowne by voice, learning & doctrine: now they must be discerned frō other, by Popish & Antichristian apparell, as cap, gowne, tippet, &c. And in the second part speaking of the apparell prescribed to ministers, they say on this sorte: There is no order in it but confusion: no comelinesse, but deformitie: no obediēce, but disobedience both against God and the Prince. Are you not then ashamed to say, that this Article (They

Err. iij.

will



will haue the mynister discerned from others by no kinde of apparell, and the apparell appoynted they terme Antichristian, and the apparell appoynted by the Prince, disobedience agaynst the Prince) **is falsified :**

Fol. 4. Lin. 1. Pag. 2. They will haue all Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, &c. together with their offices, iurisdiccions, courtes, and liuings cleane taken away, and with speede removed. You say that this is falsified in parte, bicause there is left out Lords grace, iustice of peace, and Quorum, &c. Surely the Article is truly collected in euery poynt, and playnely affirmed in the 2. lease of the first parte of that Admonition. As for your gibing wordes that follow, they be but winde: I warrāt you the cōfutatiō will abide the light, & the Authoꝝ will shew his face, which you are ashamed to do.

9. Lin. 9. The Article is truly collected: looke in the first parte of that Admonition, Fol. 2. Pag. 2. & Fol. 3. And in the second part of that Admonition. Fol. 1. pag. 2. Fol. 5. pag. 1.

17. Lin. 12. The collection is true: for their wordes be these: They simply as they receyued it from the Lorde, we sinfully mixed with mans inuentions and deuises. And therfore you vntuly say, that it is falsified.

19. Lin. 16. They will haue no Godfathers nor Godmothers, you say that this Article is also vtterly falsified: what meane you so to forget your selfe? Is it not thus wyttē in the first part of y<sup>e</sup> first Admonitiō, Fo. 3. pa. 2. And as for Baptisme it was enough with them if they had water, and the partie to be baptised, sayth, and the mynister to preache the worde, and mynister the Sacramentes. Nowe we must haue surplesse deuised by Pope Adrian, Interrogatories mynistred to the infant, Godfathers and Godmothers brought in by Higinus, &c. Howe say you? are not Godfathers and Godmothers here disallowed: wherefore be they else in this place recyted? or why are they here ascribed to Pope Higinus? Will you now allow any thing in the Church inuented by the Pope? In deede in the second edition of this first Admonition, these wordes, Godfathers and Godmothers brought in by Higinus, be cleane left out, as I haue before noted. Wherefore cyther you haue not redde the diuersitie of their editions, or else you are very impudent.

22. Fol. 8. in fine. I maruell why you say, that this collection is falsified: Looke Fol. vlt. pag. 2. of the first part of the Admonition.

T. C. Pag. 175. Sect. 6.

The rest of those articles are answered in the discourse of the booke. Besides that, the faults which are found with the vntue gathering of them, are not taken away by M. Doctor, but only in confident & bould asseuerations. And if I should say any thing, I should but repeat their wordes.

### *Io. Whitgifte.*

The iudgement hereof must also be referred to the Reader, who may coniecture, that you haue litle to say, against any thing that I haue in this parte affirmed.

**Out of the second treatise called A view of Popishe abuses remayning.**

Fol. 10. pag. 1 lin. 33. Reading of seruice or Homilies in the church is as euil as playing on a stage, and worse too. You say that this is falsified. Lord God what meane you? In the seconde lease of that booke these be their direct wordes, Reading is not feeding, but it is as euill as playing vpon a stage, and worse too. To the same effect they speake diuers times, & so do the Authoꝝ of the second Admonition. Surely cyther they are ashamed of their doings, or else you haue not with diligence read their bookes.

**Thus**

Godfathers  
and Godmo-  
thers once  
disallowed &  
after recated.



Thus briefly to haue answered to your vniust accusation of falsly collecting certain articles out of the booke entituled, An Admonition. &c. shall be sufficient. Other articles which you say be gathered out of the same booke, and confesse to be true, I haue omitted, bicause they be sufficiently answered by me in the confutation: and your confirmation of them is vsuall and childlike.

I woulde wishe that suche as bee wyse men and in authoritie, woulde diligently consider that whiche you answered to the Article, Fol. 14. (as you quote it) touching the gouernment of the Church, and the authoritie of Princes and their lawes: and likewise that whiche is written concerning the same matters in the seconde Admonition: I will make them neyther better nor worse, but wishe the Magistrates, well to marke your iudgements and opinions in these matters, and to foresee the worst. The Lorde blesse this Realme of Englande with the continuance of his Gospell, long life of the Queenes maiestie, and peace bothe foreyne and domesticall. Amen.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

Nothing answered.

## ¶ A viewe of the seconde Admonition.

T.C. Pag. 175. Sect. vlt.

In the viewe of the second admonition M. Doctor doth as it seemeth of purpose, cul out those things which he hath spoken on before, and in repeating of them, referreth his Reader vnto hys booke. Diuers other matters there are of great weight which he speaketh not of, if he doe approue them. (\*) it had bene well he had signified his liking: if he doe not, that he had confuted them. And if he trauelled so heauily of bringing forth of this booke, that it was as heauy a burden vnto hym, as Salomon sayth, a fond worde is vnto an vnwys man: he might haue taken day to answer it. Now by this slender answering or rather not answering at al, but only asking how this & that is proued (wheras beeing proued it is vnreproued of him) he doth his cause more harme than he is aware of. For vnlesse his profes he toynd with his expulsions, imprisonments, & with all that racket which he maketh in Cambridge, to the vttermost of that his authoritie will stretch vnto, he may be well assured, that their drining out wyll drawe in the truth, and their imprisonment wyll set the truth at greater libertie, and thereby proue it self to be neyther Papistrie, nor Anabaptistrie, Donatistrie, Catharisme, nor any other heresie, whych are by due correction repressed. But as for the truth of God, the more it is laden, the straghter it standeth, and the more it is kepte vnder, the more it enforceth it selfe to ryse, and wyll vndoubtedly get vp, howe great so euer the stone be whych is layde vpon it.

(\*) Why haue you not done so your selfe in your Repliet

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I haue omitted no matter of substance vniust answered in eyther of the Admonitions. The wordes you here vtter be contumelious: you onely rayle, you answered not. I neuer expelled any of degree since my first comming to Trinitie Colledge, but two: the one for pertinacie, the other for periurie. And yet I might haue done lawfully and iustly, and intende to doe if the statutes wherevnto I haue swozne, doe therevnto enforce me. But by your often obiection this vnto me, men may vnderstande what conscience it is that makes you so zealous, and what diminitie it is that you so earnestly pprofesse: scil. a minde full of reuengment, and a face puffed vp with arrogancie and vayne glory.

## A brieue viewe of the seconde Admonition.

I haue also receyued a seconde Admonition to the Parliament,  
 xxx. liij. the



the author whereof undertaketh to teache howe to refozme those things whiche the other Admonition founde faulte with. I shall not neede to make any long discourse of it, neyther will I. The answer to the fyyst admonition is an answer to this also. Onely I thought it good to note vnto you, that this booke consisteth of these poynts especially: first it iustifieth the authors of the first Admonition, and seemeth to complayne that they haue not iustice, because they appealyng to the highest Court of Parliament, their appeale would not be receyued. And therefore they say the Scripture is playne, that it shall be easier for Sodome and Gomorra in the daye of iudgement, than for suche a court, meaning the court of Parliament, and they quote for that purpose in the margent the .10. of Matth, verse .14. 15. which is a shamefull prophaneation of the Scripture, and an egregious slander to that honorable court. The iustnesse of the appeale I leaue to the Iustices, and skilfull Lawyers to be considered of, for it is not within the compasse of my facultie. Onely I thinke that that scroule can haue no defense of Parliament: first, because it is a Libell: secondly, because it was published in pinte before the Parliament was made priuie vnto it.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

Not one worde sayde agaynst this.

### ¶ A viewe of the seconde Admonition.

Politike Macheuils.

In this parte these wordes of theirs would be well considered, there is no other thing to be looked for, than some speedie vengeance to lighte vpon the whole lande, prouide as well as the politike Macheuils of Englande thinke they can, though God doe his worste: It woulde be knowne whome they meane by these politike Macheuils: for they enuy all men of great authoritie, witte, and pollicie.

T.C. Pag. 176. Sect. 1. 2.

And albeit he had no leysure to answer the matters whiche required his answer, yet he car-  
peth at by matters, and asketh who are ment by the politike Macheuils.

(\*) This is a  
cloke, but their  
words will not  
beare it.

What if they meane (\*) M. Doctoz, and such other, which vnder the pretence of pollicie, would ouerthrowe the Church, and that by those things whych haue scarce a shew of pollicie, and in deede ouerturne the pollicie and gouernment of the Lozde. And I pray you tell me M. Doctoz, who be those superiours which contemne, hate, discourage, and frump those whiche execute the lawes of the Realme, of the whiche you speake in the .88. page. And where you adde by and by, that they enuy all men of great authoritie, witte, and pollicie, I haue answered this speche before. And truly I thinke there is not in Mesheke so slanderous a tongue to be founde, as this is, nor the Jumper coles are not comparable with it.

*Jo. Whitgifte.*

May they can not meane it of me, nor of suche as I am: for I haue not to doe with the politike assayes of this lande, neyther am I eyther of Court, or Parliament. But I thinke their words following doe clearly seclude me, and all other of my degree, for thus they adde immediatly: But shutte God out of your assemblies, and Courts, as hitherto in this last Parliament you haue done nothing therein as you ought, no though you haue bene solicited, but haue suffered them that were your solicitors, to be molested. You shall finde both that you ought to haue sought the kingdome of God first, and also you shall finde, if you consider not your owne wayes in your hearts, howe you thinke it a tyme to buyde seeled houses,



les, to demise lawes for the preservation and prosperitie of your common wealth, and neglect Gods Church, leaue that wast, &c. These wordes of theirs shutteth me out from the number of their Hacheuils. Well, it is a poynte that woulde be considered. What whiche I speake in the. 88. page, I am ready to giue accounte of, when I am therunto by due authoritie called. Neyther am I afrayde in time and place, to speake that whiche I thinke. In the rest of this Replie you doe but vtter your impatiencie, and vntemperatenesse of your speche, and therfore I will dismisse you, as Dauid dyd Shemei.

A viewve of the seconde Admonition.

The seconde parte consisteth onely of rayling wordes, and slanderous accusations, first agaynst this whole Church of Englande, for they say, that we are scarce come to the outwarde face of a Church rightly reformed, and that although some truthe be taught by some preachers, yet no Preacher maye without great daunger of the lawes vtter all truthe comprised in the worde of God. &c. And a little after they adde and saye, that the truthe in a maner doth but peepe out behinde the screene: which speeches as they be very vnttrue (for who knoweth not that the Gospell is wholly, publikely, and freely preached in this Church of Englande) so they be slanderous, neyther can the Papists speake any worse.

Slander of  
the Church  
of Englande.

In this parte also, to proue that this is no true saying in matters of policie and gouernment, it is not repugnant to the word of God, and therfore it may be bled: is alleaged this saying of Christ. Mat. 12. He that is not vvith me, is agaynst me. But they haue forgotten the wordes of Christ, Mat. 9. *Qui non est aduersus nos, pro nobis est*: He that is not agaynst vs, is vvith vs. Wherebpon we maye muche better conclude, that that which is not repugnant to the Scripture, is consonant to the Scripture, than they can doe the contrarie of the former place. Notwithstanding in both these places (as I thinke) Christ speaketh rather of men and persons, than of things them selues.

In the same parte their speche of the Queenes supremacie is very suspicious, and it woulde be demaunded of them what they thinke in deede of hir Maiesties anthozitie in ecclesiasticall matters, for in this poynt they haue hitherto dealt very subtilly and closely: notwithstanding their meaning may easily be perceyued of suche as diligently consider their bookes.

Supremacie  
of the Quene  
secretly de-  
nied.

Like wyse in this parte they note certayne contrarieties in thyg Church, as betwixte the Communion booke and Iniunctions, touching waifers: the Communion booke and aduertisementes concerning Church vestures: the Canons and the Pontificall, in not ordering of ministers *sine titulo*, and suche like matters of no importance, whiche iustifie rather this Church, than otherwyse: for surely if they had had weightier matters, they woulde no doubt haue alleaged them. But in these same matters they are muche deceyued, for as I suppose, in matters of ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, the Queenes Maiestie, together with the Archbishop or the Commissioners in causes ecclesiasticall, haue authoritie by Acte of Parliament, to alter and appoynt suche rites and ceremonies as shall from tyme to tyme be thoughte to them moost conuenient. To be shorte, in that poynt they saye, that in thinges  
of



Contrarietie  
in these men.

of order one Church may many times differ from another without offence, following the generall rules of Scripture for order, as in appoynting time and place for prayers. &c. which is a very true saying: and flat contrarie to all that is sayde eyther in the first Admonition, or in this seconde: for if suche things may be appoynted in the Church, not beeing expressed in the word of God, but depending vpon this generall rule, Let all things be done decently and in order. 1 Corinth. 14. then surely the Magistrate hath authoritie in suche matters, to appoynt what shall be thought vnto them most conuenient, so that it be not repugnant to the worde of God: except you will make this the question: whether in such matters we ought to be directed by the Magistrates, and gouernours of the Church, or by every priuate Pastor in his seuerall charge.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

All this is let slippe without answer.

The viewve of the seconde Admonition.

Degrees in  
the Uniuersities  
condemned.

The thirde parte of this booke condemneth the degrees of Doctors, Bachelors of Diuinitie, and Masters of Arte in the Uniuersities, and flaundersously, vntrewely, and opprobriously speaketh of the Uniuersities, and suche as be in them: presumptuously prescribing a maner of reformation for the same, when as I thinke verily they knowe not what Uniuersities meane. But heere we maye note that they seeke to ouerthrowe all learning and degrees of learning. The same parte also very flaundersously and vnchristianly rayleth on some Bishops by name, and the rest of the Cleergie, charging them most vntrewely with sundrie things: but bicause it is done by way of Libelling (a Diuelische kinde of reuenge) therfore I trust godly and wyle men will esteeme of it accordingly. Besides flaundersous reportes, and opprobrious words, there is nothing in this parte worthy the answering.

T.C. Pag. 176. Sect. 2.

After he accuseth the Admonition, as if it condemned scholes and Uniuersities, with all manner degrees, when it dothe but inueigh agaynst degrees giuen of custome rather than of right, rather by money, than by merite of learning, and when titles of Doctorship be giuen to those which haue not the office of a Doctor, and oftentimes to those which can not doe the office if they had it, and when men doe seeke vayne glory in them and suche lyke.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Pag. 173. sec. 1.

Reade and marke their wordes, page. 16. and. 17. and the conclusion they vse (after they haue in most bitter maner inueighed agaynst suche degrees) whiche is this: These vayne names become suche vayne men, but the Church of God they become not, and are forbidden by our Saviour. &c. Their owne wordes be a sufficient declaration of their meaning, and so is yours uttered before, a playne prooue of your consenting vnto them, and condemning of all degrees of Schole, properly perteyning to Diuinitie.

A viewve



## A viewve of the seconde Admonition.

In the fourth parte the Authoz taketh vpon him to set downe a platfome of a Church, to prescribe the maner of electing ministers, of their exercises, of their equalitie, of the gouernment of the Church. &c. Whiche surely beeing well considered, w<sup>ch</sup> I appeare not onely a confused platfome, without any sounde warrant of God w<sup>ch</sup>de, but also a fantastical deuise, tending to the ouerthrowe of learning, religion, yea the whole state and gouernment of the common wealth.

A newe platfome.

But bicause I haue before in the confutation of the first Admonition, spoken sufficiently of all these matters, therefore I w<sup>ill</sup> onely note one or two thinges in this parte to lette you vnderstande that these platfomers builde not vpon that foundation that they would haue others so strictly bound vnto: for let them tell me vpon what Scripture this is grounded: Let no one minister medle in any cure saue his owne, but as he is appoynted by common consent of the nexte conference, or Councils Prouinciall or Nationall, or further (if it may fall out so) generall of all Churches reformed: **Q<sup>u</sup>estio<sup>n</sup> this:** That the ministers must be equall, and that some must be gouerned by all, and not all by some? **Q<sup>u</sup>estio<sup>n</sup> that,** The Pastor or teacher in euery congregation ought to be the Principall of the consistorie of their congregation? **Q<sup>u</sup>estio<sup>n</sup> that,** Many parishes may be ioyned in one, and haue one Pastor, and yet that it is vnlawful for one Pastor to haue many Parishes? **Q<sup>u</sup>estio<sup>n</sup> that,** In the meane whyle tyll preachers encrease to furnish the places vniurnished, vpon conference among the learned, some discrete man be appoynted to make some entyer prayer. &c.

One minister not to meddle in another mans charge.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

Passed ouer in silence.

## A viewve of the seconde Admonition.

Or that it is euill so ofte to repeate, Glory be to the father. &c. Lorde haue mercy vpon vs. &c. **Q<sup>u</sup>estio<sup>n</sup> the** Lords prayer: for the text whiche they alleage for the same, **Matth. 6.** is wickedly wrested, and corruptly alleaged: for the wordes of Christ be not (as they translate them) when you pray, vse not vayne repetitions, but vwhen you pray, vse not muche babling: whereby not the ofte repetition of good prayers, but vayne babling in prayers, that is, many wordes without fayth, and the inwarde affection of the mynde, is forbidden. **Paule. 1. Thes. 5.** sayth, Pray continually, And **Christ Matth. 6.** sayth, Pray on this maner, Our father. &c. So that of necessitie we must oftentimes repeate the Lords prayer, if we w<sup>ill</sup> beleue Christ and his Apostle **Paule.** But Lorde what straunge doctrine is this, to call Glory be to the father. &c. Lorde haue mercy vpon vs. &c. Our father. &c. Popishe? Surely these men (as I suppose) be not well in their wits.

Repetition of prayer is not euill.

T. C. Pag. 176. Sect. 3.

For the repetition of Gloria patri. &c. I haue spoken sufficiently before: but what spirite is it that calleth this translation of the worde *καταλογιστε* (vse not vayne repetitions) a wicked wresting of **S. Mathewes** place in his first chapter? what rason is this that curteth so sharpe? knoweth he agaynst whome, and agaynst the excellent learning, and singular piety of howe many



he speaketh: For this is the translation of those learned and godly men, which translated the Bible, which is commonly called the Geneva Bible: and is this a wicked wresting? Admitte it were not translated exactly, to the worde of the Euangelist: is it therefore a wresting, and a wicked wresting? To hat (I will not say wicked) but false conclusion: or doctrine can be grounded of this translation? And they that translate it thus, haue not onely the authoritie of the Lexicons to confirme their translation, which shewe that this worde was taken vp in reproche of a foolish Poet called Battus, which vsed to repeate one thing many times: but they haue also the circumstance of the place to warrant it. For the reason which our sauiour Christ vsed to draw men from this fault, leadeth to this translation, and can not stande with that sense which M. Doctor setteth downe. For howe hang these together: you shall not bable many words without sayth. &c. because your heavenly father knoweth what you haue neede of before you aske? It is vniuersally first, that our sauiour Christ would speake thus (bale not many wordes without sayth. &c.) when as rather he would haue forbidden them to speake any one worde without sayth. &c. For if he should speake thus, he should seeme to haue allowed a prayer without sayth, so that it were not conceived in many words. And agayne, if (as M. Doctor sayth) this had bene the proposition, which our sauiour Christ disuaded from, that they should not bable many words without sayth. &c. he would neuer haue added this reason (for your heavenly father knoweth. &c.) for neyther is he father vnto any such. And he would rather haue sayde as S. James in the first chap. sayth, that they should be sure to receiue nothing, because they aske not in sayth. Howe as this reason can not stande with M. Doctors interpretation: so both it well agree with the translation of the Geneva Bible. For what could be more fitly sayde to driue the disciples from this vayne repetition, than to say that the heavenly father knoweth. &c. and that it is not with the Lord as it is with men, that muste haue a thing oftentimes spoken, or euer they can vnderstande it? Furthermore what a reason is this: we must repeate the Lords prayer oftentimes, therefore we must repeate it oftentimes in halfe an houre, and one in the necke of an other? And if S. Pauls place to the Thel. (pray continually) bee referred vnto the saying of the Lords prayer (as M. Doctor would beare vs in hande) then it is not lawfull for vs to vse any other words, than those which our sauiour Christ vsed. But I could neuer yet learne that those words binde vs of necessitie any more vnto the repetition of the Lords prayer worde for worde, than vnto the repetition of any other godly prayer in the scripture. And I would be lothe to saye that it were simply necessarie, to vse that iust number of wordes, and neyther more nor lesse any time, muche lesse oftentimes in so final a space. For our sauiour Christ doth not there giue a prescript forme of prayer wherunto he bindeth vs: but giueth vs a rule, and squire to frame all our prayers by, as I haue before declared. I knowe it is necessarie to pray, and to pray often. I knowe also that in so fewe words it is impossible for any man to frame so richly a prayer: And I confesse that the Church doth well in concluding their prayers with the Lords prayer: but I stande vpon this, that there is no necessitie layde vpon vs to vse these very words, and no more, and especially that the place of S. Paule to the Thessalonians, dothe least of all proue it. As for M. Doctors outcries he hath so often woyn our eares with them, and that without cause, that I thinke by this tunc no man regardeth them.

### Io. Whitgifte.

I doe not say that so to translate the place is a wicked wresting or corrupte alluring of it: but this I say, that that place is wickedly wrested, and corruptly allured by the Admonition, to improue the oft repetition of the Lords prayer. Neyther doe I thinke that translation to be so apt, as the other is. M. Beza in his notes vpon this place of S. Mat. sayth thus: *Ne sitis loquaces* μὴ *εὐλογίζετε*, be not full of wordes. *Fulg. Nolite multum loqui*, doe not bable muche. Erasmus. *Ne sitis multiloqui*, id est, πολυλογοί quo idem declaratur. Longa tamen preces hic non damnantur, sed quae vanae sunt, inanes & superstitiosae. Longa enim non est oratio in qua nihil redundat: contra vero brevis esse non potest, quae non proficiscitur ex animo pio & fideli: Be not bablers or full of words, that is πολυλογοί wherby the same thing is signified: yet are not long prayers heere condemned, but those that are vayne, fond, & superstitious. For it is not a long prayer, wherin nothing is to much: on the other side it can not be short which proceedeth not out of a godly & faithfull mind.

And that this is the true interpretation of this worde *εὐλογίζετε* it appeareth by that which followeth in the same place, *δοκῶσι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακούσονται* for they thinke to be heard for their muche babling. Vpon the which words Erasmus giueth this note: *Hic non est εὐλογίζεσθαι sed proprio vsu est verbo εὐλογίζεσθαι*, veluti exponens quid dixerit *εὐλογίζεσθαι*: Heere is not the worde *εὐλογίζεσθαι*, but he vsed the proper worde *πολυλογίζεσθαι*, as it were expounding, what he mente by *εὐλογίζεσθαι*. You see therefore that the one word expoundeth the other, which is the surest way of interpreting. M. Caluine vpon the same place sayth thus: *Porro eorum stultitia reprehendit Christus, qui ut Deū persuadeant & exorent, multum verborum profundunt*. Furthermore Christ reprehendeth their folly, which do spende many words, that they may persuade and entreate God. And noua glossa ordinaria dothe interpret the worde in lyke maner.

Erasmus

εὐλογίζεσθαι interpreted.  
Beza.

Erasmus.

Caluine.

Noua glossa.



*Ferunt Battum quendam fuisse ineptum Poetā, qui multis & vanis ad nauseam vsq; repetitis verbis poemata sua conscripserit, ad hoc vnum intentus vt multus esset in verbis: vnde sumptum sit verbum Battologizare, pro inaniter esse multiloquam.* It is reported that there was a certayne foolyshe Poete called Battus, which wrote his verses with many and vayne repeting of wordes, euen vnto the lothing of any man, being only bent vnto this one thing, that he might haue many wordes: of whom this worde Battologizare was taken, for him that is full of vayne wordes. By al which authorities & interpretations of these learned mē, Christ doth not speake against the oft repetition of the Lordes prayer or any other goodly prayers, but against vaine babling in prayers, & multiplying of wordes without faith, whether it be by oft repeating or multiplying of them. And therfore also saith M. Martyr, *Quare attendendum est multiloquium tum adhiberi non cum diu precamur, sed cum citra fidem & spiritum verba multiplicamus:* wherfore it is to be marked, that then is there much babling, not whē we pray long, but when we multiply wordes without faith and spirite. Neither is there any wypter that doth otherwise interprete this place, not euen those that translate it vayne repetitions.

Battus a babling Poete.

Martyr in 1.

Sam. 1.

Babbling in prayer what it is.

And the reasons wherby you would enerthow this sense be wordes only & not reasons: for who can thinke y Christ doth here condēne long prayers or many wordes, or the repetition of goodly prayers (himselfe continuing in prayers a whole night in the mountaine, & oftentimes repeating one & the same prayer, not long before he suffered his passion Math. 26 and willing vs to pray continually, & not to be weary?) But that only he forbiddeth many wordes without faith, whether it be as I said by multiplying or by repeating: but what should we dally where the wordes of Christ be playne: for he saith, *Verum orantes ne sitis multiloqui sicut Ethnici: Putant enim fore vt ob multiloquiū suū exaudiantur, Ne igitur efficiamini similes istorum, nouit enim pater vester.* &c. But when ye pray vse not much babling as the Heathen do, for they thinke that they are heard for their much babling: be ye not therefore like vnto the: for your father knoweth wherof you haue neede before you aske of him. The wordes be manifest, all interpreters agree vpon the: and therfore this your dallying is but a prophanation of them.

Long prayer or repetitions not forbidden, but babling of wordes without faith.

Math. 26.

Luke. 18.

Math. 6.

If we repeat the Lordes prayer twenty times in halfe an houre, so it be done in faith & zeale, it is not this multiloquium or vayne repetitions that Christe speaketh of in this place. Christ himselfe as I haue said before, repeated thrice one prayer in the same wordes as it is euident Math. 26. which he would not haue done if y faithful & zealous repetition of prayers, had bin this much babling or vayne repetitions, wherof he speaketh in this. 6. of Math. I do not say that the place of S. Paule. 1. Thes. 5. is to be vnderstanded only of the Lordes prayer, but this is my saying, that soasmuch as we are commaunded to pray continually by S. Paule in that place, & the Lord hath sayd when ye pray, pray on this manner, Our father which art in heauen. &c. Therfore the oft repetition of this prayer being in faith & zeale, can not be accounted vayne repetition or much babling. I know it is lawfull to vse other goodly prayers, besides it, neither haue you euer heard me utter one worde to the contrary: I know likewise that it is not only a prayer to be used, but also a rule to be followed in framing all our other prayers by, whatsoeuer. And yet a prayer it is, and a necessary prayer to be used, as the very wordes of Christ do declare.

Christe vseth repetition of the same prayer.

Math. 26.

vers. 44.

#### A viewve of the second Admonition.

These & a number of other phantasies they haue in this booke which they can not grounde vpon any scriptures, but by wozinging and wozing of them: and in deede their seeking is, to haue all things framed according to their fancies, that they may be accompted planters and platformers of churches.

I omitte this that the authoz boasteth, that he and many others will set the selues against vs, as the professed enemies of the church of Christ: For the matter is not great, neither shall they in that point Deale any other wyse with vs, than the Anabaptistes, Ariens, and other Heretikes haue Dealte with other Churches.



This shalbe sufficient for an answer to y<sup>e</sup> booke, because all other matters of substance are by me answered before in the former confutation.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Nothing answered, neither is this proclamation of defense solved.

A briefe answer to certaine Pamphlets spread abroad of late.

I haue of late receiued three litle Pamphlets, the first as it were a p<sup>r</sup>eface to the other two, the second entituled, An exhortation to the Bishops, to deale brotherly with their brethren: The thirde, An exhortation to the Bishops and their clergie to answer a litle booke that came forth the last Parliament, and to other brethren to iudge of it by Gods worde, vntil they see it answered, and not be carried away with any respect of men.

The p<sup>r</sup>eface consisteth of these pointes especially: first by diuers examples it is there declared, that the wicked and vngodly of this world, could neuer away with suche as would reprove them for their manifest sinnes and vngodlines.

Secondly, that this is the cause why these twoo treatises whiche were lately written and imprinted in the last Parliament time. &c. wer of so many misliked, and the autho<sup>r</sup>s therof so cruelly entreated and streightly imprisoned &c.

Thirde, it railleth on the bishops and such as be in authoritie, comparing them to false prophets, and to Phariseis, &c. Last of all it concludeth with threatening, that if they go forwarde in their synnes, their doings shalbe with more bitterness of wordes, and plainnesse of speache throwen into their faces.

The first is needless, for who knoweth not that from time to time it hath bin the manner of such as were desperately wicked, not to suffer their sinnes openly to be reproved. The second is false, vncharitable, & slanderous, for the cause why the bookes be not esteemed (especially of the wise & learned) is the vntrue doctrine contained in them, mainteined with vntrue and vbraut allegations of the scriptures, and enterlaced with opprobrious termes and railing speeches tending to the disquietnes of the church, and ouerthrow of true religio. The autho<sup>r</sup>s therof to be imprisoned, not for telling any m<sup>a</sup>n of his sinnes, but for writing libels against this whole church of England, against the booke of common praer, against the ministry, against y<sup>e</sup> sacraments, finally against the whole forme and gouernment of the church by the whole consent of this Realme established, and according to the rule of Gods word. And with what face can you say that they be imprisoned for telling men of their sinnes? where euer reade you or heard you, that any of the Prophets or Apostles tolde men of their sinnes by libels? Surely that kinde of dealing is not for the Apostles of Chryste, but for the ministers of Satan.

T. C. Pag. 177. Sect. 1.

Here he saith the autho<sup>r</sup>s of the Admonition are not punished, or their booke misliked, for that it telleth of the faults in the church, or of the sinnes of men, but for y<sup>e</sup> it mainteined false doctrine, & for that they preferred a libel: for the doctrine, it appeareth by that which is said, what it is. And if he would define what a libel were, it were easy to answer vnto the other point. If he meane because it was preferred without any name vnto it, how shall he answer to the example of S. Iohn in y<sup>e</sup> Apocalyp<sup>s</sup>, who reprehend<sup>ed</sup> the ministers of diuers churches, did not (a) put to his name vnto his booke. And to the writer of the Epistle vnto the Hebrewes, which was a singular instrument, and did not subscribe his epistle, wherein notwithstanding he sharply rebuketh diuers faults amongst the

And

Libelling is  
no true way  
of reforming.

(\*) Forsooth,  
that you make  
a wicked com-  
parison.  
(a) A manifest  
vntruth.



And yet *S. John* nor the *Writer* to the *Hebrewes* were not the ministers of *Satan*. And if he call it a libell, because it bleseth some sharper speeches, surely all men see that his booke deserueth then to be called a *Sary*, hauing for tart words, bitter, and for one, twenty. But in what respect soeuer he calleth it a libell, he accuseth not so much the authours of the *Admonition* for preferring of it, as diuers of the honorable house of *Parliament*, which did allow it,

*Jo. Whitgife.*

The comparison is very vnequall and odious, that you make betwixte the holy bookes of the *Scripture*, indited by the spirit of *God*, and reputed and taken as portions of the canonick *Scriptures*, wherein only we haue to seeke the doctrine of *saluation*: and these rapling, rude, vncharitable, and vnlearned *Admonitions*. And yet in the one of them, that is in the *Reuelation* you are foully ouershot, for the name of the autho<sup>r</sup> of that booke is expressed thre times in the first chapter, and that with such circumstances that it cannot well be doubted who the autho<sup>r</sup> was, though you would canill about the multiplicite of the name. Likewise his name is expressed in the latter chapter of the booke: wherefore you were not well aduised when you set it downe that *S. John* in the *Apocalips* did not put his name to his booke. He saith in the .i. cap. in the first verse, *Seruo suo Iohanni*, and in the .4. verse *Ioannes. 7. ecclesijs quas sunt in Asia*, and a little after. *Ego Ioannes frater vester. &c.* and in the last chap. *Ego Ioannes qui audiui & vidi haec.* The epistle to the *Hebrewes* hath no opprobrious and slanderous words in it, neither doth the autho<sup>r</sup> thereof seeke to defame or deface any body, as the autho<sup>r</sup>s of the *Admonition* do.

*John setteth his name to the Apocalips both in the beginning & end.*

If my booke be comparable to eyther of the *Admonitions* in sharpe and vncharitable speeches, proue it vnto me by comparing them together, and surely I will like the worse both of my booke and of my self: and confesse that I haue offended. Although I might excuse my selfe in saying that I haue done it in the defense of the truth, and vndericating this Church of *England* from such vtterly tollerable slanders, as they burthen it with.

If any of the honorable house of *Parliament* did consent to the publishing of it in that manner and forme that it was published (which I am sure they did not, as you vnadvisably and vntruly charge them) I will not excuse them: and yet they cannot be said to be either the autho<sup>r</sup>s or the publishers of it: neither can their allowing of it, excuse it from being a libell, being not orderly in *Parliament* propounded, but disorderly (I might say seditiously,) spread abroad in corners to the defamation of this whole State and Church of *England*, not to any reformation.

But to satisfie your desire that would so gladly know what a libell is, I will tell you in few words. An infamous libell is that, that is written in verse, or in prose, to the infamy & slander of any man, to which the autho<sup>r</sup> dare not set his name. This is an infamous libell, & it most aply agreeth to the booke called an *Admonition* to *Parliament*: So that by this definition your obiection also of the booke of the *Apocalips*, & of the epistle to the *Hebrewes* is some answered: for all those bookes are not libells which are published without the authours name, but those which are published to the infamy or slander of others, to the which the autho<sup>r</sup>s dare not set their names.

*A libell what it is.*

An answer to certaine Pamphlets.

The third commeth of the same spirit that the second doth, that is, of the spirit of arrogancie and malice: for it compareth godly, wise, zealous & learned bishops to idolatrous priests, & to pharisees: but indeede the conditions & qualities of the pharisees do most aply agree with the autho<sup>r</sup>s of these libells, & their adherents: for the pharisees did all that they did, to be seene of men, & sought the commendation of the common people, as appeareth *Math. 6. & 23.* & so do they: The pharisees when they fasted disfigured their faces, & these walking in the streets, hang downe their heads, looke austerely, and in company sigh much, and seldome, or neuer laugh: the pharisees

*The libellers fitly compared to the pharisees.*

*Description of a pharisee.*

*Ps. 11.*

*Strayned*



strayned out a gnat, and swallowed downe a camell. And these men think it an heynous offence to weare a cap or a surplisse, but in slaundering and backbiting their brethren, in rayling on them by libells, in contemning of superiours, and discrediting such as be in authoritie: to be chozt, in disquieting the Church and state, they haue no conscience. The Phariseis separated themselves from the common sort of men, as more holy, and contemned the pooze Publicanes as sinners: And therefore some learned interpreters thinke, that they be called

Fosterus in di-  
stionar. be-  
braico.

Lib. 1. cap. 2. de  
bello iudaico.

Lib. antiquit.

Tom. 2. lib. 18.

cap. 2.

Tom. 2. lib. 17.

cap. 3.

*Pharisei, quasi segregati, quod vita sanctimonia, a vulgi moribus & vita separati essent, non aliter atq; monachi, quos Chartusianos vocant.* They be called Phariseis as separated and de-uided from the commō sort in holynes of life, much like vnto the Monkes, which be called Carthusians. And Iosephus saith that they were called Phariseis, bycause they seemed to be more holy than other, and more cunningly to expound the law. Also he sayth they to be one proper- tie of theirs, that whatsoeuer their owne reason perswadeth them, *Id sequuntur pertinaciter, that they stubbornly follow.* Agayne he sayth that they be *astutum hominum genus, arrogans, & interdum Regibus quoq; infestum.* &c. A subtile kynde of men, arrogant, and sometimes enemies to kings and rulers: These men separate themselves also from the congregation, and will communi- cate with vs neither in prayers, hearing the word nor sacraments: they contemne and despise all those that be not of their sect, as pollu- ted, and not worthy to be saluted, or kept company with: and there- fore some of them meeting their old acquaintance, being godly prea- chers, haue not only refused to salute them, but spit in their faces, wishing the plague of God to light vpon them, and saying that they were damned, and that God had taken his spirit from them, and all this, bycause they did weare a cappe: wherefore when they talke of Phariseis, they plucke themselves by the noses. But Lord, what a strange time is this, when such as they be, dare thus boldly publish libells against their superiours for mainteining and excecuting good and godly lawes.

The conclusion of this preface is a stout, presumptuous and ma- lapert threating, in my opinion, not to be suffered: But howsoeuer your pen and tongue walketh, yet I pray you holde your handes, or else, &c.

T.C. Pag. 177. Sect. 1. 2.

whereas M. Doctor compareth vs with the Phariseys, and sayth we do all to be seene of men, and that we hold downe our heads in the streets, and straine at a gnat swallowing downe a Camell, bycause they are in all mens knowledge, I will leaue it to them to iudge of the truth of those things. Where he saith we skidome or neuer laugh, it is not therefore that we thinke that it is not lawfull to laugh, but that the considerations of the calamities of other churches, and of the ruines of ours, with the heauie iudgements of the Lord which hang ouer vs, ought to turne our laughing into weeping, besides that a man may laugh although he shew not his teeth. And so Ie-rome in effect answereth in an epistle which he wrote, where vpon occasion that certaine used the same accusation that M. Doctor doth, he saith, bycause we do not laugh with open mouth, there- fore we are counted sadde.

And where he saith we separate our selues from all congregations, and are enemies to prince, and that we would seeme to be holper than other, these and such like slauanders are answered before. And if there be any that refuse to salute godly preachers, or spit in any mans face, or wish the plague of God to light vpon them, or say that they be damned, we defend nor, nor allow of any such behaui- our. And it is unreasonable that the fault of one, should be imputed to so many, and to those which do as much mislike of it as M. Doctor himselfe. And what needed M. Doctor to bid the authours of these exhortations to hold their handes, where do they in a worde offer to strike? Welike his tongue is his owne, and therefore he speaketh whatsoeuer he listeth.

To. VV bit giste.



*Jo. Whitgife.*

I shew how much more aptely the qualities and conditions of the Phariseys agree to you and to your sect, than they can doe to suche as the authoꝝ of those pamphlets call phariseys.

I know you can both laugh, jest, and gibe, when you are among your selues, and so can the Phariseys doe: but I speake of youre behauior in open places, and before suche as do not so well know you. It is vnlike that you mourne for the ruines or calamities of any Churches, seeing that you sake with might and mayne the confusion of this, by stirring by schismes and contentions in it. That which I speake of separating your selues from the congregation, &c. is well knowne to be true, in a number of you: and the contemptuous behauiour of some of you (pretending mosse zeale) towardes some of vs, argueth what spirite you are of, and what your zeale is, euen that that Zuinglius doth charge the Anabaptists with, when he sayth, *Ira est non spiritus quo se venditant.*

The answer to certaine Pamphlets. &c.

In this portion entituled An exhortation to the Bishops to deale brotherly with their brethren: ther is no great matter contained worthe of answering, only the authoꝝ doth excuse himselfe, for taking vpon him that exhortation, & moueth the Bishops to deale brotherly with the authoꝝ of the Admonition. First, because they be their brethren: secondly because they ought first to haue discovered vnto the world by the word of God, howe truly or falsely they haue written. Thirdely, because they do but disclose the disorders of our Church of England, and humbly desyre a reformation of the same, according to the rule of Gods worde. &c. Fourthly, that Papists lye abroade in their dioceses vntouched. &c. Fifthly, that many lewde light bookes, and balades flye abroade printed, not onely withoute reprehension, but *Cum priuilegio.*

Like wise in the same booke the authoꝝ seemeth to iustifie the Admonition, & to condemne the lordship and authoritie of Bishops, ascribing therunto the stay & hinderance of their pretended reformation: charging them after a sorte with mangling the Scriptures of God, and with snaring the godly with such lawes as were purposely made for the wicked. These be the principall contentes of that booke.

The first reason, that is, That they be their brethren, might as well be alleaged for the impunitie of Anabaptists, Arrians, and such like, who pretend the sinceritie of gods word, and would be counted brethren: yea it might as well be alleaged for many other malefactours, who be also brethren, and yet must not therfore escape unpunished for their offences. Shall not the Prince and the magistrate execute lawes vpon suche as breake them, because they be their brethren in Christ? Beware of such doctrine, and let not affection in priuate mens causes carie you headlong into publike errors. But I thinke you are in this pointe deceiued, for howsoeuer we accompte them our brethren: yet they accompt not vs their brethren, neyther will they acknowledge vs so to be, as some of them both in open speache and manifest signes haue declared. And therfore when the Bishops deale with them, they deale with suche as disdaine to be called their brethren.

T.C. Page 177. Sect. 3.

After M. Doctor confuteth his owne shadow, for the exhortation doth not require that the name  
Ypp. iij. of a

Brethren  
may be puni-  
shed.



of a brother should deliuer the authors of the Admonition from punishment, if they deserued it, but desireth that it might worke some moderation of the rigoure of it, and compassion to minister to their necessities in prison. He sayeth that the authors of the Admonition, take not them for theyr brethren, yea verily, although vnbrotherly handled, and for fathers too, and so both loue them, and reuerence them, untill (which we hope will not be) they shall manifestly for the vpholding of their owne kingdome and profite, refuse to haue Christe to reigne ouer vs, in whose fatherhoode and brotherhoode doth consist.

### *Jo. Whitgiste.*

Let the readers iudge whether it be one of their reasons or no: let them also consider that which I haue before alledged out of the second Admonition, pag. 35. & then tell me whether they take vs for brethren, or no.

Can you so well please your selues in your owne platforme, & except we admit it, we refuse Christ to reigne ouer vs, I trust he hath reigned ouer vs hitherto, and shall doe to the end, though your platforme be sunke to the bottome of the sea.

An answer to certaine Pamphlets.

To their second reason I answer, that I thinke they haue bin talked with, and heard what they haue to say for them selues, but their haucie mindes and good opinion conceyued of themselves, will not suffer them to see their errours. In this reason you alledge nothyng for them, but that which may also be alledged for the Papists, or any other sect of heretikes. But it is an old saying, Turpe est doctori &c. How hapneth it that they themselves haue first defamed, not the Bishops only, but also this whole Church of England with publike libells, before they haue bled brotherly and priuate conference: This is to espie a moate in an other mannes eye. &c.

How true the thirde reason is, may appeare in my answer to their Admonition, but how true soeuer it were, yet their disordered disclosyng, by vnlawful meanes, (that is, by libelling) deserueth as much punishment as hitherto they haue had: for the truth nedeth no such vngodlie meanes of disclosyng.

If Papists goe abroade unpunished, when by lawe they maye be touched, surely it is a greate faulte, and can not bee excused, and I praye God it maye bee better looked to. But thys is no good and sufficient reason for the impunitie of other: Bicause some Papistes be not punished, shall therfore no disordered persons be punished: Or bicause some in authoritie wink at some Papists, shall therfore no lawes be executed towardes any offenders: Surely touchyng malice agaynst the forme and state of this sure Church, I see no greate difference betwixt them and the Papists, and I think verily they both conspire together. The same answer I make to youre first reason: Shall no booke be suppressed bicause some be not? It is a faulte I confesse, to suffer lewde Ballades and Bookes touchyng manners. But it were a greater faulte to suffer bookes and Libells, disturbing the peace of the Church, and defacing true religion.

Concerning the titles and offices of Bishops, I haue spoken sufficiently before.

In manglyng and wrestlyng of the Scriptures, none offende so muche as doe the authors of the Admonition, who in that point are comparable to the Papistes, as may be scene by the learned and diligent Reader.

If they



If they whom they terme godly do willingly offende against such lawes as were made for the wicked, they are to be punished according to the lawes, neyther are they to be spared because they pretende godlynesse: for there is no godlinesse in breaking of lawes.

Godlinesse  
breaketh no  
lawe.

The thirde scroule, called, (An Exhortation to the Bishoppes and to theyr Cleargie to answere a little booke. &c.) is satisfied (I trust) for I have (as it is there required) answered the short and peeuishe Pamphlet (as they tearme it) I have disclosed their double and corrupt dealing, theyr wringing of the Scriptures to serue their turne, and haue declared the true sense & meaning of the: I haue not bumbast'd it with rethorike, but in plain & simple maner vttered my iudgement, according to the true meaning and sense of the Scriptures: notwithstanding I haue in sundrie pointes declared the vse of the Church of Christ in tymes past, and do ble the testimonie of auncient Councils and learned fathers, whiche these vnlearned men vnlearnedly contemne, a thing not heard of in any age or Church, nor allowed of any learned man, but onely of certaine heretikes, and especially Anabaptists. To be short, I haue not answered the booke by peeces, but wholly. Howbeit I must desyre them to pardon me, for not making more speede with my answer: their frivulous quotations so troubled me, and my other businesse, that I could no sooner make an ende of it. In all the rest of that deryding Pamphlet, there is nothing of any inoiment, worth the answering. Therefore as they alledge this portion of a sentence taken out of S. Augustine in his Epistle ad Vincen. *Si terrentur & non docerentur improba quasi dominatio videretur*, If they shoulde be feared and not taught it might seme a vicked gouernance: so I conclude with the other part of the same sentence: *Si docerentur, & non terrentur, vetustate consuetudinis obdurarentur, & ad capefendam viam salutis pigrius mouerentur*: If they shoulde be taught and not feared, in time they woulde vxaxestubburne, and be the hardlier moued to imbrace the vway of saluation.

Auncient fa-  
thers contem-  
ned vnlearn-  
ed men.

Augustine res-  
toried vpon  
the aduersary.

T. C. Pag. 177. Sect. vlr.

I know not whether they haue bene conferred with or no, but I thinke the first reason which they had to perswade them, was that they shoulde go to Newgate, which is that which the Exhortation chalenyeth of after, that they are first punished before they be taught. And in this behalfe M. Doctor hath no cause to complaine as he doth. For if he list he may learne or euer he go to prison.

### Jo. Whitgiste.

If they were so sent to that place, it was a merke reward for such disorderly dealing, for ignorance may not excuse Libellers, if they libell but against a priuate man, much lesse shoulde it excuse them, slaundering in that maner this whole Church and realme. I doubt not but that I shall learne to know my selfe, & to do my dutie whilest I am out of prison, so that I shall not iustly for lacke of dutie and honestie deserue it.

T. C. Pag. 178. Lin. 2.

And as for the truth of the cause, and wresting and mangling of the Scriptures, in most places where they are sayde to mangle and wrest, and how he hath answered the request of the Exhortation, which is, to confute the Admonition by the Scriptures, and how truly, aptly, and learnedly, M. Doctor hath behaued himself, in citing of the old Councils and fathers: I leave it to be esteemed, partly of that which I haue sayde, and partly by the deeper consideration of those, which because they can better iudge, may see further into M. Doctors faults and rapfodies than I can. Although the truth is, that I haue, because I would not make a long booke, by heaping of one replebendon vpon an other, contented my selfe rather to trip, as it were, and to passe ouer with a light foote,



foote, the heades and summes of things, than to number the faults, which are almost as many as there are sentences in this booke, more I am sure than there are pages.

*Jo. Whitgiste.*

I haue confuted both them and you, according to the giftes and grace that God hath giuen me, with suche authoritzes both of Scriptures and other learned Authours, as is fitte to be vled in the decyding of suche controuersies. And I am well assured that you haue not omitted the least blot in my booke: and soz the most part you haue serued (agaynst your owne knowledge) those to be whiche are not. I refuse no mans iudgement of my dealing with the olde Councels and fathers, that is learned and will speake without affection what he thinketh. Your hyperbolicall conclusion of figure of lying, wherewith you close vp your booke, I am well vled vnto, and therefore it doth nothing trouble me, but remayneth as a certaine note of the spirite that possesseth you, which is the spirite of vntruth.

Thus haue I, (according to that talent that God hath committed vnto me) endeuoured my selfe to defende the state of this Church of England, and the orders and rites therein by publyke authoritie established, agaynst the slanderous libelles of certaine vnquiet persons, and this vncharitable replie of T. C. If eyther I haue omitted any thing, that might haue bene vttered (as I haue omitted many things) or not so fully answered euery poynt, that all men thereby may be satisfied, namely such as will be satisfied with reason, I doubt not but that there be a great number of singular learning and knowledge which will fulfill my want. The which I do desire them most heartily to do, euen soz the loue that they haue to the peace of the Church: & not to suffer so common and weightie a cause, to rest onely vpon one mans shoulde, so farre inferiour to so many of them in all respects. The contrarie part reasse not to lay theyr heades togither, and to make it all theyr cases, which would more evidently appeare, if their might were according to their will. Wherefoze seeing that we like and allowe of the state, let vs not suffer it to be defaced vniustly, and without either learning or truth. And if it shall please the contrarie part to answer this my defense, then do I require no other thing of them, than the selfe same, which the Authoz of the Replie hath required of me, and the which I haue accordingly perfozmed, that is, that they set downe my wordes, and answer me wholly: which vnlesse they do, they shal not onely with all wise men greatly discredit themselves, and shewe the lacke of truth to be on their side:

but also ease me of some paynes: soz I purpose not to answer Pamphlets, nor to spend the time in confuting frivulous Libels. The Loyde graunt that my labours may worke that effect that

I desire: that is, peace in the Church, and true obedience in the heartes of the Subjects. Amen.





## An examination of the places cited in the end of the Replie touching matters in controuersie.

T. C.

**A**ccording to my promise made in my booke, I haue here set downe the iudgemēt of the latter writers, concerning these matters in controuersie betwene vs. VVherin bicause I loue not to translate out of other mens workes whereby I might make mine to grow: I haue kept this moderation, that I neither set downe all the writers, nor all their places that I coulde, nor yet of euery singular matter. But the chiefe writers, and either of the chiefe points, or else of those, wherein they are alledged against vs by M. Doctor, and one only place of eache (as farre as I coulde iudge and chose out) most directe to that wherefore I haue alledged it. For otherwise if I would haue spoken of all the pointes, and of the iudgement of all the writers, and gathered all the places that I coulde, they would haue ben sufficient matter of an other booke as bigge or rather bigger than this. I must also admonishe the Reader, that I haue forborne in certeine of these titles to sette downe the iudgements of M Beza. M Bullinger and M. Gualter: bycause they are comprehended in the confession of the Churches. And thus partly vpon those sentences which I haue alledged in this booke, and partly vpon these testimonies here set downe: I leaue to the consideration of all men, howe truely and iustly it is sayd, that the learned writers of thesetimes (one or two only excepted) are against vs.

*Io. Whitgife.*

Surely it had bene more commendable in mine opinion, if you had sette downe the verie wordes of the Authoꝝs themselves, rather than your owne collections vpon them: for so shoulde their iudgements more plainly haue appeared, whereas now you frame them as they may best serue for your purpose. It is no shame for a man to translate out of other mens workes, especially vsing their testimonies: but it cannot be voyde of great reproch, for any man so to be addicted to his owne persuation, that he should so lightly regarde other mens opinions.

I doubt not but that the Reader will conceiue by these authorities that you haue here collected as chiefe, principall, and moste euident for the confirmation of your assertions, vpon what slender pillars your building standeth. For truely (so farre as I can gather) most of these places make little for your purpose, and none of them inforce any such necessitie as you seeme to byge, as it will fall out in the examination of them.

T. C.

- 1 That there ought nowe to be the same regiment of the Church,  
which was in the Apostles time.

The confession of the Heluetian, Tygurin, Berne, Geneua, Polonia, Hungarie, and Scotlande with others, in the 18. chapter speaking of the equalitie of Ministers saith, that no mā may iustly forbid to returne to the olde constitution of the Church of God, and to receiue it before the custome of man.

*Io. Whitgife.*

The confession in that place, speaketh not one word of hauing Senioꝝs in euery Parish: neither yet of any other Senioꝝs than those that be Ministers of the word and Sacramentes, for the whole chapter intreateth of such.

Moreouer it sayth not that we ought to returne to that old gouernment, but that we maye returne: so that it is from your purpose, and maketh more against you than with you. For the question is not whyther we maye returne to that kynde of gouernment or no, if it seeme good to the Christian Magistrate to whome God hath now committed the gouernment of the Church, but whether the Christian Magistrate ought of necessitie to receiue that kynde of gouernment, and no other: which this confession doth nowhere affirme.

T. C.

M. Caluine in his Institutions. 4. booke. 3. chapter, and 8. section, speaking of the auncients which did assise the Pastors in euery Church, sayth that experience teacheth that that order

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## An examination of the places

was not for one age, and that this office of government is necessarie to all ages.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

M. Caluine in that place sheweth what hath bene, and what maye be in the Church, but he doth not make that kynde of government so necessarie that it can not be altered. His meaning is, that that kynde of government is necessarie for all ages, bycause in euery age the Church in one place or other is in persecution: but he no where saythe (as I remember) this kynde of government to be necessarie in all states of the Church, nay he affirmeth the directe contrarie in the same booke the seuenth chapter, and, 15. section. Where he speaking of the government of the Church, sayth thus: Scimus autem politiam pro varietate temporum, recipere, imò exigere varias mutationes. Wee knowe that the government of the Church (according to the diuersitie of times) dothe receyue, yea, require or exacte diuers alterations.

T. C.

And in the. 12. chapter and first section of the same booke, saythe as much of Excommunication and other Ecclesiasticall censures.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

M. Caluine sheweth in that place, howe necessarie discipline is in the Church, whych is not denyed: he spraketh not in that section of any thyng nowe in controuersie.

T. C.

Peter Martyr vpon the thirde to the Romaines, teacheth that although the common wealth chaunge hir government, yet the Church alwayes keepeth hers stil.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

Let the Reader peruse that place, and he shall perceiue howe cunning you are in counterfeiting. For M. Martyr speaketh there onely of the lawes of God whiche be immutable, and sheweth that therein the Church of God doth differ from a common wealth, bycause the common wealth doth often chaunge hir lawes, but the Church doth not so, and he meaneth such lawes as be of the essence, and being of the Church, & are of fayth and of saluation. He speaketh also of the inwarde and essentiall forme of the Church, not of the external and accidental forme of it, whych is now in question, and of the spiritual government, not of the externall government. Certaine it is, that no law of God (not being personall or temporall) is to be altered. But I require to haue that law sette down, which establissheth this forme of government for the whiche you nowe contend.

T. C.

Bucer in his firste booke of the kingdome of Christe the. 15. chapter, lamenteth that there were found amongst those which are counted of the forwardest Christians, which woulde not haue the same discipline vsed nowe, that was in the times of the Apostles, objecting the differences of times, and of men.

*Io. Whitgiste.*

There is nothing in that chapter that maketh any thing wpyth you, or against me: for who denyeth, but that the discipline that Christe hath appoynted ought to be mainteined and kept in his Church: our question is of the manner of executing it, of the persons, and of certaine other circumstances, whereof M. Bucer in that chapter speaketh not one worde: and that the Reader may vnderstande howe you seeke to delude him, I will recite the wordes of M. Bucer in that chapter, & herein he comprehendeth al that which is spoken in the same chapter touching this matter. Out of all these testimonies of the holy Scripture concerning Christes kingdome, they that beleue the worde of God shall easily vnderstande, that what soeuer Christe the Lorde hath commaunded vs and appoynted, the same to bring a sure and great helpe to our saluation, if it be so obserued as be both

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## cited in the ende of the Replie.

commaunded and appointed it : and that in all ages howsoever men and times doe varie : neyther can wee wistginly for any cause intermitte or neglecte any of them, but we muste therewith refuse and despise Cbriste himselfe, and his whole kingdome. All which I graunt : and they touch not any thing nowe in controuersie. Surely these be but slender testimonies to proue that there ought nowe to be the same regiment of the church, whiche was in the Apostles times, if you speake of the externall regiment, which only is now in question.

T. C.

2 That one minister ought not to haue any dominion ouer an other

The foresaide Heluetian confession. &c. in the seuententh chapter saythe, that Christe did most seuerely prohibite vnto his Apostles, and their successors primacie, and dominion, and in the eightenth chapter saith, that equall power, and function, is giuen vnto all the ministers of of the Church, and that from the beginning no one preferred himselfe to an other, sauing only that for order, some one did call them together, propound the matters that were to be consulted of, and gathered the voyces. &c.

Io. Whitgiste.

The wordes of the confession in the. 17. chapter be these : truly Christe is present with his Church, and is a lyuing head, who straightly forbad his Apostles, and their successors, to challenge the primacie or supremacie in the Church. This the confession speaketh of such primacie & supremacie, as the Byshop of Rome doth challenge ouer the whole Church, for in that place it onely speaketh of the Popes vsurped authoritie, and not one worde of that superiozitie among Ministers which is now in controuersie.

That which the confession affirmeth in the eightenth chapter maketh nothing against any superiozitie allowed in this Church of Englande, for we acknowledge that there is one equall power and function of al Ministers, but yet superiozitie also to be among them for order sake, and the same doth the Confession acknowledge in plaine and manifest wordes, euen in this place by you alledged: whereby also that distinction is verified whiche you seeme so greatly to mislike, to witte, that there is an equalitie of all Ministers of Gods worde quoad ministerium, touching the ministerie, but degrees and superiozitie among them, quoad ordinem & potestatem, touching order and gouernment.

T. C.

Musculus in his common places, in the chapter of the offices of the ministers of the worde saith, that in the Apostolike Church, the ministers of the worde were none aboue another, nor subiecte to any head, or president, and misliketh the setting vp of any one in higher degree than another : And further he saith vpon the seconde chapter of the seconde Epistle to the Thessalonians, that the honor of a Bishop, being taken from the rest of the ministers, and giue to one, was the first step to the papacie, howsoever in other places he speaketh otherwise.

Io. Whitgiste.

Musculus in those wordes of his common places, speaketh of superiozitie quoad officium & potestatem, touching office and power, (for these wordes dothe he vse) he speaketh not of superiozitie touching order and pollicie, whiche is now in question. The same power is in all ministers of the worde of bynding, loosing, and administering the Sacraments, but not of gouerning in the externall pollicie of the Church. Moreover Musculus in that place speaketh chiefly of the vsurped power of the Byshop of Rome, and of that authoritie which his Byshoppes doe chaleng and claime, from him, wherefore that place maye not be wrested against the lawfull iurisdiction and superiozitie that is now vse in this Church of Englande.

Upon the seconde chapter of the seconde Epistle to the Thessalonians, he onely sheweth how the Pope came to such excessive authoritie. No man doubteth but that such things as were well instituted and vpon iust considerations, may by proces of

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time abused: but doth it therfore followe, that they may not be restored to their right use agayne? A man might then much more strongly reason agaynst your equalitie, which by sufficient tryall (as by Jerome in sundrie places it maye appeare) is proved to haue bene, and to be the cause of schismes, sectes, contentions, seditions, tumultes, murders, confusion of Churches and common weales. &c. Nothing is so well instituted but it may be abused.

T. C.

3 That the election of Ministers, pertaineth not to one man.

The foresayde Heluetian confession, &c. in the eighteenth chapter sayth, that the ministers ought to be chosen of the Church, or by those which are lawfully deputed of the Church, and afterwarde ordeyned with publike prayers.

Io. Whitgiste.

This maketh agaynst you: for the confession alloweth that election of Ministers which is made by those that are appointed to that office in the Church: (for these be the wordes of the Confession) but our Bishops are appointed to that office in this Church, therfore the Confession alloweth Bishops to elect Ministers. The wordes that followe, that they should be ordeyned with publike prayers, is obserued in our Church.

T. C.

M. Caluine in his fourth booke of Institutions. 3. chapter. 15. section, sheweth that the Church did chosse, and that the Apostles did moderate the election, and confirme them whyche vpon the places of Titus and Timothie woulde proue, that the election belongeth to one man.

Io. Whitgiste.

To this place of M. Caluine I haue sufficiently answered in the thirde treatise of election of Ministers, chap. 7. the. 1. diuision.

T. C.

4 That there ought nowe to be Elders to gouerne the Church  
wyth the Pastors, and Deacons, to prouide  
for the poore.

Touching Elders, the iudgement of M. Caluine hath bene before declared in the fyrste of these propositions.

Io. Whitgiste.

And in the same place haue I answered, that whych is there by you alledged out of M. Caluine.

T. C.

M. Beza in his booke of Diuorces page. 161. sayth, that the Eldership of the Church ought to be where there is a Christian magistrate.

Io. Whitgiste.

M. Beza doth not say in that place, that the Eldership of the Church ought to be where there is a Christian Magistrate, but that it may be: and that it hath bene, which he onely speaketh and proueth not. And yet if he meane that Presbyterie whereof the Canons speake (by him onely in generalitie named) then is it no other than we haue at this daye in this Church of Englande, in Cathedrall Churches and Colleges, for in the Canons presbyterium signifieth nothing else, but a Colledge or company of Priests and Ministers of the worde and Sacraments, as I haue further declared in the. 17. Tract. where I haue also shewed, that M. Beza his opinion is that the gouernment of the Church maye admitte alteration, according to the diuersities of times, place, and persons. cap. vlt.

T. C.

Touching Deacons, M. Caluine. 4. booke. 3. chapter. 9. section, after that he had discribed what Deacons the Churches had in the Apostles tymes, saythe that we, after their example ought to haue the lyke.

Io. Whitgiste.



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*Io. Whitgifte.*

**M. Caluines** words be these: *En quales habuerit diaconos Apostolica ecclesia, quales ad eius exemplum habere nos conueniat. Beholde what Deacons the Apostolicall churche had, euen such as it is conuenient we should haue, according to that example. Wee dothe not saye that we ought to haue them, but that it is conuenient to haue them: he doth not make them necessary but conuenient: and he must be vnderstanded to speake of that Church whereof he had experience, not of this Church wherein he was out a stranger. Of Deacons, and that their office was not only to prouide for the poore, but to preache also, and to baptise, I haue proued Tract. 19. & Tract. 14.*

*T. C.*

**M. Beza** in the .5. chap. and .23. section of his Confessiōs sheweth that the office of the distribution of the goodes of the church is an ordinarie function in a Church lawefully constituted, which office in the .30. he calleth the Deaconship.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

In neither of these doth **M. Beza** so tie prouiding for the poore to Deacons that they must by them be prouided for, and by no other: hee onely sheweth what was done in this case in the Apostles tyme, and in the tymes immediatly following: but there is neyther Scripture nor any learned wypter that teacheth that the poore may be by no other prouided for, than by Deacons. You proue that which no man denieth, and speake not one worde of the matter in question, that is, whether of necessitie the poore must be prouided for by Deacons and not other wyse.

*T. C.*

**Peter Martyr** vpon the .11. to the Romaynes, speaking of the Elders, whiche did assiste the Pastor in euery Church, and of the Deacons, lamenteth that this order is so fallen out of the Church, that the names of these functions do scarce remayne.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

That which **Peter Martyr** speaketh in that place, is spoken generally of all that the Apostle had befoze wyrtten touching the publike ministers of the Church, and therfore you doe vniustly restrayne it only to Elders and Deacons. It maye euidently appeare that **M. Martyr** maketh there a comparison betwixt the gouernment of the Church of Christe in the Apostles tyme, & the gouernment of the Popes Church in his tyme, as his wordes following declare, so that he addeth immediatly. *In steade of these, they haue brought in Taperbearers, Scoluthes, and Subdeacons, which with their light and stagelike gestures, serue at their superstitious altar. So that you can not gather of this place that your Seigniorie is perpetuall, and must of necessitie for euer remayne in the Church.*

*T. C.*

**M. Bucer** in his first booke of the kyngdome of Christ, for the auncients of the Church sayeth, that the number of the Elders of euery Church ought to be encreased according to the multitude of the people, and in the .14. chapter of the same booke sayeth that this order of Deaconship was religiously kept in the Church vntill it was dryuen out by Antichriste.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

It had bene well to haue noted the chapter out of the which you gather that first saying of **M. Bucer**, howbeit, the matter is not great, so the question is not whether the number of the Elders of euery Church ought to be encreased according to the number of the



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people, or no, in such places where this kynde of government is admitted: but whether this kynde of government muste of necessitie in all Churches and at all tymes be put in practise. I doe not remember that M. Bucer any where affirmeth that. In deede in the fifth chapter of the firste booke (speaking of these Seniors,) he sayeth: Tales sane possunt cum ministris doctrinae & Sacramentorum Christi disciplinam exercere. &c. Such may exercise the discipline of Christe with the ministers of the worde and Sacramentes, &c. He sayeth they may doe it, not that they ought to do it.

That whiche M. Bucer speaketh of the Deaconshipp in the .14. chapter, is not denied, but he nowhere sayeth that the poore muste of necessitie bee provided for by Deacons, and by none other: and he teacheth in the same chapter, that mo things apperteyned to the office of the Deacon than to provide for the poore: as namely to assiste the ministers in the administration of the Sacramentes and exercising of discipline.

What sufficient proofes these bee to induce that necessitie of the kynde of government so greatly urged by you, let the learned Reader iudge.

T. C.

That excommunication pertayneth not to any one man in the Church.

M. Caluine in his Institutions .4. booke, and .11. Chapter, and .6. Section, teacheth that excommunication perteyneth not to one man, and that it was to wicked a facte that one man taking the authoritie which was common to other, to hym selfe alone, opened a waye to tyrannie, tooke from the Church hir right, and abrogated the Church Senate, ordeined by the spirite of Christe. And in the .12. chapter and .7. Section, he sayeth further that it ought not to be done without the knowledge and approbation of the Church.

Io. Whitgift.

Whe graunte that no one man ought to take that vnto hym selfe which both not apperteyne vnto him: but I haue proued Tract. 18. that excommunication perteyneth to Bishops, and that this Church of England hath consented thereto: wherefore M. Caluine speaketh against that excommunication whiche the Pope violently and tyrannically vsurpeth, and not against this whiche our Bishops in this Church of Englande, both by the lawes of God and consent of the Church exercise. I speake of the thing it selfe and not of the abuse.

T. C.

M. Beza in his confessions 5. chapter. 43. Section, sayeth, that this power of excommunicating is given to no one man, except it please God to worke extraordinarily.

Peter Martyr vpon the firste to the Corinthians and fifth chapter, sayeth that it is very dangerous, to permitt so waighy a matter as excommunication to the discretion and wil of any one man. And therefore, both that tyrannie might be auoyded, and this censure executed with greater fruite and grauitie, that the order whiche the Apostles there vseth is still to be obserued.

Io. Whitgift.

To M. Beza and M. Martyr, I answered as I dyd to M. Caluine: and yet M. Martyr seemeth to expounde hym selfe in the same place where hee speaking against the committing of this authoritie of excommunicating to the Pope or to one Bishop, and refelling this saying of the Papistes, Episcopum esse totam ecclesiam virtualiter, when as they be rather tota ecclesia virtualiter, as he there affirmeth, he addeth by and by, de malis hac intelligas & tyrannice agentibus: Vnderstande this of euill Bishops and such as deale tyrannically: whereby he declareth that he speaketh agaynst the commit-



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committing of this discipline to euill Bishops and such as vse it tyrannically.

T.C.

M. Bucer of the kingdome of Christ. in the .1. booke and .9. chapter sayth, that Saint Paule accuseth the Corinthians, for that the whole Church, did not cast out of their companie the incestuous person.

Io. Whitgiste.

The question is not whether the whole Church may haue to doe in excommunication or no, but whether the consent therof is al tymes therein to be required. What the meaning of the Apostle is in that place to the Corinth. I haue declared. Tract. 15.

T.C.

That Chancellours, Commissioners, Officials, &c. vsurpe authoritie in the Church, which belongeth not to them.

M. Caluine in his Institutions. 4. booke. 11. chap. 7. Sect. speaketh agaynst the office of Officials, and alledgeth diuers reasons agaynst them, as that they exercise that part of the Bishops charge, and that they handle matters whiche pertaine not to the spirituall iurisdiction.

Io. Whitgiste.

M. Caluine in that place alledgeth no reasons at al agaynst those offices, only he sayth that they exercise that part of the Bishops charge, and that they handle matters which pertaine not to the spirituall iurisdiction, (this I say) he speaketh, but he doth not proue it. In the rest of that Section, he intreateth of the abuses of such officers, wherein I doe not dissent from him.

T.C.

M. Beza in his booke of Diuorces, prouing that the iudiciall deciding of matrimoniall causes apperteyneth vnto the ciuill magistrate, sayth that Officials, Proctors, and Promoters and in a worde all the swinish filth, now of long time hath wasted the Church.

Io. Whitgiste.

I vnderstande not by what reasons M. Beza in that place proueth that the iudiciall deciding of matrimoniall causes apperteyneth to the ciuill Magistrate. Howbeit, Officials &c. in such cases deale not in this Church of England without the consent and authoritie of the ciuill Magistrate. It is not good dealing to applie those things whiche M. Beza and other speake of such offices abused vnder the Pope, to the same offices nowe reformed vnder a Christian Prince that professeth the Gospell: But thus you dazzell the peoples eyes.

T.C.

Peter Martyr vpon the .13. Chap. to the Romaines, speaking agaynst the ciuill iurisdiction of Bishops, doth by the same reason condemne it in their Deputies the Officials.

Io. Whitgiste.

Peter Martyr speaketh not agaynst the office, but agaynst certaine abuses in the officers: this is not simple dealing to transerre that to the office, that is spoken of the abuse of the office.

T.C.

That the Ministers of the worde ought not to exercise any ciuill offices and iurisdiction.

M. Caluine in his institutions. 4. booke. 11. chap. 9. Sect. bringeth diuers reasons to proue that Bishops may neither vsurpe, nor take being giuen them, eyther the right of the sword, or the knowledge of ciuill causes.

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Io. Whitgiste.



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*To. Whitgife.*

The reasons that M. Caluine vseth there, be neyther many, nor greatly strong. I haue answered them fullie. Tract. 23. and yet M. Caluine speaketh onely of that princely power, which the Romishe Bishops claime, not as committed vnto them by the Prince and and ciuill Magistrate, but due vnto them by the worde of God, from the which challenge I haue shewed in the foresayde treatise, howe farre our Bishops are.

T. C.

M. Beza in his Confessions Chap. 5. Sect. 32. sayth that the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction is to be distinguished from the ciuill, and that although the Bishoppes in the tymes of christian Emperours were troubled with the hearing of ciuill causes, yet they did not that by any iudiciall power, which they exercised, but by a friendly intreatie of the parties, whiche were at discorde: and sayth notwithstanding, that herein the Emperours did giue to much to the ambition of certaine Bishops, wherevpon by little and by little afterwarde all things were confounded. And in the. 42. Section sayth that those corporall punishments whiche the Apostles exercised were peculiar and extraordinarie.

*To. Whitgife.*

M. Beza his bare worde is no sufficient prooue agaynst so many other testimonies and reasons as are to the contrarie, and I haue sufficiently shewed Tract. 23. cap. 3. Diuif. vi. that Bishops in tymes past did not onely heare ciuill causes, but also iudicially determine the same. Touching the corporall punishments which the Apostles exercised, M. Beza in his booke de Hereticis a magistratu puniendis, doth make them so ordinarie that he vseth them as sufficient arguments to prooue his purpose, and sayth plainly that the Apostles did exercise these punishments, not by the right of the Ecclesiasticall ministerie, but by the right of the ciuill Magistracie. as I haue declared Tract. 23. Cap. 3. Diuif. 12.

T. C.

Peter Martyr vpon the. 13. to the Romanes, speaking of this meetings of both Ecclesiasticall, and ciuill iurisdiction in one man, sayth that when both the ciuill, and Ecclesiasticall functions do so meete, that one hynder the other, so that he which exerciseth the one cannot minister the other.

*To. Whitgife.*

M. Martyr speaketh of an absolute iurisdiction ciuill, such as the Pope claymeth, and not of this which is practised by the Bishops in the Church of England, wherof he had experience in the dayes of King Edward euen in this realme, and the which he also then allowed.

T. C.

M. Bucer vpon the. 5. of Matthew, sayth, that there is no man so wise, and holy, which is able to exercise both the ciuill, and the Ecclesiasticall power, and that therefore he whiche will exercise the one, must leaue the other.

*To. Whitgife.*

I answered as I did to M. Martyr, for he also allowed that ciuill iurisdiction that the Bishops in England did exercise in the time of King Edward.

T. C.

That the Sacraments ought not to be privately administered, nor by women.

The foresayd confession: C. 20. holdeth that baptisme ought not to be ministred by women or midwyues, to the which also may be ioyned the Liturgie of the English Church at Geneua, which condemneth the ministring of eyther of the Sacraments in priuate houses, or by women.

*To. Whitgife.*

These be needlesse prooves, yet are there learned men of the contrary iudgement. Notwithstanding, no man sayth that women may baptise ordinarily, or that the Sacraments may

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be administred in priuate places, otherwise than vpon vrgent occasion: and in that respect no learned man dothe condemne the ministring of the Sacramentes in priuate places.

T. C.

Peter Martyr vpon the .ii. chapter of the .i. Epistle to the Corinthians, in describing the corruptions of the Lordes Supper, noteth this to be one, that the Church did not communicate altogether, which corruption as it was in diuers places in tymes past, so he complayneth that it is nowe.

Io. Whitgiste.

M. Martyr in that place speaketh agaynst priuate Masses, and the complainte that he maketh, is concerning them, wherein we fully agree with him: neyther doe we like or allowe of suche as withdraue themselves from the Lordes table when the Supper is celebrated. You neuer loue to rehearse the authoꝝ wordes (because they make not for you) but gather collections of your owne, contrarie to the meaning of the authoꝝ, as you do in this place, which the Reader shall easily perceiue, if it wil please him to reade M. Martyr himself, in that place by you quoted. And surely it is too great iniurie, to wrestle that to the order of celebrating the Communion allowed off in this Church of Englande, which he or any man else speaketh agaynst priuate Masses, but such are your deepe and profounde collections.

T. C.

M. Bucer in his first booke of the kingdome of Christ, and .7. chapter, proueth out of the .10. to the Corinthians, that the whole Church should receiue the Supper of the Lord together, and that the vse of the Church of God in this behalfe, ought with great and diligent endeavour to be restored vnto the Churches, and that it is a contemp of the mysteries not to be partakers when they are called.

Io. Whitgiste.

M. Bucer speaketh nothing in that place (touching this question) whereunto I agree not: he woulde haue the Communion ministrd in the publike congregation, & who denyeth that: except it be vpon occasion of sicknesse, &c. as I haue before declared: he woulde haue all or the moste parte that be present to communicate, and who defendeth the contrarie: and yet if they will not, the rest may not be seclused: his whole drift is to reprove such as will not communicate, and not to prohibite the distribution of the Supper to those that be willing, be they moe, or be they fewe, so that there be a competent number, that it may be a Communion.

T. C.

M. Beza against VVestphalus, sheweth that it is not decent, that baptisme be ministrd but in the Church, and that at standing houres, and by the ministers, and further, that vpon no necessitie (as it is called) it ought to be ministrd in priuate houses. And that if it might be ministrd in priuate houses, yet not otherwise than by Ministers.

Io. Whitgiste.

You vntruely report M. Beza his wordes: he onely sheweth in that place what the order of the Church is, where he remaineth, he doth not prescribe any certaine rule for all Churches, neyther is it mete that he should, in such cases. He so speaketh of baptizing in priuate houses, that he doth not simplely condemne it. But what soeuer his iudgement is in that poynt, his mynd is not (I am sure) to bynde all other Churches to the same, which thinke and teach as soundly of this Sacrament, as he doth, or can do, though they agree not with him in all circumstances.

T. C.

M. Calvin in his Institutions. 4. booke chapter .15. sect. 20. 21. proueth that baptisme ought not to be ministrd by priuate men, or by any women.

Io. Whitgiste.

Only ministers of the Church are ordinary ministers of baptisme, neyther may any other chalenge that function vnto theselues ordinarily, but yet if vpon occasion

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a private person do baptise, the baptism is good and lawfull, even as the circumcision was true circumcision that was ministered by Sephora. As I haue proued.  
*Tract. 9. cap. 5.*

T. C.

¶ The iudgement of those late writers touching ceremonies and apparell, whose secrets Epistles M. Docto<sup>r</sup> alledgeth, appeareth by these places following, cited out of their booke printed, and published by themselves. Whereof also some are alledged by the answerer to the examiner, where are diuers other places to this purpose, wherunto I referre the Reader.

M. Bucer vpon the .18. of Mathewe, saith, that they say nothing which do alwayes obiekt, that greater things must be vrged, than the reformation of ceremonies, thereby defending the reliques of Antichrist, for as much as ceremonies are testimonies of Religion: And that as there is no agreement betwene Christe and Belial, so those whiche are sincere Christians, can abide nothing of Antichrist.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

¶ M. Bucer sayth truely: for the reformation of ceremonies is to be sought and not to be neglected, neyther can sincere Christians abyde any thing of Antichriste, as it is Antichristes: but what is all this to the purpose: is there no reformation of ceremonies in this Church of Englande, from the whiche all Antichristian ceremonies are abandoned, and those that remaine purged from al opinion of Antichristianitie? And that M. Bucer ment nothing lesse than the ceremonies now reteined in this Church of Englande (as we vse them) it maye evidently appeare by that whiche I haue alledged out of him. *Tract. 7. cap. 5. the .5. diuision. and chap. 7. diuision. 4.*

T. C.

Peter Martyr vpon the .10. chap. of the second booke of the Kings saith, that the Lutherans must take heede, least whilest they cutte off many Popishe errors, they followe Iehu by retaining also many Popish things. For they defende still the reall presence in the bread of the Supper, and Images, and Vestiments. &c. and saith that religion must be wholly reformed to the quick.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

¶ M. Martyr nameth the Popishe things which the Lutherans obserue, to be the reall presence, images, all the Popish apparell which they used in their Masse, (for so doth he meane) which this Church hath refused. What his opinion is of this apparell, that we reteine, I haue declared *tract. 7. chap. 5. the .4. diuision.* where he of purpose speaketh concerning the same. God be thanked, Religion is wholly reformed, euen to the quicke in this Church.

T. C.

Bullinger in his Decades. 5. Booke, and ninth Sermon saythe, that our Sauour Christe and the Apostles vsed their accustomed apparell in the Supper, and that although in tymes past the Ministers put on a kynde of cloake vpon their common apparell, yet that was done neyther by the example of Chryste, nor of his Apostles, but by the tradition of man, and that in the ende, after the example of the Priestes apparell in the olde lawe, it was caste vpon the Ministers at the ministracion of the Supper. But (sayth hee) we haue learned long agoe not onely that all Leuiticall ceremonies are abrogated, but also that they ought to be brought agayne into the Church of no man. And therefore seeing we are in the light of the Gospell, and not vnder the shadowe of the lawe, we do worthily reiecte, that Masing Leuiticall apparell.

*Io. Whitgifte.*



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*Io. Whitgifte.*

Neither do we reteine the massing Leuiticall apparell, but that apparell onely which Bullinger himselfe alloweth of in diuers Epistles written of purpose, touching these matters, as I haue expressed, *Tract. 7. Chapter. 5. the. 6. Division. &c.*

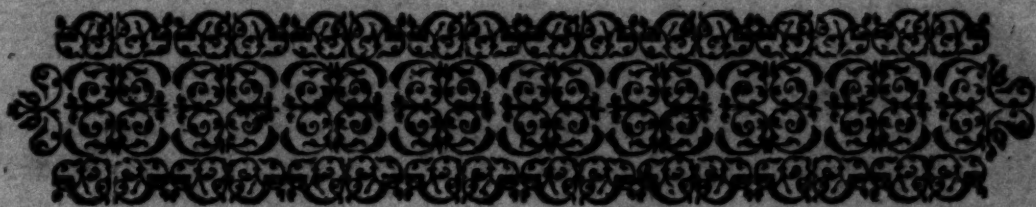
T. C.

Gualter vpon the. 21. of the Actes among others, bringeth this for one reason, to improve Pauls shauing of his head, for that the Gospel had beene preached twentie yeares: and that therefore the infirmitie of the lewes ought not to haue bene borne with. And after he saith, that that teacheth howe muche the superstitious Maisters of ceremonies hurte the Gospell, which nourishe the weaknesse of fayth by the long keping of ceremonies, and by their long bearing, hinder the doings of those ministers, which are more seruent.

*Io. Whitgifte.*

M. Gualter in these wordes sayth nothing against any poynt of this Church: he speaketh truely and nothing to your purpose. M. Gualter hath sufficiently shewed his opinion in these matters, not onely in written Epistles, but in printed booke, as in his Epistle before his commentaries vpon the first to the Corinthians.

Surely, there is no suche weight in these authorities for your purpose, that you can take any great aduantage of them: indeede your cause in my opinion hath won small credite by alledging of them.



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